# THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER

Edited by N. J. RICHARDSON

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has not previously been the subject of a full-scale commentary in English. As an early epic narrative of the rape of Persephone and the foundation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, its interest lies not only in its charm and vigour as poetry, but also in the light which it sheds on the development of post-Homeric epic, and the early history of the Eleusinian cult. Special attention is paid to these aspects of the poem in the commentary, which also discusses questions of text, interpretation, and poetic technique. The Introduction deals with the Hymn's nature, date, and circumstances of composition; the development and significance of the Mysteries; language, style, and metre; and the relationship of the Hymn both to other early epic and also to later classical literature. A revised version of Allen's Oxford Classical Text is offered.

£10·00 net
in UK

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY
3 9351 00019717 0

PA
4023
.H8
1974

WD

1-01940

DATE DUE

DEC 15 2017
OCT 15 2017

Texas Woman's University
Library
Denton, Texas

# THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER

EDITED BY

N. J. RICHARDSON

*Fellow of Merton College*
*Oxford*

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1974

*Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1*

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

© *Oxford University Press 1974*

*Printed in Great Britain*
*at the University Press, Oxford*
*by Vivian Ridler*
*Printer to the University*

PA
4023
.H8
1974

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

TO
COLIN HARDIE

1-01940

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/homerichymntodem0000rich

# PREFACE

THE *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has not previously been the subject of a separate commentary in English. The edition of Allen and Sikes (Macmillan, 1904), and the revision of this by Allen and Halliday (Oxford, 1936), cover all the Hymns, and although both of these (particularly the first) contain much useful material, they remain selective and uneven. The *Hymn to Demeter*, by the nature of its subject, repays study at more than one level. It is not only a fine example of post-Homeric epic poetry, but also the earliest literary work which sheds light on the Eleusinian Mysteries, whose foundation it celebrates. I have tried to take account of both these aspects, by considering its place in relation to other early epic poetry, and also its religious significance. I hope that the length of the commentary will not detract from appreciation of the poem's intrinsic beauty, but will help to place it more clearly in its literary and religious context.

A mechanical aid to the assessment of the poetic technique is provided by the list of formulaic parallels which accompanies the text. An account of the system used for these is given in the Introduction (p. 30), together with some general discussion. Parallels from later Greek poetry which I have noted as possibly significant are also given with the text. The *apparatus criticus* makes no attempt to list all past emendations in full, and I have little of my own to add in the way of improved textual readings. In quite a number of cases, however, I have found the readings of earlier editions preferable to those of the Oxford editors. As there is only one surviving manuscript of the *Hymn*, and this contains several lacunae, the possibility of future improvement of the text, by emendation or discovery of new papyri, is still open.

This book owes its beginnings in large measure to the late Professor Eduard Fraenkel, whom I consulted at the outset, and who suggested that I should work on the *Hymn to Demeter*. Later also he took an interest in its progress for which I was very grateful.

Before beginning work on the commentary itself I had the benefit of a term spent at Cologne University, where I was able to take advantage of the wide knowledge of Greek religion and early epic poetry of Professor R. Merkelbach. I am grateful to him for giving me a most interesting insight into the background to the myths of Persephone and Demeter.

At all stages I have received much encouragement from Professor H. Lloyd-Jones. He and Professor G. S. Kirk examined this work when it was submitted as a doctoral thesis in 1970, and I am very grateful to them both for many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

I should also like to thank Professor Anna Davies, Professor M. H. Jameson, Mr. D. M. Lewis, Mr. O. Taplin, and Mr. N. G. Wilson, for their assistance on various points, and Mr. P. W. Martin for some valuable discussions.

My greatest debt of gratitude is due to my supervisor, Dr. M. L. West. How much I have profited from his published work will, I hope, become apparent in the course of what follows. I also owe more than I can express to his patient and painstaking scrutiny of the various stages of the commentary, and to the numerous observations, corrections, and additions which he has made. It should hardly be necessary to add that any defects of scholarship or presentation are entirely my own responsibility.

The manuscript of this work was given to the Press before the appearance of Professor W. Burkert's book *Homo Necans* (Berlin, 1972), and I regret that I have been unable to take account of his treatment of the Eleusinian Mysteries (pp. 274 ff.). Although I am not convinced by his argument for the central importance of sacrificial ritual in the Mysteries, I have found his discussion of the evidence useful and stimulating.

Dr. Fritz Graf, of Zürich University, very kindly allowed me to read his dissertation on the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Orphic poetry of Athens, and again I regret that when I did so it was too late for me to take account of it in this commentary. His work, which will be published shortly, will be essential reading for any student of this difficult subject, and it corrects a number of misconceptions of earlier scholars which have coloured my own brief discussion of the topic (pp. 79 ff.). He also read a draft of this commentary, and made a number of valuable suggestions for which I am most grateful.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Clarendon Press for their patient assistance in bringing a refractory manuscript to the light of day, and to my wife for her constant support and interest. The book is dedicated to my tutor, in gratitude for his teaching, friendship, and encouragement.

N. J. R.

*Merton College*
*Oxford*
*June 1973*

# CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS xiii

INTRODUCTION

I. Summary of the *Hymn* 1

II. The nature of the *Homeric Hymns* 3

III. The *Hymn to Demeter*: date and circumstances of composition 5

IV. The *Hymn* and the Eleusinian Mysteries

A. Theories of origins, development, and significance of the Mysteries 12

B. The *Hymn*, and the Mysteries in the historical period 20

V. Language, and relationship to other early epic poetry 30

A. Homer

1. *Iliad* 31

2. *Odyssey* 32

B. Hesiod

1. Mythology 33

2. Language 34

3. Style 41

C. *Hymn to Aphrodite* 42

D. Language peculiar to the *Hymn to Demeter* 43

E. Atticisms 52

VI. Style and narrative technique 56

VII. Metre and prosody 61

VIII. Manuscript and papyri 65

IX. Quotations 67

X. Influence on later literature 68

XI. Other versions

A. Literary versions 74

B. Local versions 77

C. Orphic versions 77

XII. Select Bibliography 86

SIGLA 93

TEXT 95

COMMENTARY 136

APPENDICES

I. Eleusinian topography 326

II. Enjambement, and the language of the *Hymn* 331

III. Scenes of meeting 339

IV. The Cyceon 344

V. The position of θεά (etc.) in the verse 349

ADDENDA 351

INDEXES 353

# ABBREVIATIONS

The four major *Homeric Hymns* are referred to as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ap.* | *Hymn to Apollo* (*Hy.* 3) |
| *Aph.* | *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*Hy.* 5) |
| *Dem.* | *Hymn to Demeter* (*Hy.* 2) |
| *Herm.* | *Hymn to Hermes* (*Hy.* 4) |

The remainder are referred to by their number in Allen's Oxford text, as '*Hy.* 1' etc.

The first edition of the Oxford commentary on the *Hymns* (1904) is referred to as 'Allen and Sikes', the second (1936) as 'Allen and Halliday'. For other editions see Introduction, Section XII.

Quotations from Hesiod's *Theogony* are from M. L. West's edition (Oxford, 1966). Hesiodic fragments are cited from the edition of R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Oxford, 1967), the *Works and Days* ('Hes. *Op.*') and *Shield of Heracles* ('Hes. *Sc.*') from Rzach's Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1902).

The following abbreviations may also be noted:

| | |
|---|---|
| Beazley, *ABV* | J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956). |
| Beazley, *ARV* | J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 1st ed. (Oxford, 1942). |
| Beazley, *ARV*$^2$ | The same, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963). |
| Chantraine, *GH* | P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique* (Paris, 2 vols., 1942–53). |
| Denniston, *GP* | J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1954). |
| Deubner, *AF* | L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim, 1966). |
| Ebeling | H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig, 1885). |
| Frazer, *GB*$^3$ | J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., 12 vols., (London, 1911–18). |
| Frisk | H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954–70). |
| Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* | O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1891–8). |
| K–B | R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 1. Teil, besorgt von F. Blass (Hannover, 1890–2). |

| | |
|---|---|
| K–G | The same, 2. Teil, besorgt von B. Gerth (Hannover, 1898–1904). |
| Kretschmer, *Vaseninsch.* | P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* (Gütersloh, 1894). |
| La Roche, *HU* | J. La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1869). |
| Lehrs, *QE* | K. Lehrs, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Königsberg, 1837). |
| LSJ | Liddell–Scott–Jones, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1925–40). |
| LSJ, *Supplement* | The same. *A Supplement*, ed. E. A. Barber, P. Maas, M. Scheller, and M. L. West (Oxford, 1968). |
| Monro, *HG*$^2$ | D. B. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1891). |
| Nilsson, *Gesch.* i$^3$ | M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Bd. I, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1967). |
| Nilsson, *Gesch.* ii$^2$ | The same, Bd. II, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1961). |
| *PMG* | D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962). |
| Preller–Robert | L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4. Aufl. bearbeitet von C. Robert (Berlin, 1894–1926). |
| Pritchard, *ANET*$^2$ | *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1955). |
| *RE* | Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894– ). |
| Roscher | *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, hrsg. von W. H. Roscher (Leipzig–Berlin, 1884–1937). |
| Schulze, *QE* | W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Gütersloh, 1892). |
| Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* | E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich, 1939–50). |
| Ziehen, *LGS* | L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, Pars altera (Leipzig, 1906). |

# INTRODUCTION

## I. SUMMARY OF THE HYMN

1–90. *The Rape, and Demeter's Search*

1–32. After stating his subject (Demeter and the Rape of Persephone), the poet at once goes on to describe how Persephone was carried off by Hades, with the consent of Zeus. She was gathering flowers with the nymphs on the plain of Nysa when the earth gaped and Hades sprang forth and carried her away on his chariot. Her cries for help were heard by no one except Hecate and Helios, and Zeus was far away.

33–90. At last Demeter heard her, and was stricken with grief. For nine days she wandered in search of her, with burning torches, fasting, and without washing herself. On the tenth Hecate met her, and announced that she had heard Persephone's cry, and together they went to Helios. Demeter asked him for information, and he told her that it was Hades who had carried off her daughter, and attempted to console her.

91–304. *Demeter at the House of Celeus*

91–117. In her anger, Demeter leaves the gods and wanders on earth, disguised as an old woman. She comes to Eleusis, where she sits beside the well Parthenion. Here she is met by the four daughters of Celeus, king of Eleusis, who ask her who she is.

118–68. She replies with a false story, that she has been captured by pirates from Crete and brought to Thoricos in Attica, from where she has escaped, and come to Eleusis. She asks to be allowed to act as a nurse or housekeeper to a family in Eleusis. The girls tell her the names of the rulers of the town, and offer her a position as nurse to Celeus' baby son, Demophon.

169–211. They run to the palace, to get the consent of their mother Metaneira, and then return, and lead Demeter to the palace. As she enters, she takes her divine form again for a moment. She is offered a chair, but refuses, until the maid Iambe gives her a stool. She sits down in silent sorrow, until Iambe makes her laugh. She refuses to drink wine, but accepts a simple mixture of barley and water.

212–55. Metaneira welcomes her, and asks her to nurse the child. She promises to keep him from all harm, and taking him anoints him secretly with ambrosia, breathes on him, and holds him in her arms. At night she places him in the fire, to make him immortal. His parents are amazed at his growth, and Metaneira watches and detects her. She cries out, and Demeter is angry and snatches Demophon from the fire.

256–74. She condemns mankind for their folly, and says that Demophon cannot be immortal, but will have an annual ceremony in his honour. She reveals herself, orders a temple and altar to be built outside the city wall, and promises to teach the Eleusinians her rites.

275–304. Once more the goddess resumes her true form, and leaves the palace. Metaneira is speechless with terror. Her daughters jump from their beds and come to the rescue, trying to comfort the baby Demophon. All night they attempt to propitiate the goddess, and next day Celeus is told what has happened. He summons the people, and they build the temple and altar. Demeter sits in it, grieving for her daughter.

305–489. *The Famine, Return of Persephone, and Institution of the Mysteries*

305–45. Demeter causes a dreadful famine, which threatens the existence of mankind and the sacrifices and honours of the gods. Zeus sends Iris, and then all the gods in turn, to ask her to relent, but she refuses. At last he sends Hermes to bring back Persephone.

346–74. Hermes asks Hades to let her go. He consents, and tells her to return, promising that she will have great honours as his wife, both in heaven and below the earth. He gives her a pomegranate-seed to eat, secretly, which binds her to return to him.

375–433. Hermes takes her back to earth, and she is reunited with her mother, who asks if she has eaten in the underworld, and how she was carried off. She tells her what has happened.

434–58. They spend the day in happy reunion, and are joined by Hecate, who becomes an attendant of Persephone. Zeus sends Rhea to ask them to come to Olympus, promising that Persephone will live there for two-thirds of the year. The rest she must spend in the underworld.

459–82. Rhea gives her message, and Demeter consents. She makes life return to the fields, and teaches her solemn rites to the princes of Eleusis, rites whose secrecy is absolute, and which guarantee to the initiate alone a happy fate after death.

483–9. The goddesses go up to Olympus. Happy is the man on earth whom they favour, and to whom they send the blessing of Prosperity!

490–5. *Final Invocation*

The *Hymn* closes with the customary invocation and a prayer for divine favour.

## II. THE NATURE OF THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

The collection called *Ὁμήρου Ὕμνοι* consists of hymns in praise of Greek deities, of widely differing lengths and of various periods. The *Hymn to Demeter* is one of the four longest, the others being the *Hymn to Apollo* (which appears to be two poems joined together), and those to Hermes and Aphrodite. The *Hymn to Dionysus* which is placed first in the collection is fragmentary, and was perhaps also quite long, and the second, complete *Hymn to Dionysus* (No. 7) is of 59 lines. The others vary in length from three lines (No. 13) to forty-nine (No. 19).

It is generally (but not universally) accepted that all the four longer hymns belong to the archaic period, i.e. approximately the seventh and sixth centuries. Many of the shorter ones are impossible to date, but the *Hymn to Pan* is probably not earlier than the fifth century, those to the Sun and Moon (Nos. 31 and 32) can hardly antedate the Alexandrian period, and the *Hymn to Ares* (No. 8) seems by its content and style to belong rather to the hymns of Proclus, the Neo-Platonist philosopher of late antiquity, which are found together with the Homeric and Orphic hymns in some manuscripts (cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 20 (1970), 300 ff.).

The earliest reference to a *Homeric Hymn* describes it as a *προοίμιον*, i.e. prelude (Thuc. 3. 104, of the *Hymn to Apollo*) and it is fairly clear that in origin at least they were intended as preludes to epic recitation. They show in general the characteristics of traditional epic poetry, and were evidently originally composed for recitation. Some actually close with an appeal to the deity for victory in the poetic contest (cf. 6. 19–20, and

similarly 10. 5, 24. 5, 25. 6, which ask the deity to give the song honour and favour). Other closing formulae show that the poet is now going on to another song, and in the case of the later hymns to the Sun and Moon he explicitly states that the subject-matter of these songs will be the deeds of the heroes, i.e. epic narrative of the type of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* (cf. on *Dem.* 495 and also on *Dem.* 1–3). In the *Odyssey* itself we find that it was customary for a singer to begin with an invocation to a deity (*Od.* 8. 499, and Schol. ad loc.). The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* invoke the Muse at the outset, and one may note the alternative opening line of the *Iliad*, *Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον*. More relevant are the hymns at the beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* (cf. West on *Th.* 1–115).

We are told by Pindar (*Nem.* 2. 1–3) that the Homeridae used to begin *Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου*. It is thus reasonable to conclude that it was customary at a poetic recitation, and perhaps especially in a contest, for the poet to preface his epic narrative with a hymn to whichever deity was appropriate to the place and circumstances of composition. It is sometimes assumed that such invocations were originally quite brief, and later were expanded into an epic narrative. But the contrary may equally well have been the case (cf. West on *Th.* 94–7). Expansion is a characteristic tendency of all epic traditions (and story-telling in general), but abbreviation is equally an epic technique (seen, for example, in the recapitulation of myths from earlier generations in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*).

The length of the major hymns has led some scholars to question whether they could have been intended as preludes to further recitation (cf. Allen and Halliday, xciv f.). This would seem to show neglect of the character of early epic, and the powers of endurance of its audience. The *Hymn to Demeter*, at least, gives no grounds for supposing that it was not composed by a poet using the same techniques of traditional oral poetry as Homer and Hesiod. One might therefore assume that the circumstances of composition were also traditional, although by this stage the exact sense of the closing formula (*Dem.* 495) was probably forgotten (cf. note ad loc.). In the hymns composed at a later period, and certainly those of post-classical date, the use of such formulae was probably only a literary device. But in the archaic period there is no reason to assume this.

## III. THE *HYMN TO DEMETER*: DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

This leads us to a consideration of when and where this *Hymn* was composed, and for what purpose. The style and language, as will be shown below, are not essentially different from those of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. To a large extent the formulaic language agrees with that of Homer, but there are also a noticeably large number of words and phrases which are paralleled first in Hesiod. In some cases the parallels actually suggest direct awareness of Hesiod's poetry, and although this cannot be proved, the cumulative effect is striking. There are also a few passages where it is possible that the poet has in mind a particular passage in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The *Hymn to Aphrodite* shares with the *Hymn to Demeter* certain phrases and words not found elsewhere in early epic. Here it is impossible to establish a definite precedence, but in the case of Homer and Hesiod the weight of evidence tends to suggest that the *Hymn to Demeter* was composed later than, and with an awareness of, at least the *Theogony*, and perhaps also the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[1]

The dating of these poems is a matter for debate. Recent scholarship, at least in England, has favoured the late eighth century for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[2] West has also argued for a date in the late eighth century for the *Theogony*, and would place the *Works and Days* not long afterwards (*Theogony*, pp. 40 ff.), although he regards Hesiod as prior to Homer.[3] These dates are useful as rough estimates only: obviously one is dealing here with a balance of probabilities.

More important perhaps is the occurrence of literary and artistic references to Homeric themes. The verses on the Ischia scyphos referring to 'the cup of Nestor' unfortunately do not prove anything about knowledge of our *Iliad*.[4] The sudden popularity of the Polyphemus episode after *c.* 680 (two proto-

[1] For an attempt to state a case against any dependence of this kind see J. A. Notopoulos, *AJP* 83 (1962), 337 ff. He is criticized by Kirk, *YCS* 20 (1966), 155 ff.

[2] e.g. Kirk, *Songs*, 282 ff., D. H. F. Gray, *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classica Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 29 f.

[3] For some recent criticism of this cf. Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 203 ff.

[4] Cf. Dihle, *Hermes* 97 (1969), 257 ff. For the view that they do see most recently K. Rüter, *Zeitschr. für Pap. u. Epigr.* 2 (1968), 231 ff., esp. 249 ff.

Attic examples, one proto-Argive, and one from Caere)[1] might be more significant, as it could suggest a recent literary version with wide appeal. But artistic fashion or other unknown factors may equally well be responsible. Trojan themes in general appear with certainty in art from *c.* 700 B.C., but no definite representation of a scene described in the *Iliad* appears before *c.* 625 B.C., and in Attica not before the second quarter of the sixth century. Such representations are not common in Attica until *c.* 550, and until *c.* 520 they are largely taken from the last part of the poem and continue to be relatively infrequent (cf. Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*, 25 ff., 46 ff., 85 ff., 223 ff.). Johansen concluded that the *Iliad* did not become well known and popular at Athens until the end of the sixth century, and that this was to be connected with the tradition about Hipparchus (Ps. Plat. *Hipparch.* 228 b; Johansen, 231 ff.). It seems clear that the poet of our *Hymn*, if not of necessity himself from Attica (cf. Introduction, 52 ff.: Atticisms), was at least intimately acquainted with Eleusis, its topography and ritual, and was probably composing for recitation to an Attic audience. If the vase-paintings could be treated as at all relevant, they might be thought to point towards the sixth rather than the seventh century for composition by a poet working in Attica.[2] But it is dangerous to argue from art to literature, and we must also remember that a professional bard's knowledge of Homeric and Hesiodic poetry must have been wider than that of other people. Probably, therefore, no definite conclusion as to *terminus post quem* can be drawn, although a date before the second quarter of the seventh century seems unlikely.

A *terminus ante quem* is also hard to establish with certainty. The *Hymn* does not mention Athens, and this has often been held to point to a date before Athens began to take control of the Mysteries.[3] According to tradition the incorporation of Eleusis into the Attic state belonged to the prehistoric period, but

[1] Cf. K. F. Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen, 1967), 34 f.; Kirk, o.c. 285.

[2] One might also note that Solon seems 'not to have made much use of Homer', as opposed to epic tradition in general, although he evidently knew the poems. Cf. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* (Cambridge, 1935), 78.

[3] Walton, however, argued that the silence was deliberate, the *Hymn* being an Eleusinian polemic against Athens soon after the Athenian take-over. Cf. *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 45 (1952), 114, and my notes on *Dem.* 126.

Eleusis was allowed to retain control of the Mysteries.[1] Modern scholars have a tendency to believe that Eleusis was not in fact incorporated until the end of the seventh century, or that it seceded and was then reconquered (cf. Allen and Halliday, 112 n. 1, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 63). There is no real evidence of this.[2] Equally, the fact that the Archon Basileus at Athens was in charge of administration of the Mysteries does not indicate that Athenian control antedates the creation of this office at the beginning of the seventh century. There is, however, some evidence that Athenian interest in the Mysteries first becomes significant and noticeable in the mid sixth century (see below).

Noack (*Eleusis*, 45 ff.) wished to date the *Hymn* before 600 B.C., on the grounds that it refers to a temple (270) but not a hall of initiation, and that such a hall was not built until the end of the seventh century. The *Hymn*'s silence on this point was taken to indicate its early date (cf. also Allen and Halliday, 111 f.).

This argument is refuted by Mylonas (*Eleusis*, 38 ff.). It is clear that the term νηός (or νεώς) was used in the classical period of the 'Telesterion' (as modern scholars call it). The *Hymn* could therefore refer to the building of the Archaic period, which Noack considered to be the first Telesterion. Recent excavation has also revealed a construction of the Mycenaean period on the same site, which the excavators believe to have been used for cult purposes, and this was apparently followed by an apsidal building of the Geometric period (Mylonas, 33 ff., 57 ff.). Despite the lack of positive evidence for the religious function of the Mycenaean building, and the rather slight evidence for a Geometric building, one evidently cannot date the νηός of the *Hymn* to any particular period, since it might refer equally to the Mycenaean, Geometric, or Archaic building (cf. Appendix I).

Arguments have also been drawn from the omission by the *Hymn* of certain features of Eleusinian cult and legend which

[1] Cf. Paus. 1. 38. 3 for this version. Elsewhere (1. 27. 4) Pausanias insists on the authenticity of his tradition as against others. Thucydides, however (2. 15), and Plutarch (*Thes.* 10. 3) date the political incorporation of Eleusis into Attica to the time of Theseus. Cf. also Philochorus, *FGH* 328. 107 (and Jacoby ad loc.), Andron, *FGH* 10. 14. There does not seem to have been any attempt to place the incorporation after the prehistoric period.

[2] The war in Hdt. 1. 30 is not necessarily against Eleusis, and cannot be dated. 'Laws of Solon', e.g. Andoc. *de Myst.* 111 and Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, no. 10, prove nothing. Cf. MacDowell on Andocides l.c.

were later prominent. Eumolpus, the eponym of the priestly *genos* Eumolpidae, is twice mentioned (153–5, 474–7), but his counterpart in later cult, Keryx, ancestor of the Kerykes, does not appear. The origin of this *genos* is obscure.[1] According to Pausanias (1. 38. 3) there were two versions of their genealogy, one making them descendants of Keryx son of Eumolpus, the other, which was that supported by the Kerykes themselves, deriving them from Hermes and Aglauros, the daughter of Cecrops. This second genealogy is the normal one, with variation of the name of the Cecropid (cf. *IG* xiv. 1389. 32–3, Poll. 8. 103, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 1. 334, Schol. Aeschin. 1. 20), and it has generally been assumed that the connection with Cecrops indicates an Athenian origin. This is supported by the fact that the *genos* played a part in a number of Athenian cults, which had no direct connection with Eleusis, i.e. the Dipoleia (cf. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 149 ff., *IG* i². 843A. 7, Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, *Supplément*, no. 2) and the cults of Delian and Pythian Apollo (Ath. 234 e, Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 141 ff.). The Kerykes provided not only the Keryx of the Mysteries, but also the Dadouchos, the priest second in importance to the Hierophant at Eleusis. Presumably he existed before Athens took over control of the cult, and he must have had a *genos*. Possibly there was a *genos* of Kerykes both at Eleusis and at Athens, and the two were merged after the Athenian take-over. But it still remains unclear why it should be the Keryx, rather than the Dadouchos, whose name was attached to the *genos*.

In any case, however, the absence of mention of a Keryx, amongst the other Eleusinian rulers in the *Hymn*, may well be significant, and is possibly an indication of composition before the period of Athenian control.

The *Hymn* does not mention the procession along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, or the eponym of this procession, Iacchus, whose name derived from the cry (ἰαχή) of the initiates during the journey. Herodotus (8. 65) implies that this was already an established procedure by 480 B.C. It has been suggested that Demeter's journey from Thoricos to Eleusis, in her 'false tale' (*Dem.* 126 ff.), must have taken her via Athens and

[1] Cf. Dittenberger, 'Die Eleusinischen Keryken', *Hermes* 20 (1885), 1–40; P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels, 1934), 819–34; Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 141 ff.; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 80 ff.

along the Sacred Way. But if this were intended by the poet the failure to mention Athens would be still more remarkable (cf. notes on *Dem.* 126). It seems more likely that the procession was not yet in existence.

It is also noticeable that Triptolemus, who is mentioned among the Eleusinian princes in *Dem.* 153 and 474, receives no special prominence. Later, the myth of his receipt of the gifts of corn and agriculture from Demeter, and his communication of these to the rest of mankind, became very popular in Attic art and literature. This theme first appears on Attic vases of the mid sixth century, and is particularly frequent in the first half of the fifth century. The *Hymn*, however, actually excludes this story, by presupposing that agriculture was already in existence before the Rape of Persephone (305 ff.: cf. notes ad loc.). The story was very probably much older than the *Hymn*, and there may be a reflection of it in *Dem.* 450 ff. and 470 ff. (cf. notes ad loc.). But the Mission of Triptolemus plays no part in the epic poet's account.

The last point of interest is the relative position of Celeus and Eumolpus. In the *Hymn* it seems to be implied, although it is nowhere explicitly stated, that Celeus has a leading position among the Eleusinian princes (cf. *Dem.* 97, 296 ff., 475, notes ad loc.). Later, he recedes into the background, and the leading position appears to be taken by Eumolpus. It has been argued that Eumolpus' leadership is already mentioned by Pindar, and that this tradition may derive from a sixth-century epic account of the descent of Heracles to Hades. Eumolpus appears with deities of Eleusis on an Attic vase of the early fifth century showing the Mission of Triptolemus, and his prominence was presumably established by that date (cf. notes on *Dem.* 154).

The growth of Athenian interest in Triptolemus (and perhaps also Eumolpus) *c.* 550 B.C. strongly suggests that control of the Mysteries was by then in Athenian hands. Confirmation seems to be provided by the archaeological evidence, which shows that the Telesterion at Eleusis was rebuilt on a much larger scale in the time of Pisistratus, the area of the Sanctuary was surrounded by a strong peribolos wall, and the city was also fortified.

Formerly, the approach to the Telesterion had been from the south, the side turned away from Athens, but now the main entrance to the Sanctuary was placed on the other side, towards

Athens. Beside this entrance was located the Callichoron well, whose stone construction is dated to this period, although the name presumably existed earlier, whether attached to this or another well (cf. Appendix I; Mylonas, 97 ff.). At this point the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis ended, and the sacred dances were held in a courtyard beside the well. All these indications suggest that the Pisistratean period marks the growth of Athenian interest in, and control over the Mysteries, and that the procession from Athens to Eleusis was either instituted, or perhaps established on a more regular basis, in this period (cf. Mylonas, 77 ff., 103 ff.).

At Athens the first temple on the site identified as that of the Eleusinion dates only from the beginning of the fifth century, or later (*c.* 490 B.C. according to H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 334 ff.), and the sacral inscriptions regulating sacrifices there are of the same period (*c.* 510–480 B.C.: L. H. Jeffery, *Hesperia* 17 (1948), 86 ff.). There are however some indications that a sanctuary may have existed previously on the site (Thompson, 338). The temple disturbs a massive retaining wall at its southern end, and this is dated by Travlos (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), s.v. Eleusinion) to the mid sixth century B.C. A number of figurines and small votive bowls were found to the east of the temple. More important is the fact that the sacral inscriptions, which refer to the Mysteries, the Kerykes, etc., are written *boustrophedon*, and this was abnormal after *c.* 530 B.C. Miss Jeffery argues that this was due to religious conservatism, and that the inscriptions represent the codification of earlier regulations. This would indicate a date for these of at latest the mid sixth century, and possibly earlier. They must represent what was later regarded as the Solonian code (cf. Andoc. *de Myst.* 111, Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, no. 10), although there are no grounds for supposing that they were drafted by Solon himself.

On balance, the view that the *Hymn* reflects a time before the growth of Athenian interest in the Mysteries seems reasonable, and we may therefore with some assurance assign a *terminus ante* of the mid sixth century. It is of course possible that this interest or control dates from the Solonian period, the time of the struggle for Salamis, and perhaps also of the building of the Archaic Telesterion. If this were the case, one would feel justified on

these grounds in raising the date to *c.* 600. But there is no positive evidence.

It might be thought that a poem which shows most of the characteristics of traditional oral epic (cf. Introduction V: Language, and Appendix II) is unlikely to belong to as late a period as the sixth century.[1] Unfortunately, the boundary area between oral and literary epic is too uncertain to allow any firm conclusion on this basis. It may, however, be worth stating a subjective opinion, which is that on grounds of style and language a seventh-century date seems to me definitely preferable to one in the sixth century. In terms of style the *Hymn* seems closer to the Delian *Hymn to Apollo*, to the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and to the poetry of Alcman, than to the second part of the Apollo hymn, for which a sixth-century date seems probable,[2] or to what survives of Stesichorus, for example. How subjective such opinions must be is obvious, especially as the dating of the other hymns is also uncertain. Perhaps one might quote the view of the *Hymn*'s first editor, Ruhnken. Commenting on the *νοῦς ἀρχαιοπινής* of the poem, which led him to date it soon after Homer, he said: 'hoc a peritis sentiri potest, imperitis quid sit explicari non potest.'

The circumstances of composition must now be considered. In later times there were hymns attributed to various authors, Olen, Pamphos, Orpheus, and Musaeus, which were explicitly designed for use as an accompaniment to the ritual of certain cults, e.g. the mystery cult of the Great Goddess (or Ge) at Phlya in Attica, which was administered by the Lycomidae (Paus. 1. 22. 7, 4. 1. 5, 7. 21. 9, 9. 27. 2, 29. 8, 30. 12), and the cults of Delos (Hdt. 4. 35, Paus. 1. 18. 5, 8. 21. 3). The hymns used by the Lycomidae may have been at least partly secret. Pausanias was allowed to read those to Eros, 'after conversation with a Dadouchos' (9. 27. 2), and he refuses to say anything about their content. These hymns included ones to Demeter, by Pamphos, Orpheus, and Musaeus, whose contents Pausanias does to some extent reveal (cf. Introduction XI, c: Orphic versions). Pamphos' hymn seems to have resembled the Homeric one in some respects, but the hymns of Orpheus were of a different

[1] But K. Stiewe, *Der Erzählungsstil des hom. Demeterhymnus* (Diss. Göttingen, 1954), 111 n. 2, apparently dates the *Hymn* to the early sixth century on stylistic grounds.

[2] *Ap.* 540 ff. indicates this, in my opinion.

character, very brief and of no great literary merit (Paus. 9. 30. 12). Cf. also Allen and Halliday, Introduction, lxxxiii–lxxxvii.

At some period before the first century B.C. the *Homeric Hymn* was taken over and attributed to Orpheus, parts of it being quoted in a papyrus of that date as the work of Orpheus (fr. 49 Kern; cf. Introduction VIII: Manuscript and Papyri). This shows that it may well have been reused in later times for various purposes, and recited at festivals of initiation, like the hymns referred to above. There is however nothing to indicate that it was originally intended for such a use, and the analogy of other Homeric hymns, with their references to poetic contests, and the public nature of the *Hymn* itself, suggest that it was originally composed for recitation at a public festival, and perhaps for a traditional epic contest. The most natural candidate for such an occasion would be the Eleusinian Games, which were celebrated in the first, second, and third year of each Olympiad, and whose existence is first attested *c.* 500 B.C. (*IG* i². 5; cf. Deubner, *AF* 91 f.). But there is no positive evidence to indicate this. Walton (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* 45 (1952), 109 n. 16) thought that the *Hymn* might have been recited at the *Βαλλητύς*, the festival in honour of Demophon whose foundation is ordained by Demeter in the *Hymn* (265–7: cf. notes ad loc.). Kern (*RE* 16. 1215. 12 f.) suggested that the *Βαλλητύς* formed the original core of the Eleusinian Games. This is an attractive theory, but it does seem that by the time of Athenaeus (406 d; cf. Hsch. s.v. *Βαλλητύς*, ad *Dem.* 265–7) the *Βαλλητύς* was a separate festival, which had remained purely local, in contrast to the Games whose importance grew under Athenian influence.

## IV. THE *HYMN* AND THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

'Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum'
(Symmachus, *Rel.* 3. 10)

### A. THEORIES OF ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MYSTERIES

The *Homeric Hymn* is the earliest literary evidence for the cult of Demeter at Eleusis, but it appears to represent in some respects a relatively developed stage in the history of the cult, and also

to have adapted some features of the myth to suit a traditional epic presentation. If we look for evidence of earlier stages of development, we must turn to archaeology, to other versions of the myth, and to the testimony of later writers concerning the ritual and its significance, and finally to comparison with similar religious phenomena in other societies.

The last method has in the past been widely used. The studies of Mannhardt, Frazer, Jane Harrison, and others did much to popularize an anthropological approach, which emphasized the analogies between Demeter and Core and the Corn-mother and Maiden who appeared in the harvest customs of many northern countries, and also the spirits or deities of crops in other societies throughout the world. A leading feature in many cases was the 'death' of the spirit of the corn, which could be identified with various points in the cycle of the crops, reaping, threshing, grinding, or sometimes the sowing of the seed, or a stage in the cycle of seasons, the disappearance of vegetation in winter, or the dry period of summer in hotter climates. The descent of Persephone to Hades was seen as analogous to those beliefs and customs. In ancient times the two goddesses were clearly recognized as deities of corn, and of vegetation in general, and the Rape and Return of Persephone were identified normally with the time of sowing in autumn and the growth of the crops in spring and early summer (cf. *Dem.* 401 ff. etc.), although Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 70) mentions a double interpretation of the Rape, as the disappearance of fruit from the trees and the sowing of seed. Recently another theory has been put forward (Cornford, Nilsson), which identifies the Rape with the time of harvest, when the seed-corn is stored in underground chambers, to be taken out again in autumn, after the dry summer months, and used for sowing (the Return). There is no evidence for this interpretation in ancient times, but it shows the variety of possible meanings to which the myth may give rise.[1]

Despite the widely differing character of many of the parallels adduced, this comparative method did serve to bring out very fully the agricultural nature and significance of the cult of Demeter and Persephone. Their festivals are linked to the important stages in the farmer's year, ploughing and sowing in autumn (Greater Mysteries, Proerosia, Thesmophoria), the first

[1] See notes to *Dem.* 399 ff.

growth in January (Haloa), spring (Chloa), and harvest-time (Calamaia?, Thalysia, *Κόρης Καταγωγή*, the threshing-floor of Triptolemus, Skira?). The question of Demeter's own original identity, whether as Earth-mother or Corn-mother, can hardly be solved by the etymological method (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 461 f.). But the division into two deities, Mother and Maiden, in character originally identical, and even in the classical period hardly separable (*τὼ θεώ*, *Δημήτερες*), is closely similar to that found in other societies, where they are sometimes identified as the corn of last year and this year, or as the young and fully grown crop. This is one way in which the division may be explained, but undoubtedly it does not exhaust its possible significance, and it should be remembered that Demeter herself was in ancient times sometimes seen as equivalent to the Earth, the 'Mother of All', more often as a separate deity, the goddess of corn, and sometimes also as the corn itself (Hdt. 7. 141, Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 66), just as Dionysus was sometimes wine itself. Core is reborn with the flowers in spring, but more widely she represents the spirit of youth and young growth, in mankind as well as plants, just as Demeter may represent the maturer stage of life (the two qualities of *χάρις* and *σεμνότης* perhaps: cf. Introduction VI: Style). Zuntz (*Persephone*, 100 f.) rightly insists that Demeter's gifts should not be restricted to corn or crops. She is the giver of all good things which the earth nourishes (cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 136).

These considerations in fact hint at a fundamental weakness in the earlier anthropological theories, with their concentration on 'primitive origins' and 'more advanced' or 'higher' religious ideas. Undoubtedly religions develop and change, and crude and simple beliefs and customs may form the basis for more complex or refined conceptions. But in the case of the Eleusinian Mysteries we are faced with an essential problem, how far their development can be divided into two separate stages, the agricultural and the personal (or 'eschatological'). Many scholars have assumed in the past that the origins of the Mysteries were to be found in a simple agricultural ritual, whose purpose was to assist or sanctify the growth of the crops, and that they only assumed a significance for the individual person by an analogical extension at a later stage. In Frazer's words (*GB*³, vii, p. 90) 'in the long course of religious evolution high moral and spiritual con-

ceptions were grafted on this simple original stock', and 'above all, the thought of the seed buried in the earth in order to spring up to new and higher life readily suggested a comparison with human destiny, and strengthened the hope that for man too the grave may be but the beginning of a better and happier existence in some brighter world unknown.' Frazer's fine words have been echoed many times since.[1]

We should remember here that we are dealing with speculation about a period for which there is no direct evidence. The *Homeric Hymn* quite plainly connects the two sides of the cult, linking the Return of Persephone and of life to the fields with the gift by Demeter of her ὄργια, and the two promises, of prosperity in this life, and happiness after death (471 ff., 480 ff., 486 ff.). These two aspects are always in later times inseparable, and there is nothing in ancient literature to suggest that one could exist without or before the other. If we turn to comparative evidence, we find examples of aetiological myths from other cultures which explain the origin of the fruits of the earth in terms of the death of a divine being (sometimes the first death on earth), who is also responsible for or connected with the introduction of agriculture and other arts, sacrifice, and the propagation of human life. The ceremonies associated with these myths govern not only the agricultural cycle but also the important stages in the life of the community, birth, marriage, and death, and the initiation of young men and girls into adult society.[2]

This association is not confined to so-called primitive societies, since it is seen also in the Indian mythology of the god Soma, who is god of vegetation and of life in general, and also the immortal drink of the gods, collected in the moon, and on earth the plant which men sacrifice to the gods and of which they also partake in order to gain immortality. The preparation of this drink is seen as the death of Soma. The Egyptian beliefs about Osiris and Isis also show this association between the deities of the corn and the after-life of men, who are identified with Osiris after death.

[1] Cf. Allen and Halliday, 118, F. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 97 ff., Ch. Picard, *Rev. Hist.* 166 (1931), ad fin., S. Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 133 ff., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i². 470, H. J. Rose, *Ancient Greek Religion* (Hutchinson, 1946), 73 f.; cf. also P. Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 445 ff.; but Rohde, *Psyche*, English translation, 223 ff., denied the possibility of analogical extension; and cf. P. Roussel, *BCH* 54 (1930), 72 n. 2.

[2] Cf. E. Jensen, *Das religiöse Weltbild einer frühen Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1948).

There is no indication here of two separate stages of development. One might sum up this theory of association by saying that the famous words in St. John's Gospel (12 : 24) about the 'corn of wheat' (cf. also 1 Cor. 15 : 36–8) represent not simply an elevated metaphor or analogy, but something fundamental to the beliefs about death of many peoples at all times in history.

This view also makes it easier for us to understand the awe-inspiring importance that was attached to the secrecy of the Mysteries (cf. notes to *Dem.* 478 f.). If they were originally simply agricultural, it is not easy to see how they could have acquired this aspect. We must remember that the goddesses of Eleusis were from the earliest recorded times regarded as awe-inspiring, dread powers of the Underworld (*σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε*, *Dem.* 486), of whose rites men were deeply afraid to speak. They had power over men on earth, to give and take away the means of life, and equally over what happened after death, when their favour was essential to ensure that 'a worse fate' should be averted.

A possible argument in favour of distinguishing two separate stages in the cult depends on the view that Persephone is a non-Greek goddess in origin, who was the ruler of the Underworld, whereas Core, as her name implies, is Greek, and originally an agricultural deity (cf. e.g. Zuntz, *Persephone*, 75 ff.). It may well be true that Persephone is not of Greek origin, as far as her name goes, and it is certainly the case that in Homer she appears only as queen of the dead. But if there was a fusion of cults, as seems possible, can one be sure that the local, non-Greek cult did not have a dual significance already, both agricultural and eschatological?[1]

Comparative theories, however, such as that outlined above, have their dangers. One must be careful not to exaggerate the importance of cults of initiation in ancient Greece, under the influence of parallels from other societies. The Mysteries retained throughout antiquity their local character, as the cult of Eleusis, although they spread abroad, first to Attica, and then the Greek world, finally to the wider sphere of Graeco-Roman civilization. They do not therefore occupy the central position in

[1] This is a possibility which is considered by Zuntz, o.c. 76 f., together with the second possibility, that the Greek Core could have been felt to have a connection with the Underworld before her fusion with Persephone.

Greek mythology and religion which the parallels from other cultures would seem to require.[1] Demeter and Core share many of their functions and aspects with other Greek deities, and this may be explained by the fragmentary way in which Greek religion developed. The *Homeric Hymn*, which follows the common epic traditions of Homer and Hesiod, must to some extent represent a compromise between local beliefs and the rather artificial synthesis found in the epics. This perhaps explains why, for example, the existence of agriculture is presupposed in the *Hymn*, although one seems to detect traces of the more fundamental belief, which associated the foundation of the Mysteries with the institution of agriculture (*Dem.* 471 ff.).

The parallels with the initiation ceremonies of other societies have been much emphasized by some scholars.[2] But initiations can be of widely differing types.[3] In the historical period the Eleusinian Mysteries were open to both sexes and apparently to all ages and they were also, unlike some initiations, not obligatory. There is no question of restriction either to one sex[4] or to certain age groups.[5] Nor do the Mysteries belong to the 'secret society' type of initiation, although they may originally have been the property of certain families or clans, and there was a later tradition (Plut. *Thes.* 33. 2) that Heracles and the Dioscuri were adopted as Athenian citizens before initiation, implying the exclusion at one period of *ξένοι* from the cult. The Mysteries in the *Hymn* are apparently open to the whole community of Eleusis (cf. *Dem.* 296 ff.?), and probably already to a wider public than this (*Dem.* 480). Whatever their origins, therefore, it would be quite wrong to interpret them solely in terms of a more restricted type of initiation, of young men and girls, of women, or of members of a special group.

[1] Even in the case of these parallel cults one must remember that not all the elements mentioned by Jensen are found together, and it may therefore be misleading to speak of a single 'Weltbild'.

[2] e.g. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939).

[3] For a good criticism of the work of Jeanmaire, Éliade, Thomson, and others cf. A. Brelich, 'Initiation et histoire', in *Initiation*, ed. Bleeker, Studies in the History of Religions, X (Leiden, 1965), 222 ff.

[4] Other festivals of Demeter have this character, and at some points in the Mystery ceremonies segregation perhaps occurred: cf. e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 444 ff.

[5] But the role of the ephebes was important, at least in the Roman period. Cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 274 f., who concludes that initiation before becoming an ephebe was normal practice.

The emphasis in the cult of Demeter and Core on the feminine aspect, the Mother and Daughter, their chthonic character and aspects as deities of fertility, led some scholars in the past to attach them to a presumed pre-Greek stage of culture, an indigenous 'Mediterranean' religion, contrasted with the supposedly northern emphasis on Olympian deities and a god of the sky. This rather crude dichotomy is now generally discredited, and one might observe the parallels from northern cultures for the Mother and Maiden of the corn, and the reasonable assumption that Demeter's name is not pre-Greek in origin. On the other hand tentative connections with Crete have been made.[1] The presumed existence of a cult at Eleusis in the Mycenaean period does not help to decide the issue, and our knowledge of Minoan and Mycenaean religion is still too scanty to enable a clear distinction to be drawn. The celebrated ivory group from Mycenae, showing two seated women and a child, was connected by Wace with Demeter and Persephone, but of course without literary evidence all names are speculative (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 51 f.). The tradition that the Ionians took with them to Asia Minor the cult and hereditary priesthood of Eleusinian Demeter (Hdt. 9. 9. 7, Str. 633) strongly supports the view that this cult was already widespread in Greece in the Mycenaean period. On the other hand, the later Attic legends of the introduction of the Mysteries to Attica in the reign of Pandion or Erechtheus (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 14, 41) can hardly be taken to prove that they were introduced in this period.

It may, however, be permissible to speculate about the manner in which a local cult and mythology of Demeter and Core developed at Eleusis. We find Core portrayed as leader of the nymphs, the daughters of Oceanus, who dwell in springs and grottoes, and who are connected as κουροτρόφοι with birth, growth, and marriage (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 244 ff.). Originally the worship of Core herself must have been closely associated with the spring (Callichoron, Parthenion, Anthion) and nearby cavern (Ploutonion) at Eleusis. In Syracuse she actually disappeared with Hades into the spring Cyane, and at Andania she appears to have been identified with the spring Hagne. At Agrae also we find the spring Callirhoe, and one might add the

[1] Cf. notes on *Dem.* 123; A. Pearson, *ARW* 21 (1922), 287 ff.: Ch. Picard, *RÉG* 40 (1927), 320 ff., *Rev. Arch.* 34 (1949), 122 ff. But see Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 16 ff.

proximity of Enneacrounos at Athens to the Eleusinion, and the sanctuary of the nymphs in Phaleron, near the River Cephisus, where a relief was found showing the Rape of Basile by Echelos, dedicated to Hermes and the nymphs, and a second dedication to nymphs, and other deities of rivers, springs, and child-birth (Nilsson, o.c. 248 f.). The myth of Hylas may also be compared. His disappearance into the spring, and the search for him, was commemorated in an annual festival. Likewise there was dancing in honour of the Charites at Orchomenus because they were thought to have been thrown into the spring while dancing round it. All these parallels suggest that the cult of Core grew up around the spring and grotto, together with the rock (*Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα*) on which Demeter sat beside Callichoron. The importance of Callichoron is indicated by Pausanias' statement that the women first danced and sang in honour of the goddess here (1. 38. 6). The names Callichoron, Parthenion, Anthion (cf. Appendix I) remind one of the lines in the *Hymn to Ge* (30. 14 ff.): *παρθενικαί τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὐφρονι θυμῷ | παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλθακὰ ποίης* (etc.). Anthion suggests a spring with flowers growing round it, and Callichoron and Parthenion suggest that choruses of girls (with flowers?) danced and sang around the spring in honour of Core, who was carried off from the chorus of flower-gathering nymphs, and whose Rape and Return with the spring flowers must have been celebrated here. Here too ceremonies connected with marriage and birth will have been celebrated (cf. Nilsson, o.c. 102 ff.). Above the spring an altar will have been built, and later a temple, where other, more sacred and secret rites might be celebrated (*Dem.* 270–2). The grotto was the place where Hades sprang to light, the *χάσμα γῆς* (cf. *Dem.* 16), or perhaps where he disappeared into the earth again, and here he was especially honoured. Another element was added in the theme of the search for Core, the grief and anger of the Mother, her withdrawal from the gods, and the famine caused by her wrath. This last motif is found also, in a similar form, in the Arcadian myth at Phigaleia (Paus. 8. 42). The theme of the famine due to the wrath of the goddess is a counterpart to the death of vegetation with the disappearance of Core, and both have their parallels in other cultures (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff.). Finally, the institution of the cult had to be explained, and this must have been due to Demeter herself, whose visit

to Eleusis during her search was rewarded by information from the inhabitants, in return for which she gave them her rites. The story of the nursing of Demophon probably arose as the *aition* for part of the ritual of initiation (see below).

Such speculation about origins and development must of its nature be somewhat sketchy and vague, and we must now turn to consideration of the evidence from the historical period for the nature of the Mysteries, and see what light the *Hymn* can shed on them, and how far the later evidence can illuminate the *Hymn* itself.

### B. THE HYMN, AND THE MYSTERIES IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

In the later historical period the Mysteries were divided into several stages. It is not certain how many there were, but Clement, in a passage about 'the mysteries in Greece',[1] speaks of a preliminary stage of purificatory rituals, followed by the Little (or Lesser) Mysteries, which formed a preparatory stage for what was to come, and these again followed by the Great Mysteries. The Lesser Mysteries were celebrated at Agrae, near the Ilissos in Athens in the month Anthesterion,[2] the Greater at Eleusis in Boedromion. Elsewhere initiation is divided into two grades, μύηcιc and ἐποπτεία.[3] We are also told that the ἐποπτεία was only open to those who had allowed a year to elapse after attending the Greater Mysteries.[4] This indicates two stages in the Greater Mysteries themselves, and suggests that the first was the μύηcιc.[5] It has, however, been argued[6] that μύηcιc refers to a preliminary ceremony. An important early-fifth-century inscription (*IG* i². 6 = Sokolowski, o.c. no. 3C) has been thought to indicate that μύηcιc was conducted individually, by members of the two *gene* of the Kerykes and Eumolpidae, and that it could take place either at Eleusis or at Athens. But the text is very uncertain at the crucial points, and it is possible to read it in such a way that there is no reference to individual μύηcιc, or to

[1] *Strom.* 5. 70. 7 p. 373. 23 Stählin.
[2] Schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c, Polyaen. 5. 17. 1, Deubner, *AF* 70.
[3] Cf. Plut. *Alc.* 22. 3, *IG* i². 6B. 4 ff. = Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, no. 3B. 4 ff., *Suda* s.v. ἐπόπται, etc.
[4] Plut. *Demetr.* 26. 2.
[5] This is explicitly stated in the *Suda*, l.c.
[6] Cf. P. Roussel, *BCH* 54 (1930), 51 ff.

initiation at Athens.[1] Two fourth-century inscriptions (*IG* ii². 1672. 207 and 1673. 24) refer to μύηcιc of public slaves, who were working in the sanctuary at Eleusis. The second cannot be used as evidence for the time and place, as it is not in chronological order. The first lists this item in the sixth prytany, between third Gamelion and eighth Anthesterion, and so cannot refer to the Greater Mysteries. It might, however, refer to initiation at the Lesser Mysteries in Anthesterion.[2] Alternatively, such μύηcιc of public slaves might constitute a special case, as an emergency measure.

In Aristophanes, *Pax* 374–5 Trygaeus asks to borrow three drachmae to buy a piglet, as he wishes to be initiated (μυηθῆναι) before he dies. It is not clear from this whether μύηcιc could take place at any time, nor how large a part of the whole process of initiation is involved, although if it is a necessary precaution before death it should involve more than a preliminary ceremony. One might note that the expenses of μύηcιc of a public slave in *IG* ii². 1672. 207 are 15 drachmae, a substantial sum.

In Ps. Dem. 59. 21 μυεῖν apparently refers, at least primarily, to paying the cost of μύηcιc for someone else, and this evidently took place at *the* Mysteries (cf. εἰc τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὰ μυcτήρια). In Andoc. *de Myst.* 132 the sense of the verb is uncertain (cf. MacDowell ad loc.), but it may refer to sponsoring non-Athenians for initiation (cf. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλουc ξένουc ἐμαυτοῦ).

The question of these various stages is important for the reconstruction of the cult, since there is considerable uncertainty as to the features which should be assigned to each stage. The series of stages implied for the classical period may not have existed when the *Hymn* was composed. The Lesser Mysteries were a separate festival, originally a local Athenian cult, and it became customary at some stage for mystery-goers to attend these as a preliminary to the Greater. The other stages may have evolved with the growth of numbers attending (cf. Nock, *Mnemosyne* 5 (1952), 179). But a twofold division, into μύηcιc and ἐποπτεία, seems likely to be an older feature. The *Hymn*

[1] On the second point, cf. Sokolowski's text at C39 ff. On the first, M. H. Jameson suggests that C16 ff. may refer to the expenses of initiation. At 22 it would be possible to read (e.g.) *Κέρυκαc δὲ μυ[ὲν τοcούτου* (i.e. *τοcούτου*)] *μύcταc hέκαcτον*, or instead of *τοcούτο* e.g. *κατὰ δύο* or *hεκατόν* (making *hέκαcτον* refer to the initiator).

[2] Cf. 1672. 204–5, referring to expenses for the Choes, which certainly occurred after the end of the sixth prytany, on twelfth Anthesterion.

does not shed light directly on this problem, but the ceremonies for which it provides the *aitia* in the narrative can, to some extent at least, be most plausibly assigned to the preliminary stages of initiation (i.e. fasting, running or dancing with torches, purification, drinking of the *cyceon*, *aischrologia*, and perhaps also the fire-ceremony), whereas the ὄργια whose secrecy is emphasized, and whose institution is twice referred to (273 f., 473 ff.), are never of course explicitly described, and it may be doubted whether their nature is more than hinted at in the narrative of the *Hymn*. Such parallels as may be detected with later evidence for the ceremonies in the Telesterion at Eleusis, are rather obscurely suggestive than truly enlightening.

That purification preceded initiation is indicated not only by the passage of Clement quoted above, but also by the myth of Heracles, who before initiation at Eleusis had to undergo purification from the murder of the Centaurs.[1] According to one version (Diod. 4. 14. 3) the Lesser Mysteries were instituted for this purpose. The purification of Heracles, by means of the Διὸς κώδιον, veil, and torch or λίκνον, is shown in art,[2] and the similarity of the scenes to that described in *Dem.* 192 ff. indicates that the *Hymn* is portraying the *aition* for this ritual (cf. notes ad loc.), and therefore that it was undergone by all candidates for initiation (and not simply Heracles as a specially polluted case).

In the same passage of the *Hymn* we find references to Demeter's fasting, and silent sorrow, until she is persuaded by the jesting of Iambe to laugh, and to break her fast by drinking a *cyceon*, that is, a mixture of barley and water flavoured with pennyroyal. The three elements of fasting, jesting (*aischrologia*), and drinking the *cyceon* all form part of the preparations for the Mysteries. In the classical period fasting was probably divided into two stages, partial abstention and strict (cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff.). The second stage may have lasted for a day only, and was concluded by drinking the *cyceon*. Both are attested by the Eleusinian σύνθημα, a 'token' by which the initiate proclaimed that he had performed the necessary preliminaries to initiation: ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα . . .[3] It is not known when this took place, but the *Hymn* seems to indicate that in the archaic period it was com-

[1] Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Plut. *Thes.* 30. 5, Diod. 4. 14. 3.
[2] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Figs. 83, 84.
[3] Clem. *Protr.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16. 18 Stählin; cf. Deubner, *AF* 79 ff.

bined with the ceremony of purification (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 208 ff.). Jesting, or *aischrologia*, whose origin at Eleusis is ascribed to Iambe, certainly took place in the classical period during the Iacchus procession from Athens to Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). It was, to some extent at least, probably in iambic verse. It may also have formed part of the *παννυχίc* which took place after the arrival at Eleusis, accompanied by dancing. Again, the *Hymn* connects it with drinking the *cyceon*, and this connection is brought out by other versions of the myth (cf. ad *Dem.* 192–211 : 3. Iambe).

The *cύνθημα* continues with a reference to a ritual involving the mystic *κίcτη* and *κάλαθοc*. It is not known what these contained, and the *Hymn* makes no reference to them.[1] In one of the scenes showing the purification of Heracles (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Fig. 84) Demeter is portrayed sitting on the *κίcτη* (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.), and this might perhaps hint at the connection of the purification ritual with the second part of the *cύνθημα*.

Fasting is also mentioned earlier in the *Hymn* (*Dem.* 47 ff.). Here it is connected with Demeter's search for Core. For nine days she fasts and abstains from washing, roaming over the earth with lighted torches in her hands. These features were presumably all reflected in the cult, although it is not certain exactly how or when (cf. notes on *Dem.* 47 ff., 59–61). This problem is connected with the wider one, of the nature of the 'mystic drama' enacted at Eleusis (see below).

One portrayal of the purification of Heracles also shows a priestess holding near to the veiled figure a lighted torch, lowered towards the ground (Mylonas, o.c. Fig. 84). This has been compared with another scene, on a fifth-century B.C. Attic relief, showing two women, one of whom holds out torches towards a seated child, and the two scenes may be linked by the story in the *Hymn* of Demeter's attempt to immortalize the child Demophon by placing him in the fire at night (*Dem.* 231 ff.). It is possible that this reflects part of the preliminary ritual of purification. The other features of Demeter's divine nursing (anointing with ambrosia, breathing on the child, and holding him in her

[1] If the ritual involved symbols of fertility, the omission may have been due to the epic poet's avoidance of *τὸ ἀπρεπές*. But other explanations have also been proposed. The whole ritual has sometimes been held to belong to the Alexandrian cult of Demeter, but the *κάλαθοc* is not necessarily foreign to Eleusis. Cf. Deubner, *AF* 79 n. 9; Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 659, and Nachträge to p. 657.

bosom) are not directly paralleled in known ritual from Eleusis, but they do have some similarities with features of later cults.[1] Demophon himself had a festival in his honour, which involved a mock battle (the *Βαλλητύς*), and he may even perhaps have been the original hero of the Eleusinian Games (cf. notes to *Dem.* 265–7). Demeter's attempt to immortalize him is unsuccessful, and she condemns mankind for the folly which has prevented her from helping them (cf. notes to 256 ff., also 147 f., 216 f.). But she promises to teach the Eleusinians her *ὄργια*, and orders them to build a temple (270–4). That is, she wished to save Demophon from death and old age, but was unable to do so because men were ignorant and blind. She could, however, give to the Eleusinians the means of obtaining a better fate after death, through her favour and that of Persephone, and the special knowledge which the Mysteries supplied. The assumption that the myth of Demophon refers primarily to part of the preliminary ritual is supported by its position in the poem. At the same time, a deeper significance has been seen in it, and Demophon has been considered as a form of the divine child whose birth was announced at the climax of the Mysteries, and as the model for the initiates, who were adopted as children by the divine nurses (*κουροτρόφοι*) Demeter and Persephone.

We must now consider the more general problem of the extent to which the myth related in the *Hymn*, of the rape of Persephone, Demeter's search, her visit to Eleusis, and the return of Persephone, was reflected in the ritual at Eleusis. (The Famine, an important episode in the *Hymn*, does not appear to have had any direct counterpart in ritual, and one may note its apparent exclusion from the Orphic versions.) The Christian Fathers[2] say that the rape and search, and Demeter's sorrow, were celebrated at Eleusis with torches during the night, and the ceremony closed with thanksgiving and tossing of torches. Gregory also mentions Celeus, Triptolemus, and the snakes, i.e. presumably his winged chariot, but in a general and vague way. That Demeter's visit to Eleusis was narrated at some stage in the secret ceremonies is also suggested by Isocrates (*Panegyr.* 28), who

[1] For a discussion of this whole episode, and its significance for the Mysteries, cf. notes to *Dem.* 231 ff.

[2] Clement, *Protr.* 2. 12. 2 p. 11. 20 St., Lactantius, *Inst. Epit.* 18. 7, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39. 4; cf. Deubner, *AF* 84 n. 8.

speaks of Demeter as being well disposed to the people of Attica 'because of benefits of which only the initiated may hear'.[1] The scholiast on Theocritus (2. 35/36b, p. 279. 7 Wend.) quotes Apollodorus (*FGH* 244. 110) for the sounding of a kind of gong by the hierophant 'when Core is being called upon' (*τῆς Κόρης ἐπικαλουμένης*: this is probably the correct sense). This suggests a ceremonial invocation. We also hear of 'sacred lamentations' in mysteries of Demeter and Core (Procl. *in Plat. Remp.* I p. 125. 20 Kroll).

These *testimonia* are of very general character and mostly late, and the nature of this 'sacred drama' has been much debated.[2] Wilamowitz (*Glaube*, ii. 473 f.) went so far as to deny its real existence at Eleusis.[3] He claimed that the use of the word *δρᾶμα* (by Clement) was purely metaphorical. Other scholars have accepted its reality, but differ as to what form it took. Any theory which assumes a full-scale dramatic representation inside the Telesterion is almost certainly wrong. The Telesterion was not equipped for such performances, nor for any form of simulated 'underworld-journey' (cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, 236 ff.). We may also doubt whether the initiates themselves participated to any great extent in the drama, as a passage of Plutarch (*περὶ ψυχῆς*, Loeb ed., fr. 178) has led some to suppose (cf. Mylonas, 262, 264 ff.). Elsewhere Plutarch (*Mor.* 81 e) would rather seem to deny such participation, and one can hardly believe that vast crowds, of perhaps thousands of initiates, roamed about the Sanctuary, searching for Core (as Mylonas suggests, 262 f.). It seems more likely that any enactment of the myth was purely formal, partly perhaps by means of dancing with torches (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 662 f., Farnell, *Cults*, 3. 182), such as we know took place during the *παννυχίς* after the arrival of the Iacchus procession.[4] The use of the gong on the other hand presumably occurred at another stage, perhaps within the Telesterion. We must freely admit that we do not know what happened here, but as has sometimes been observed, the analogy of Christian church

[1] Cf. XI, c: Orphic Versions. One may reasonably suppose that the Orphic versions are closer in some respects than the Homeric to the form taken by the secret ceremonies themselves.

[2] Cf. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 457 ff., O. Kern, *Die griech. Mysterien der class. Zeit*, 75 f., *RE* 16. 1241 ff., Farnell, *Cults*, 3. 173 ff., Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 85 f., Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 261 ff., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 662 f.

[3] Cf. Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 26 f., 116 ff., who refers it to Alexandria.

[4] The *taedarum iactatio* of Lactantius is reminiscent of Ar. *Ran.* 340 ff., Statius, *Silv.* 4. 8. 50 f. Cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff., 59–61.

ceremonies shows quite clearly that the spoken words of the priest, together with a few actions, the display of sacred objects, and something as simple as the sounding of a bell, are all that is needed to suggest to the worshipper the sense and significance of the sacred narrative. At Eleusis, likewise, the ceremony could be divided into *δρώμενα*, *δεικνύμενα*, and *λεγόμενα* (cf. ad *Dem.* 474–6).

These reflections have led us on to the central part of the Mysteries, the ceremonies within the hall of initiation of Eleusis. It has already been remarked that the *Hymn* itself naturally observes its own prescription of secrecy with regard to these *ὄργια σεμνά*.[1] It would therefore be out of place here to attempt a reconstruction of these, even were such reconstruction possible. Certain leading features may however be mentioned, since they have suggested parallels with the *Hymn*. These are:

(i) the symbolism of light and darkness;
(ii) the birth of a child;
(iii) the ear of corn.

The first of these is central to the Mysteries. Their final stage, the *ἐποπτεία*, was essentially a vision (cf. ad *Dem.* 480), and this was evidently accompanied by a great light, which is contrasted with the darkness which preceded at earlier stages of the ceremonies.[2] The light is a feature of all divine manifestations or revelations, and we find it already emphasized in the two epiphanies of Demeter in the *Hymn* (188–90, 275 ff.), together with other features which have their parallels in the Mysteries.[3] It is closely connected by the Gnostic source quoted by the Christian writer Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.* 5. 8 p. 96. 16 W.) with the second feature, the announcement by the hierophant at Eleusis during the night, accompanied by a great fire (*ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί*), of the birth of a divine child to the goddess, in the words *ἱερὸν ἔτεκε Πότνια Κοῦρον, Βριμὼ Βριμόν* (he explains the last words as *ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν*). The genuineness of this testimony is

[1] Cf. ad *Dem.* 478–9, and note the contrast drawn by Libanius and others, ad loc., between the preliminary rituals and general precepts, whose secrecy was not strict, and the secret elements.

[2] Cf. especially Hippol. l.c. below, Plut. fr. 178, Dio Chrys. 12. 33 p. 163. 24 Arn., Plut. *Mor.* 81 e, etc. Some of these do not refer specifically to Eleusis, but to mysteries in a general or vague sense. Cf. also Deubner, *AF* 87, P. Boyancé, *RÉG* 75 (1962), 460 ff.

[3] Cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90.

supported by Eur. *Supp.* 54 ἔτεκες καὶ σύ ποτ' ὦ πότνια κοῦρον which seems to echo the words, in an Eleusinian context.[1] The 'great fire' suggests the blaze of many torches at the climax of the ceremonies. This may be connected with the third element, the revelation to the ἐπόπται, in silence (cf. ad *Dem.* 478–9), of what is described by Hippolytus in the same passage (*Ref. Haer.* 5. 8. 39 p. 96. 10 W.) as τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστότατον καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον, an ear of reaped corn (τεθερισμένον στάχυν). Hippolytus adds that 'this is for the Athenians the great and perfect light.'

The divine child (Κοῦρος) born to the goddess (Πότνια) at Eleusis has no name, just as the leading deities of the cult were often nameless (Θεός and Θεά, τὼ Θεώ, Πότνιαι, Σεμναὶ Θεαί, Μήτηρ and Κόρη, etc.). But he may be variously identified.[2] In Hesiodic myth the child of Demeter is Ploutos, who is mentioned in the *Hymn* (489). He represents the wealth of the earth, and he is shown as a child holding a cornucopia on Eleusinian monuments. His birth is also shown, as that of a child seated on a cornucopia, being offered by the goddess Earth to the deities of Eleusis. The scene belongs to the same type as that of the birth of Erichthonius, who is the nursling and protégé of Athena, and the myth of Erichthonius, and its corresponding ritual, in turn offer interesting parallels with the story of Demophon (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.). Demophon is a form of the anonymous Θρεπτός of Eleusinian cult, later identified with Triptolemus (cf. ad *Dem.* 153, 234). We find here two separate notions, of the divine child of the goddess herself, and the child who is born of the Earth and entrusted to the care of the goddess, who is herself the κουροτρόφος. The two ideas seem to be fused, as the goddess adopts him as her own. Later we also find evidence for the identification of Iacchus, or Dionysus, with the child. This fusion is usually dated to the fourth century B.C., but it is probably considerably older.[3]

[1] Cf. also Deubner, *AF* 85 n. 4. The word-order of the formula suggests a kind of liturgical 'verse-form', such as one finds on some of the gold-leaf inscriptions. Cf. Zuntz, *Persephone*, 340 ff. for some significant parallels for such liturgical formulae.

[2] I do not discuss the question of a ἱερὸς γάμος at Eleusis, as the evidence is confused and probably impossible to disentangle. Cf. Nilsson, o.c. 661 f., who rules it out altogether; Deubner, *AF* 84 ff., who accepts it; Mylonas, *Eleusis* 310 ff., who refuses to believe anything told him by Christian writers.

[3] Cf. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 482, Farnell, *Cults* 3. 149, and notes to *Dem.* 489.

As the personification of the earth's produce, it might be reasonable to expect that Ploutos would be identified with, or represented by, the ear of corn which was shown to the initiates in the *ἐποπτεία*.[1] We have no proof that this was so: it remains a very natural supposition.

If we return to the first element mentioned above, the role of light in the Mysteries, we find striking testimonies to the actual identification of the divine child with the light itself (cf. ad *Dem.* 489). The clearest indication of this is the passage of Pindar (*Ol.* 2. 53 ff.) in which he begins his great exposition of the doctrines of reincarnation and life after death. Here *πλοῦτος*, or *Πλοῦτος*, is called *ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φέγγος*, in words whose similarity to those of St. John's Gospel (1 : 9) suggests that here also, as with the 'corn of wheat', we have to do with a very ancient symbolism.[2] The Pindaric passage may of course reflect other beliefs which are not originally the property of Eleusis, and cannot be taken as a direct reflection of the Mysteries, but the symbolism here expressed may ultimately derive from this source.

Pindar continues with the words *εἰ δέ νιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι θανόντων μὲν* . . . (leading on to his exposition of reincarnation). The pronoun (*νιν*) refers to *Πλοῦτος*: 'if one has this, and knows the future . . .' The emphasis on knowledge is fundamental to later references to the Mysteries (cf. especially Pindar's own words, fr. 137a Sn.), and explains why one finds the philosophers adopting so readily mystic terminology, the concept of knowledge as ultimately based on vision.[3] We find elsewhere the symbolism of *πλοῦτος*, light, and knowledge combined (cf. ad *Dem.* 480). The Mysteries are contrasted with the normal state of men, needy, blinded, and ignorant, unable to foresee the future or to avert the twin catastrophes of old age and death (*Dem.* 256 ff.; cf. ad loc.). This is the characteristic portrayal of the human lot, from Homer onwards. It is the gods who give and take away prosperity (*ὄλβος, πλοῦτος*) as they desire, and their condition of ageless immortality is contrasted with that of men. They live in

[1] Cf. Deubner, *AF* 85 f. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 662, denies this, as he does not consider that Ploutos belongs to the Mysteries, at least in the earlier historical period.

[2] Later we find Iacchus/Dionysus as the 'Star of the Mysteries'; cf. ad *Dem.* 489.

[3] Cf. ad *Dem.* 147 f., 480. *οἶδα* is of course the perfect corresponding to *εἶδον*. Likewise *μύστης* is 'one who shuts his eyes', as opposed to *ἐπόπτης*, and *μυέω* 'make someone shut his eyes'. Cf. Frisk, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *μύω*.

pure regions where the light always shines: no cloud of darkness disturbs their vision, and when they appear to men, they appear in a blaze of glorious light.

The Mysteries do not break down the barrier between gods and men: at least, in the classical period there does not seem to be any suggestion of this. Demophon does not gain immortality, but he does become the θρεπτός of the divine nurse, and men will receive the favour of the goddesses, if they will only perform the necessary sacrifices and pay them the gifts which are due (*Dem.* 273–4; cf. 367–9). How far ethical considerations enter into these requirements is not a subject on which the *Hymn* has anything to say: later we find a conflict over this question (cf. ad *Dem.* 367 ff.). The essentials are the divine favour, and the knowledge which the Mysteries conveyed.

On this last point we run against an insoluble problem. One may point to the symbolism of the ear of corn, promising rebirth for men as for the world of nature, and to the parallel of the myth of Core. (This sounds again like 'analogical extension', but it may go deeper than this.) One may, on the other hand, stress the elements of Eleusinian myth (Demophon, Iacchus?, Ploutos) which suggest the theme of adoption by the divine nurses. The words in which Sophocles refers to the Mysteries (*OC* 1050 ff.), οὗ Πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, with their strong Eleusinian colouring, seem to emphasize this aspect. Were the initiates adopted as children of Demeter (or Persephone)? Did the birth of Ploutos symbolize for them also a divine rebirth? Or were these ideas alien to the early stages, at least, of the cult? One must be wary of all interpretations in terms of symbolism, since these are bound to be indefinite. The essential for happiness was simply initiation. Some modern scholars go so far as to deny that there were really any secrets to be revealed behind the veil. On this theory, initiation was simply admission to membership of a club (secret society), which marked one off from other men. One may doubt whether such a 'reductionist' view will work. But early Greek religion, at least, is largely a matter of performance, and this was the basis of the Mysteries (ὄργια, δρησμοσύνη). Whatever was revealed, one is sure that it did not resemble in any way the kind of manual or guide-book to the after-life that we find in Egypt, or apparently in some later Greek cults. The important point was not so much *how* ὄλβος,

or a better fate, was to be given, but rather *that* it was promised. Beyond this point the *Hymn*, at any rate, will not allow us to advance.[1]

## V. LANGUAGE, AND RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER EARLY EPIC POETRY

A formulaic analysis of each line is given with the text, at the foot of each page. This shows the nearest equivalent words or phrases found in Homer, Hesiod, and other early epic (or elegy). An asterisk after the word indicates that it is found in the same metrical position. '(etc.)' after a word or reference indicates that other grammatical variants, of declension or conjugation, are found. 'etc.' after a reference indicates that there is more than one example of the same word or formula. ~ refers to other similar examples. The list does not claim to be complete, and where several examples of a formula exist, only one reference is normally given.[2]

The general conclusions to be drawn from such an analysis are bound to be to some extent subjective. It is clear that there are a considerable number of words and phrases which do not occur elsewhere in early epic. Equally, the great majority of expressions used do have definite parallels elsewhere. Of these, the greatest proportion are Homeric, but there are also a striking number of Hesiodic parallels. In addition, there are several parallels from other Homeric hymns, especially the longer ones, of which the

[1] This chapter is, of necessity, very summary, and it deals rather shortly with some important questions, e.g. as to the existence of the 'sacred birth' in the Eleusinian cult. Nor has the administrative side been covered. For the latter Foucart, *Les Mystères*, is important; cf. also Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 663 ff., Deubner, *AF* 70 ff., Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 229 ff., S. Dow, *HSCP* 48 (1937), 111 ff. The evidence relating to the Mysteries was first critically examined by C. A. Lobeck, in his great work *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg, 1829). Besides the works referred to, H. G. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleus. Kults* (Diss. Bonn, 1895), is important and valuable, and Nilsson's study, 'Die eleusinischen Gottheiten', *ARW* 32 (1935), 79 ff. = *Op. Sel.* ii. 542 ff., should be read. Cf. also Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* ii (1935), 182 ff., and *RE* 16. 1211 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hell.* ii. 42 ff.; and the articles of F. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 76 ff., S. Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 133 ff., 37 (1961), 72 ff. The study of Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 237 ff. and 287 ff., is worth reading, but confused over the relationship between Eleusis and Orphic poetry, as also over that of the Eleusinian Mysteries with other cults. Cf. the reviews of Mylonas's book by P. Boyancé, *RÉG* 75 (1962), 460 ff., and D. M. Lewis, *JHS* 83 (1963), 206.

[2] A list of parallels is also given in Bücheler's edition. My own has been compiled largely independently.

*Hymn to Aphrodite* presents the most striking resemblances. A few significant examples from other early epic fragments, and early elegy, have also been included.

There is little in the results to indicate whether the *Hymn* is the work of a 'genuine' oral poet, or rather a good literary imitation of the traditional style.[1] Some signs of awkwardness and abrupt transition exist, but these may as easily be due to the individual character of a single oral poet as to the use of writing. In fact, a literary poet might have avoided them. A number of formulaic doublets, especially of proper-name formulae, are found, and will be discussed below. Such doublets are found also in Homer, but to a lesser degree, and their spread might be regarded as the result of a decline in the oral tradition, owing to the influence of writing, which led to a loss of the strict *economy* of traditional oral poetry.[2] When looked at individually, however, they can usually be seen either to have been created for a special purpose or to have come about through a natural development, by adaptation of existing formulae.[3] On the other hand, the unusually high frequency of 'necessary' enjambement might be considered to suggest literary composition: on this, and some other classes of evidence, see Appendix II, where the question of 'oral' versus 'literary' origin is also reviewed.

The Homeric character of the *Hymn* might be taken simply as an indication that it is 'traditional' in style. However, there are some indications that the poet may have had actual passages from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in mind. In the case of Hesiod, the coincidences with certain passages, especially in the *Theogony*, are still more striking.

## A. HOMER

### 1. *Iliad*

The chief coincidences are with episodes in Books 15 and 22. The parallels are between *Dem.* 38 ff. and *Il.* 22. 401 ff., and

[1] That some early epic was of this second type is argued most recently by Kirk in *YCS* 20 (1966), 155–74.

[2] The whole question of doublets needs further examination: see L. E. Rossi, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* 223 (1971), 167 f., and the useful articles of B. Alexanderson, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 1 ff. (especially p. 43), and M. W. Edwards, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 1 ff. (especially p. 35).

[3] The influence of Hesiodic material here is sometimes noticeable, but it would be unwise to speak of the 'contamination' of separate streams in the epic tradition.

*Dem.* 170 ff. and *Il.* 15. 263 ff. (see notes ad locc.). In the first case, a number of independent phrases from the scene in which Andromache hears of Hector's death appear to be echoed in the passage where Demeter hears her daughter's cry. In the second, a famous traditional simile comparing Hector to a stall-fed horse (applied also to Paris in *Il.* 6. 506 ff.), is followed by another describing the Greeks harrying their prey. In the *Hymn*, elements of both similes have been incorporated into one. It is of course possible that the similes were juxtaposed in other epic poetry besides the *Iliad*. The coincidence, however, remains striking.[1]

Other notable parallels are between *Il.* 5. 364 ff. and *Dem.* 377 ff.; 18. 550 ff. and *Dem.* 455–6 (cf. also Hes. *Sc.* 288 ff.); and 24. 77 ff. and *Dem.* 317 ff.[2] These passages come from scenes which were popular in the archaic period.[3] But most of these resemblances with the *Hymn* may also be explained in terms of reuse of traditional material by separate poets.

2. *Odyssey*

The most important parallels are those between the scene of Demeter's encounter with the daughters of Celeus, followed by her reception at the palace (*Dem.* 98 ff.), and the scenes of meeting between Odysseus and Nausicaa (*Od.* 6. 149 ff.), his meeting with Athena and visit to Alcinous' palace (*Od.* 7. 18 ff.), and his meeting with Athena in *Od.* 13. 96 ff. Demeter's false story (*Dem.* 118 ff.) also resembles those of Odysseus (*Od.* 13. 253 ff., 14. 192 ff., 19. 165 ff.). These parallels are listed and discussed in the notes on *Dem.* 98 ff. (with Appendix III), and 120 ff. The traditional nature of these scenes is there illustrated. There are, however, some features which suggest possible imitation of the actual episodes in the *Odyssey*. The verbal echoes of *Od.* 13. 96–392 are numerous, and are given in full in Appendix III.

[1] The simile of the horse has several relatively 'late' linguistic features: cf. G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* (Cambridge, 1953), 27, 40, 63, 85 n. 2, 117.

[2] There are also some interesting parallels between *Iliad* 9 and the *Hymn*: *Il.* 9. 143–4 ~ *Dem.* 164–5 (141b ~ *Dem.* 450b); 9. 259–61, 496–7 ~ *Dem.* 82–3, 339b, 350–1; 9. 474 ~ *Dem.* 51; 9. 537–8 ~ *Dem.* 246+251 (see notes ad locc.). But *Iliad* 9 shows signs of remodelling (cf. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 297 ff.), and the speech containing Agamemnon's offer to Achilles may also be traditional (cf. M. D. Reeve, *CQ* 22 (1972), 1 f.).

[3] For the popularity of Books 5, 9, 18, 22, and 24 in archaic art see K. F. Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*, 244 ff.

Those of Odysseus' Cretan tales are also striking.[1] *Od.* 20. 122–54 is similar to *Dem.* 106, 285 ff., but here a 'typical scene' structure might be responsible for the parallels.[2]

The evidence is nowhere sufficient to constitute a certain case. There does, however, remain a distinct possibility that the poet already knew the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that certain of the most popular episodes, such as the Death of Hector in the *Iliad*, and Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa and arrival in Ithaca in the *Odyssey*, influenced him in his choice of language and narrative construction.[3]

### B. HESIOD[4]

#### 1. *Mythology*

The most notable parallel is the Catalogue of Oceanids in *Dem.* 418 ff., a 'shortened version' of that in Hes. *Th.* 349 ff., with some additions. The list may be a reminiscence of Hesiod. It may, however, equally well be traditional. A similar question arises in the case of the Nereids (*Il.* 18. 39 ff. ~ *Th.* 243 ff.).

The reference to the Rape of Persephone in Hes. *Th.* 913b–14 is also closely parallel to *Dem.* 2b–3. Here again, the lines may be traditional (cf. ad loc.). *Dem.* 18–19 may also have had a parallel (traditional probably) in the Hesiodic account of Apollo and Cyrene (cf. fr. 215, Pi. *P.* 9. 5–6, and notes to *Dem.* 19).

Hecate (*Dem.* 24 ff., 52 ff., 438 ff.) first appears in Hesiod (*Th.* 411–52), and so does Ploutos (*Th.* 969–74, *Dem.* 488–9). Their presence in the *Hymn* is, however, due to their role in Eleusinian myth, rather than to Hesiodic influence. The roles of Zeus and Gaea in the *Hymn* do not necessarily reflect Hesiodic influence, as has been thought. It is true that Zeus appears more remote in the *Hymn* than in Homer. He does not, for example, ever speak directly, although he sends four separate embassies. The Hesiodic Zeus is an august god, difficult to deceive, but there

[1] Cf. ad *Dem.* 120, 123, 125, 127 ff., 129, 132.

[2] Cf. ad *Dem.* 106, 285, 287, 289 f.

[3] It is, of course, theoretically possible that these parallels indicate imitation *of* rather than *by* the poet of the *Hymn*. But this seems unlikely.

[4] The Hesiodic character of the *Hymn* has been discussed and illustrated by C. A. Trypanis in *Athena* 48 (1938), 199–237. See also H. Fietkau, *De carminum Hesiodeorum atque hymnorum quattuor magnorum vocabulis non Homericis* (Königsberg, 1863); K. Francke, *De hymni in Cererem Homerici compositione, dictione, aetate* (Kiel, 1881); J. R. S. Sterrett, *Qua in re hymni homerici quinque maiores inter se differant antiquitate vel homeritate* (Boston, 1881).

is no very obvious point of contact with the *Hymn*. Likewise, Gaea's role (*Dem.* 9) as an active participant is similar to the one she plays in the *Theogony*, but is rather to be explained by the nature of the myth of Persephone. Demeter herself is more prominent in Hesiod than in Homer. But here also subject-matter accounts for this, and we need not assume a 'Hesiodic' as opposed to a 'Homeric' portrayal of the goddess.

In general, the *Hymn*'s treatment of the gods is grave and solemn, in contrast to the lighter tone of the hymns to *Hermes* and *Aphrodite*. This has been thought to reflect the Hesiodic attitude, which is reverential towards the gods (cf. Trypanis, o.c.), in contrast to the more sceptical, irreverent attitude of the Ionic poets. It should, however, be said that humorous treatment of religion is not always a sign of irreverence. On the contrary, laughter played an important part in many Greek cults (cf. notes on *Dem.* 192 ff., (3) Iambe), and the tone of epic varied from serious to comic according to its subject, Aphrodite being traditionally a target for comedy (like her counterpart Ishtar in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*), and Hermes a god of deceit, whereas Demeter and her daughter are essentially *σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε* (*Dem.* 486). Moreover, the distinction between humorous Ionic and serious mainland epic breaks down if the *Hymn to Hermes* belongs to the 'Hesiodic school' (cf. Allen and Halliday, 274 f.). We should be wary of such attempts at broad classification.

Mythology alone gives no very definite grounds for assuming Hesiodic influence. But the evidence of language and formulae is more significant.

2. *Language*

(*a*) The *Hymn* shares with Hesiodic poetry a number of *words* not found in Homer:

*Dem.* 2, 77 *τανίσφυρος* ~ *Th.* 364 etc.
3, 334, 441, 460 *βαρύκτυπος* ~ *Th.* 388 etc.
18, 32 *πολυώνυμος* ~ *Th.* 785
38 *ἠχέω* ~ *Th.* 42 etc. (*περιηχέω* Hom.)
83 *ἄπλητος* ~ *Th.* 153 etc.
87 *μεταναιετάω*(?) ~ *Th.* 401 (*μεταναιέτας*)
89 *τανύπτερος* ~ *Th.* 523 (*τανυπτέρυξ*, *τανυσίπτερος* Hom.)
103, 215, 473 *θεμιστοπόλος* ~ fr. 10. 1 etc.
109, 425 *ἐρόεις* ~ *Th.* 245 etc.

168, 223 *ζηλόω* ~ *Op.* 23 etc.
168, 223 *θρεπτήρια* ~ *Op.* 188 (*θρέπτρα* Hom.)
205 *ὀργή* ~ *Op.* 304 (but with different meaning?)
209 *γληχών* ~ fr. 70. 21
219 *ἄελπτος* ~ fr. 204. 95
240 *γονεύς* ~ *Op.* 235 etc.
258 *νήκεστος*(?) ~ *Op.* 283
272, 298 *κολωνός* ~ fr. 59. 2
279 *κατενήνοθε* ~ *Sc.* 269 (*ἐπενήνοθε* Hom.)
294 *εὐρυβίης* ~ *Th.* 931 (~239)
319, 360, 374, 442 *κυανόπεπλος* ~ *Th.* 406
352 *χαμαιγενής* ~ *Th.* 879
362 *δυσθυμαίνω* ~ *Sc.* 262 (*θυμαινέω*)
367 *ἀδικεῖν* ~ *Op.* 260 etc. (*ἄδικος*)
439 *ἀμφαγαπάω* ~ *Op.* 58 (*ἀμφαγαπάζω* Hom.)
450, 451, 469 *φερέσβιος* ~ *Th.* 693

(*b*) There are also some Homeric words whose *form or meaning* is different in Hesiod and the *Hymn* from Homer:

*Dem.* 50 *λουτροῖς* ~ *Op.* 753 (Hom. *λοετρά*)
56 (etc.) *Περσεφόνην* ~ *Th.* 913 (Hom. *Περσεφόνεια*)
144 *διδασκήσαιμι* (ex coni.) ~ *Op.* 64 (Hom. *ἐδίδαξε* etc.)
156 *πορσαίνουσιν* ~ fr. 43(a). 69 etc. (Hom. *πορσύνω*, v.l. *πορσαίνω*)
311 *γεράων* ~ *Th.* 393, 396 (Hom. only *γέρας*, *γέρα*)
327 *δίδον*, 437 *ἔδιδον* ~ *Op.* 139 (Hom. *δίδοσαν*)
328 (etc.) *τιμάς* ~ *Th.* 74 etc. (in Hom. always singular)
351 *παύσειεν* intrans. ~ *Sc.* 449 (in Hom. trans.; v.l. *Od.* 4. 659; but cf. ad loc.)
402 *θάλλει* pres. ~ *Op.* 173, 236 (Hom. *τέθηλε* etc.)
425 *δρέπομεν* active ~ *Th.* 31 v.l. (Hom. *δρεψάμεναι*)
458 *κεχάρηντο* ~ *Sc.* 65 (Hom. *κεχάροντο*)
459 *Ῥέη* ~ *Th.* 467 (Hom. *Ῥείη*, *Ῥέα*)

Note also 406 *ἐρέω* with synizesis ~ *Op.* 202 (Hom. *ἐρέω*).

(*c*) There are numerous *phrases and formulae* which have close parallels in Hesiod, but not in Homer:

*Dem.* 2b–3 ~ *Th.* 913–14 (cf. above: Mythology)
3b ~ *Th.* 388, *Op.* 79, *Sc.* 318 (name formula)
10–11 (8 *δόλον*), 403–4 ~ *Th.* 588–9
37 (*μέγαν νόον*) ~ *Th.* 37*

38a ~ *Th.* 835b
44b ~ *Op.* 10* (This is a doublet of a Hom. formula)
49–50a ~ *Th.* 796–7 (798a ~ *D.* 285)
60, 75a ~ *Th.* 625, 634 (name formula)
(85b ~ *Op.* 74*)
85–6 ~ *Th.* 424–5
98–100 (ἕζετο δ' . . . ἐν σκίῃ) ~ *Op.* 593
103, 215, 473b ~ frr. 10. 1, ? 9. 1, PSI 6. 722. 1
108 ~ fr. 26. 6
110 ~ *Th.* 79, 361 (349–61 ~ *D.* 418–23)
144 (ἔργα διδασκήσαιμι) ~ *Op.* 64
168b, 223b ~ *Op.* 188b*
179, 292 (κυδρὴν θεόν) ~ *Th.* 442*
182 (κατὰ κρῆθεν κεκαλυμμένη), 197b ~ *Th.* 574–5, *Sc.* 7*
182b–3 (ῥαδινοῖσι . . . ποσσίν) ~ *Th.* 194b–5a
203 (παρὰ . . . ἐτρέψατο) ~ *Th.* 103
(203b), 439b ~ *Op.* 465*
204b ~ *Op.* 340 (336–8 ~ *D.* 368–9)
209b ~ fr. 70. 21*
217b ~ *Op.* 815*
224, 307, 384, 470b = *Op.* 300b (301 ~ *D.* 374) (name formula)
258b ~ *Op.* 283b*
269 ~ *Th.* 871, *Op.* 822
274, 368–9 ~ *Th.* 417, *Op.* 336–8 (340 ~ *D.* 204b)
276b ~ *Th.* 583b, *Sc.* 7–8
276–9 ~ fr. 43(a). 73–4
279b = *Sc.* 269b (269a ~ *D.* 452?)
285 (εὐστρώτων λεχέων) ~ *Th.* 798 (796–7 ~ *D.* 49–50, 802 ff. ~ *D.* 354–5)
303b ~ *Th.* 813b*
310 ~ *Op.* 180 (310b = *Op.* 180b)
311b (γεράων . . . τιμήν) ~ *Th.* 393, 396, 426–7
315b ~ *Th.* 908b* (cf. frr. 25. 39, 136. 2)
334b–5a ~ *Th.* 514b–15a*
343a ~ *Op.* 501a*
352b = *Th.* 879b (doublet of Hom. formula)
358 (Διὸς βασιλῆος) ~ *Th.* 886, 923, *Op.* 668, fr. 308 (name formula)
360–1 . . . κυανόπεπλον, | ἤπιον . . . ~ *Th.* 406–7 κυανόπεπλον . . . | ἤπιον* . . . (of Leto: cf. West ad loc.)

367–9 ~ *Op.* 334, 336–8 (cf. ad loc.)
374 (*αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι*) ~ *Op.* 300–1 (~ *D.* 224 etc.)
403–4 (*δόλῳ*) ~ *Th.* 588–9 (~ *D.* 8–11), 500
414b ~ *Th.* 572 = *Op.* 71
418–23 ~ *Th.* 349 ff. (Mythology: cf. ad *D.* 417–24)
418 ~ frr. 291. 3?, 169. 1
419 *Μελίτη* ~ *Th.* 247; *Th.* 361 ~ *D.* 110
424a ~ *Th.* 925* (*ἐγρεκυδοιμόν*) (name formula)
439b ~ *Op.* 465b* (name formula)
440a (*ἐκ τοῦ*) ~ *Th.* 556a*
450–2 (*οὔθαρ ἀρούρης | τὸ πρίν . . . ἔκευθε . . .*) ~ *Th.* 505
456a ~ *Sc.* 290a* (456b ~ *Sc.* 291a, *Il.* 18. 553b*)
486b–7a ~ *Th.* 96–7

(*d*) A number of formulae and phrases have parallels in Hesiod which are themselves *adaptations* of Homeric expressions:

*Dem.* 7a ~ *Th.* 279 (~ *Od.* 5. 72)
11b, 403b *θνητοῖς* (*τ'*) *ἀνθρώποις* ~ fr. 1. 7 *καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις** (1. 7a ~ *D.* 11a). *Th.* 296 etc. *θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις* at beginning of verse ~ *Il.* 14. 199 *θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους** (~ *Od.* 7. 210 etc.). *ἀνθρώποις* in Homer comes at the beginning of the verse (*Od.*, 3 times). Cf. *Dem.* 306, 489 *ἀνθρώποις* in second–third feet ~ *Th.* 296 etc.
33b = *Th.* 470b (~ *Il.* 5. 769 etc., *Il.* 14. 174 etc., 15. 371 etc.)
79b ~ *Th.* 921* etc. (frequent in Ps. Hesiod) (~ *Il.* 3. 53, 14. 268, 3. 138)
88b–9a = *Sc.* 341–2 (~ *Il.* 17. 457–8 etc.)
135b–6a ~ *Op.* 81–2 (~ *Il.* 1. 18 ff. etc.)
145a (*φῆ ῥα*) ~ *Th.* 550* (~ *Il.* 21. 361, 3. 355 etc.)
151b–2a ~ *Sc.* 105 ( ~ *Il.* 16. 100 etc., *Od.* 6. 265, *Il.* 16. 542)
152b ~ *Th.* 86a, *Op.* 36a (~ *Il.* 18. 508, 23. 579 f.)
182 (*κατὰ κρῆθεν*) ~ *Sc.* 7* (*ἀπὸ κρῆθεν*) (~ *Il.* 16. 548 etc. *κατὰ κρῆθεν*)
203b *πότνιαν ἀγνήν* ~ *Th.* 11 *πότνιαν Ἥρην** (in Homer always *πότνια*, nominative or vocative, in fifth foot). *Dem.* 54 *πότνια* (at beginning of verse) ~ *Th.* 926 *πότνιαν** (name formula)
276 (*περί τ' ἀμφί τε*) ~ *Th.* 848* (~ *Il.* 17. 760, in another position in verse)
277b ~ *Th.* 557b* (~ *Il.* 8. 48 etc.)
278b ~ *Th.* 191 (~ *Il.* 14. 177, 17. 571)

287b = *Th.* 3* (~ *Il.* 19. 92)
296b ~ *Sc.* 472 (~ *Il.* 24. 776)
311a ~ *Sc.* 43*a** (~ *Il.* 13. 667)
336b ~ *Th.* 90b* (~ *Od.* 10. 70, *Il.* 24. 771)
347 ~ *Th.* 850 (~ *Il.* 15. 188, *Od.* 11. 491) (name formula)
397b ~ *Th.* 415 (~ *Il.* 24. 533), 499 (and *Hymns*)
482b ~ *Th.* 729–31a *ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι . . . χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι* ~ *Il.* 23. 51 *ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα* (~ 21. 56 etc. *ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος*), and *Od.* 10. 512, 23. 322 *Ἀίδεω δόμον εὐρώεντα* (the dative formula is not found in Homer).

Particular interest attaches to those formulae in the above lists which are for names, and these will be discussed below. Formulaic doublets will also be considered separately. Many of the formulae listed could be traditional, and some are found elsewhere (in the *Hymns*, *Cypria*, etc.). A few passages do however look as if they might be definite echoes of passages in Hesiod:

(i) *Rape of Persephone*

*Dem.* 2b–3 ~ *Th.* 913–14 (But see above, Mythology, and on *Dem.* 1–18.)

(ii) *Pandora*

*Dem.* 8–11 *νάρκισσόν θ' ὃν φῦσε δόλον . . .*
*θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τότε πᾶσιν ἰδέσθαι*
*ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις*

*Dem.* 403–4 *αὖτις ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις.*
*καὶ τίνι σ' ἐξαπάτησε δόλῳ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων;*

~ *Th.* 588–9 *θαῦμα δ' ἔχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους*
*ὡς εἶδον δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισιν.*

The first and third passages refer to a 'snare' set by the gods (*δόλος*) which causes gods and men alike to wonder. But in the second passage there is no connection between the two lines, except perhaps one of verbal association from the other passages. (The abrupt transition led earlier editors to assume a lacuna. But see notes ad loc.) The coincidence of language between the three passages is notable. In the same episode (*Creation of Woman*) in Hesiod note *Th.* 572b ~ *Dem.* 414b, *Th.* 574–5 ~ *Dem.* 182, 197, *Th.* 580 (*χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί*) ~ *Dem.* 9*, *Th.* 583b ~ *Dem.* 276 (and perhaps 577 ~ *Dem.* 417: West ad loc.).

Hesiod repeats the story in *Op.* 47 ff., and here too there are echoes in the *Hymn*:

*Op.* 58 ἀμφαγαπῶντες ~ *Dem.* 439 (ἀμφαγάπησε)
64a ἔργα διδασκῆσαι ~ *Dem.* 144? (ἔργα διδασκήσαιμι?)
74b ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε ~ *Dem.* 85b ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμήν*
(75b ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι ~ *Dem.* 401 ἄνθεσι . . . ἠαρινοῖσι ~ *Il.* 2. 89, *Th.* 279, *Cypr.* 4. 2)
79 Διὸς βουλῇσι βαρυκτύπου ~ *Dem.* 3, 334, 441, 460 βαρύκτυπος . . . Ζεύς+*Dem.* 9 Διὸς βουλῇσι* (~ *Il.* 13. 254*)
81–2 πάντες 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | δῶρον ἐδώρησαν . . . ~ *Dem.* 135–6 πάντες 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | δοῖεν . . .
(Note also *Op.* 71–2 = *Th.* 572–3, *Op.* 83 δόλον.)

(iii) *Hecate* (*Th.* 404 ff.)

The prominence of Hecate in the *Hymn* might lead one to look for parallels with Hesiod's description of her. It is therefore interesting to find a probable echo at the opening of the passage, in the lines about Leto (*Th.* 406–7 ~ *Dem.* 360–1 : see above). The coincidence of the two epithets in Hesiod may have suggested the second in the *Hymn.* Possible echoes of the Hecate passage itself are (besides 409 Πέρσης ~ *Dem.* 24):

*Th.* 415 and 449 ~ *Dem.* 339
417 (and *Op.* 336–8) ~ *Dem.* 274, 368–9
419 (ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς) ~ *Dem.* 226
424–5 ~ *Dem.* 85b–6 (87 ~ *Th.* 401 μεταναιέτας)
426–7 (and 393, 396) ~ 311a
442 (κυδρὴ θεός) ~ 179, 292

(iv) *The Muses* (*Th.* 75 ff.)

*Th.* 79 (~ 361) ~ *Dem.* 110
86a (and *Op.* 36) ~ 152 (ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν)
90b μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν ~ 336
92 αἰδοῖ . . . μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ~ 214 ἐπί τοι πρέπει . . . αἰδώς
96–7 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι | φίλωνται ~ 486–7 μέγ' ὄλβιος, ὅντιν' ἐκεῖναι | προφρονέως φίλωνται
103 παρέτραπε (of diverting from grief) ~ 203 παρὰ . . . ἐτρέψατο
107–10 ἁλμυρὸς . . . Πόντος | . . . καὶ γαῖα . . . καὶ πόντος οἴδματι θύων | . . . καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν (~ 839–41) ~ *Dem.* 13–14

(v) *Aphrodite's birth* (*Th.* 188 ff.)

*Th.* 191 ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροός ~ *Dem.* 278 ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο
194–5 ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη | ποccὶν ὑπὸ ῥαδινοῖcιν ~ 182–3 ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλοc . . . ῥαδινοῖcι . . . ποccίν

(vi) *Styx* (*Th.* 775 ff.)

*Th.* 777 νόcφιν δὲ θεῶν (~ 813 θεῶν ἔκτοcθεν ἁπάντων) ~ *Dem.* 303 μακάρων ἀπὸ νόcφιν ἁπάντων
785 πολυώνυμον ~ *Dem.* 18, 32
796–7 οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροcίης καὶ νέκταροc ἔρχεται ἆccον | βρώcιοc . . . ~ *Dem.* 49–50 οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροcίης καὶ νεκταροc ἡδυπότοιο | πάccατ' . . .
798 cτρωτοῖc ἐν λεχέεccι ~ *Dem.* 285 ἀπ' εὐcτρώτων λεχέων
(800–4 εἰνάετεc δὲ θεῶν ἀπαμείρεται . . .
οὐδέ ποτ' ἐc βουλὴν ἐπιμίcγεται . . .
ἐννέα πάντ' ἔτεα· δεκάτῳ δ' ἐπιμίcγεται αὖτιc . . .
~ *Dem.* 354–5 οὐδὲ θεοῖcι | μίcγεται, ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε)

(vii) *Typhoeus* (*Th.* 820 ff.)

*Th.* 835 ὑπὸ δ' ἤχεεν οὔρεα μακρά (~ 42) ~ *Dem.* 38 ἤχηcαν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαί
836–8 καί νύ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον . . .
καί κεν . . .
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόηcε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε . . .
~ *Dem.* 310–3 καί νύ κε πάμπαν ὄλεccε . . .
καὶ . . .
εἰ μὴ Ζεὺc ἐνόηcεν . . .
(839–41 ~ *Dem.* 13–4: cf. sup.)
848 περί τ' ἀμφί τε ~ *Dem.* 276*
850 τρέε δ' Ἄίδηc ἐνεροῖcι καταφθιμένοιcιν ἀνάccων ~ *Dem.* 347 Ἄιδη . . . καταφθιμένοιcιν ἀνάccων
(867 πυρὸc μένει v.l. ~ *Dem.* 239*)
871 οἵ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν . . . θνητοῖc μέγ' ὄνειαρ (~ *Op.* 822) ~ *Dem.* 268–9 μέγιcτον | ἀθανάτοιc θνητοῖcί τ' ὄνεαρ
879 χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων ~ *Dem.* 352*

It is interesting that, as in the case of Homer, all these episodes in the *Theogony* are ones which may well have become popular from an early date. Equally, several of them may have been traditional, and well known before Hesiod wrote his poem. This

may have been true of Aphrodite, Styx, and Typhoeus, all of whose myths are clearly very old. But it is less likely in the case of the Muses and Hecate, both of whom receive special 'hymns' from the poet. It is even possible that these were composed specially to fit the occasion of the first recitation of the *Theogony* (cf. West, Introduction, 44–5), and it is fairly certain that we have the poet himself speaking.[1] In the case of the Oceanids, and the lines summarizing the Rape of Persephone, there are some indications that the material may be traditional. But if the poet of the *Hymn* knew parts of the *Theogony*, he surely knew it all, and we should not be surprised if he knew the *Works and Days* also. The relationship with Pseudo-Hesiod, most of which in its final form seems to be of sixth-century date, is more problematical, and must remain an open question. The *Hymn* has some formulae which seem peculiar to the *Catalogue*, and common there: e.g. *Dem.* 315 πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν ~ *Th.* 908, and similarly frr. 25. 39, 136. 2; 79 θαλερὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν ~ *Th.* 921, etc., West, p. 398; 103 (~215, 473) θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων ~ frr. 10. 1, 9. 1 (?), PSI 6. 722. 1. There are also one or two unusual expressions which coincide, notably *Dem.* 209 γληχῶνι τερείνῃ ~ fr. 70. 21*. But it would seem impossible to establish any precedence.

3. *Style*

Finally, the style of the *Hymn* resembles that of Hesiod in certain important features, all of which concern the conventions governing epic speeches:

(*a*) Some speeches (but not all) are short: *Dem.* 54–8, 248–9, 321–3. These are rare in Homer, but normal in Hesiod (West, p. 74).

(*b*) Zeus sends four sets of messengers, without a single direct speech (314 ff., 325 ff., 334 ff., 441 ff.). This avoidance of direct speech is abnormal in Homer, but occurs in Hesiod (*Th.* 392 ff., *Op.* 60 ff.).

(*c*) After indirect speech, ὣς ἔφατο is twice used (316, 448), as if a speech had preceded. This is only used in Homer when one speech is reported inside another. Cf. *Op.* 69.

[1] Cf. West, p. 32 and note to *Th.* 76, suggesting that the Muses' names were invented by him, and pp. 276 ff., on Hesiod's family as devotees of Hecate.

C. HYMN TO APHRODITE

The relationship between the two hymns has been discussed most recently by E. Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnus, Aeneas und Homer* (Göttingen, 1965), 38 ff.

The parallels which I have noted are:

*Dem.* 5 *κούρηϲι . . . βαθυκόλποιϲ* (nymphs) ~ *Aph.* 257 *νύμφαι . . . βαθύκολποι*. In Homer the epithet is only used of Trojan women (3 times)

8 *καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ* } ~ *Aph.* 284 *νύμφηϲ καλυκώπιδοϲ* (not
420 *Ὠκυρόη καλυκῶπιϲ* } in Homer or Hesiod)

22–3 } ~ *Aph.* 2 ff., also *Herm.* 143–5 (but this is a parallel of
44–6 } form of expression, not of language)

83–4 *οὔ τοι ἀεικὴϲ | γαμβρὸϲ . . . Ἀϊδωνεύϲ* (~ 363) ~ *Aph.* 136 *οὔ cφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸϲ ἔccομαι, ἀλλ' ἐϊκυῖα*

145–6 *παρθένοϲ ἀδμὴϲ*
*Καλλιδίκη . . . εἶδοϲ ἀρίcτη*
~ *Aph.* 82 *παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθοϲ καὶ εἶδοϲ ὁμοίη*

159b *δὴ γὰρ θεοεικελόϲ ἐccι* ~ *Aph.* 279b *μάλα γὰρ θεοεικελοϲ ἔcται*

188–9 *ἣ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποcί, καί ῥα μελάθρου*
*κῦρε κάρη, πλῆcεν δὲ θύραϲ cέλαοϲ θείοιο*
~ *Aph.* 173–5 *ἔcτη ἄρα κλιcίῃ, εὐποιήτοιο μελάθρου*
*κῦρε κάρη, κάλλοϲ δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν*
*ἄμβροτον . . .*

194b = *Aph.* 156b *κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦca*

268–9 *εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχοϲ, ἥ τε μέγιcτον*
*ἀθανάτοιϲ θνητοῖcί τ' ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται*
~ *Aph.* 31–2 *πᾶcιν δ' ἐν νηοῖϲι θεῶν τιμάοχόϲ ἐcτι,*
*καὶ παρὰ πᾶcι βροτοῖcι θεῶν πρέcβειρα τέτυκται*

285 *ἀπ' εὐcτρώτων λεχέων* ~ *Aph.* 157 *ἐϲ λέχοϲ εὔcτρωτον* (~ Hes. *Th.* 798)

(352b = *Aph.* 108b = Hes. *Th.* 879b *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων*)

355 *θυώδεοϲ ἔνδοθι νηοῦ* } ~ *Aph.* 58 *θυώδεα νηόν*
385 *νηοῖο . . . θυώδεοϲ* }

397 *πάντεccι τετιμ[ένη ἀθανάτοι]cιν*+403 *αὖτιϲ ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖϲ θνητοῖϲ τ' ἀνθρώποιϲ* ~ *Aph.* 205 *θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεccι τετιμένοϲ ἀθανάτοιcι* (~ Hes. *Th.* 415, 449, 588).

Of these, the most important are *Dem.* 188–9, 194b, and 285, which are all paralleled in the same part of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and *Dem.* 268–9. These passages are discussed in the notes (188–9, 269), and it is suggested that the *Hymn to Demeter* may have been influenced by the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, although this is by no means certain. Heitsch comes to the same conclusion, but some of his stylistic arguments seem unconvincing.

The *Hymn to Aphrodite* has always been regarded as closest in style and language to Homer, and is often thought to be one of the earliest of the *Homeric Hymns*. (The second hypothesis of course does not necessarily follow from the first.) It shows several Hesiodic features, but to a lesser degree than the *Hymn to Demeter* (cf. Allen and Halliday, p. 350, and notes, Heitsch, o.c. 19 ff.).

If it were later than Homer's and Hesiod's poems, and earlier than *Demeter*, this would tend to lower the *terminus post* for the latter to some extent. But the ground seems too uncertain for building any sure theory.[1]

### D. LANGUAGE PECULIAR TO THE *HYMN TO DEMETER*[2]

Many words and forms are found in the *Hymn* which do not occur in Homer, Hesiod, or other early epic (*Hymns*, *Cycle*, inscriptions, etc.).

*(a) Words*

(* before line reference indicates words not found elsewhere in Greek)

1, 478, 486 σεμνός (Cf. *Hy.* 30. 16, which is probably influenced by *Dem.*, and of a later period; Solon etc.)

6 ῥόδον (Hom. ῥοδόεις etc.; Sappho, etc.)

7 ἀγαλλίς (late Greek)

9 πολυδέκτης (Elsewhere only Cornut. 35, perhaps quoting from *Dem.* Cf. ad loc.)

[1] See however Heitsch, o.c. 19–38. He considers that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is later than Homer (main part of *Iliad*) and Hesiod, and dates it to the second half of the seventh century (p. 112). Cf. also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 39 ff., arguing for imitation of the *Iliad* by this *Hymn*, and supporting a similar date; and J. C. Kamerbeek, *Mnem.* 20 (1967), 385 ff., who also considers the *Hymn* later than the *Iliad*, and very probably a literary composition (p. 389). F. Solmsen, *Hermes* 88 (1960), 1 ff., considers that *Aph.* 7–44 shows Hesiodic influence.

[2] Cf. O. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, with Forderer's review, *Gnomon* 30 (1958), 94 ff.; and see also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, chapters I and IV, which contain many useful observations on language and formulae.

10 *θαυμαστός* (Archilochus, Theognis etc.)
17, 31, 404, 430 *πολυδέγμων* (Hellenistic and late Greek)
*31, 84, 376 *πολυσημάντωρ*
51 *φαινόλις* (Sappho, Moschus)
*54, 192, 492 *ὡρηφόρος*
54, 192, 492 *ἀγλαόδωρος* (Nonnus)
55 *οὐράνιος* (Pindar etc.)
85 *ὁμόσπορος* (Pindar etc.)
*87 *μεταναιετάω* (cf. Hes. *Th.* 401)
102 *φιλοστέφανος* (Bacchylides etc.)
*106 *εὐήρυτος*
*108 *κουρήϊος*
142 *τιθηνέομαι* (Theognis etc.)
142 *τηρεῖν* (Pindar etc.)
144 *δεσπόσυνος* (Tyrtaeus, Pindar etc.)
149 *σαφέως* (Pindar etc.)
*165 *πολυεύχετος* (*πολύευκτος* Orac. ap. Hdt. etc.)
166 *ἐκτρέφειν* (v.l. *Od.* 18. 130; Herodotus, Sophocles etc.)
*178 *κροκήϊος*
197 *προκατέχομαι* (later only active, Thuc. etc.)
198 *ἄφθογγος* (Theognis etc.)
200 *ἀγέλαστος* (v.l. in Homer; Heraclitus etc.)
202 *χλεύη* (Hellenistic and late Greek)
203 (*παρα*)*σκώπτω* (simple verb Hdt. etc.; compound Plutarch. See note ad loc.)
207 *θεμιτός* (Pindar etc.)
211 *πολυπότνια* (Aristophanes etc.)
227 *κακοφραδίη* (v.l. in Homer; Hellenistic and late Greek)
*228 *ὑποταμνόν*
229 *ἀντίτομον* (Pindar etc.)
230 *ἐρυσμός* (late Greek)
238 *καταπνέω* (Aeschylus etc.)
*241 *προθαλής*
244 *ἐπιτηρεῖν* (Aristophanes, Thuc. etc.)
254 *ἐξαναιρέω* (Eur., A.R.)
256 *ἀφράδμων* (*ἀφράσμων* Aesch., Soph.)
257 *προγιγνώσκω* (Eur. etc.)
273, 476 *ὄργια* (Aesch. etc.)
274, 369 *εὐαγέως* (A.R. etc., *εὐαγής* Soph. etc.
278 *φέγγος* (Pindar etc.)

296 πολυπείρων (Orphic *Argonautica*)
308 μάτην (Theognis etc.)
312, 368 θυσία (Pindar etc.)
353 καταφθινύθω (Empedocles)
*362 δυσθυμαίνω (θυμαινέω Ps. Hesiod)
365 δεσπόζω (Aesch. etc.)
367 ἀδικέω (Archilochus or Hipponax, Sappho etc.)
372 κόκκος (Hdt. etc.)
399 μέρος (*Herm.* 53 f.l.; Pindar etc.)
402 παντοδαπός (Sappho etc.)
413 προσαναγκάζω (?) (Hippocr., Thuc. etc.)
427 ῥόδεος (Ibycus etc.)
427 λείριον (Hom. λειριόεις; Hippocr., Thphr., A.R. etc.)
440 πρόπολος (? Ps. Hesiod; Xenophanes, etc.)
*452 πανάφυλλος (Hom. ἄφυλλος)
*476 δρησμοσύνη (Hom. δρηστοσύνη)

(*b*) *Forms or meanings of words*

10 σέβας of object of reverence; 190, 479 σέβας of reverence towards the gods (cf. *Hy.* 28. 6, Hom. *Epig.* 8. 3). Cf. σεμνός *Dem.* 1, 478, 486
15 ἄμφω as dative (Hellenistic poetry)
16 εὐρυάγυια as epithet of earth
?19 ὄχοισιν (perhaps corrupt)
47 (etc.) Δηώ, Δηοῖ
118 πότνα as nominative (Callimachus)
126 κατέχω intransitive (Theognis etc.)
128 ἐπαρτύνομαι middle (Hom. ἀρτύνομαι, ἐπαρτύνω)
129 ἔραμαι imperfect (ἤρατο)
?132 τιμή = 'price' (but cf. *Il.* 3. 290, *Od.* 22. 57)
140 ἀφῆλιξ = 'aged'
149, 273 ὑποτίθεμαι = 'tell, teach'
165, 219 ὀψίγονος meaning 'late-born'
170 κυδιάουσαι (Hom. κυδιόων etc.)
174, 401 ἤαρος, ἠαρινοῖσι
175 ἄλλομαι present
176 ἐπέχομαι of holding up robes
176 ἑανῶν plural as noun
(? 183, 279 θεῆς M: read θεᾶς?)
205 ὀργαῖς plural, of single person's 'temper'?

208 *ἄλφι* singular (Hom. *ἄλφιτον*)
215 *ὡς εἴ πέρ τε . . .*: this combination seems to be unique
217 *ζυγός* (v.l. *Il.* 9. 187)
240 *λάθρᾰ* (*λάθρῃ* Hom.; not found elsewhere)
262 *οὐκ ἔϲθ' ὥϲ κεν . . .*: *οὐκ ἔϲθ' ὡϲ* does not occur in Homer
277 *πέπλων* plural, of single robe
279 *κατενήνοθεν* plural (not found elsewhere; perhaps corrupt)
289 *ἐλούεον* (not found elsewhere)
311 *λιμός* feminine (Hellenistic and late Greek, Doric)
312 *ἀμέρδειν* with double accusative (not found elsewhere)
[*312 *ἐθέλοιτο*? (probably corrupt)]
347 *Ἄιδη*
351 *παύϲειεν* intransitive (v.l. *Od.* 4. 659, *Hy.* 33. 14)
366 *ϲχήϲηϲθα* (not found elsewhere)
?368 *θυϲίαιϲι* (perhaps corrupt)
373 *νωμᾶν* = 'look'
379, 413 *ἄκοντε*, *ἄκουϲαν* with contraction (v.l. *Il.* 5. 366 etc.)
383 *βαθύν* feminine (cf. *πουλύν*, *ἡδύϲ*, *θῆλυϲ* Hom.) or *ἀήρ* masculine (cf. Hesiod)? *ἀήρ* = 'air' here? (See note ad loc.)
?383 *τέμνον* (*τάμνον* should perhaps be read. Cf. *Od.* 3. 175 *τέμνειν*, also corrupt?)
403 *ἄνει* (Hom. *εἶϲθα*)
412 *ἔμβαλέ μοι . . . κόκκον*
424 *Παλλάϲ* alone, of Athena (Pindar etc.)
426 *ἀγανός* of flowers (conjecture; not found elsewhere)
429 *περὶ χάρματι* = 'for joy' (Pindar etc.)
437 *γηθοϲύναϲ* plural (Hellenistic poetry; Hom. *εὐφροϲύναι* etc.)
439 *κόρη* ([Archil.] 322 West etc.)
440 *ὀπάων* of woman (Hecate)
443 *ὑποδέχομαι* with infinitive
448 *ἀπιθέω* with genitive (not found elsewhere)
451 *ἔκηλοϲ* of the earth (Hellenistic poetry)
455 *ἦροϲ* (cf. Hes. *ἔαρι*, *ἔαροϲ*)
455 *πέδῳ* (cf. *πέδονδε*, *πεδόθεν* Hom., Hes.) = 'on the ground' (later 'to the ground')
481 *ἀτελής* = 'uninitiated'

*(c) Formulae*

In the category of proper-name formulae the *Hymn* shows some interesting developments, several being formed by adaptation or

combination of Homeric and Hesiodic formulae, whilst some are doublets of formulae found elsewhere in early epic:[1]

(i) *Demeter*

Cf. *Dem.* 1 (new formula), 4 (new formula from Homeric elements), 47 (formula on Homeric pattern), 54 (adaptation of nominative formula, *Dem.* 192, to vocative, with hiatus; doublet of *Dem.* 75, 492; πότνια not in Homeric position in verse, but cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 926 πότνιαν*), 60 (adaptation of Hesiodic formula), 75 (cf. *Dem.* 60; adaptation of Hom. formula; doublet of 54, 492), 192 (new formula; cf. 54), 211 (cf. 47), 224 etc. (Hesiodic formula), 251 (new formula; cf. 224, *Il.* 14. 326), 295 (cf. 251), 297 (adaptation of *Dem.* 1 etc.), 302 (Homeric formula), 315 (cf. *Dem.* 1; adaptation and combination of Hesiodic formula), 319 (new formula; cf. 360, 374, 442), 374 (adaptation of Hesiodic and Hom. formulae; cf. *Dem.* 319 etc.), 439 (adaptation of Hesiodic formula), 453 (new formula; doublet of *Th.* 912, *Dem.* 4), 492 (doublet of *Dem.* 54; cf. 47, 75, 192).

(ii) *Zeus*

*Dem.* 3 etc. (combination of Hom. and Hes. formulae; doublet of *Il.* 1. 544 etc., 2. 205 etc.; also of *Dem.* 321), 21 (adaptation and combination of Hom. formulae), 27 (cf. *Dem.* 21), 78 (Hom. formula), 316 (combination of Hom. formulae), 321 (combination of Hom. formulae; doublet of *Dem.* 3 etc., *Il.* 1. 544 etc.), 396 (combination of Hom. formulae; cf. *Dem.* 316), 408 (adaptation of Hom. formula; cf. *Dem.* 21, 27; doublet of *Il.* 2. 787), 468 (Hom. formula), 485 (Hom. formula).

(iii) *Persephone*

? *Dem.* 8 (formula with new epithet, on Hom. pattern; cf. *Aph.* 284, *Dem.* 333), ? 333 (Hom. formula), 337 (adaptation of Hom. formula), 348 (adaptation of Hom. formula), 359 (formula on Hom. pattern, but using δαΐφρων, which is normally applied to men in Homer; cf. 370), 370 (formula on Hom. pattern; cf. 359), 405 (cf. *Dem.* 493), 439 (cf. *Dem.* 348), 493 (cf. *Il.* 5. 389, *Dem.* 405).

This group shows no actual doublets. A number of epithets *could* have been used in different cases, but this is not done. Cf.

[1] Cf. M. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, 218 ff., Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 55 ff.

*Dem.* 8 καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ, 333 ἐὴν εὐώπιδα κούρην, 493 κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια; and 348 ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν, 359 δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ, 370 περίφρων Περσεφόνεια, 439 κόρην Δημήτερος ἁγνῆς.

This seems to point to a genuine system.

(iv) *Hades*

*Dem.* 17 (cf. 430; ἄναξ in 17 violates Hermann's bridge), 18 = 32 (new formula; cf. Κρόνου υἷε/υἱέ in Hom. and Hes., πολυώνυμον* Hes.), 31 (new formula; doublet of *Dem.* 84, 376?; cf. also *Dem.* 9); 84, 376 (new formula; doublet of *Dem.* 31?), 347 (adaptation of Hom. and Hes. formula), 357 (Hom. formula; doublet of *Dem.* 430; cf. *Dem.* 18), 404 (cf. 17, 430), 430 (new formula; doublet of *Dem.* 357 etc.; cf. *Dem.* 17, 404).

(v) *Rhea*

Cf. Demeter. *Dem.* 60, 75 (adaptation of Hes. formula), 442 (cf. *Dem.* 60 etc.), 459 (new formula; cf. *Il.* 18. 382, *Dem.* 25, 438).

(vi) *Helios*

*Dem.* 26 (combination and adaptation of Hom. formulae; cf. *Hy.* 28. 13), 62 (new formula).

(vii) *Hermes*

*Dem.* 335 (adaptation of Hom. formula), 346, 377 (Hom. formula), 407 (see notes ad loc.; new formula from Hom. elements; doublet of *Il.* 21. 497 etc., *Ap.* 200 etc.).

(viii) *Aphrodite*

*Dem.* 102 (combination of Hom. formulae; doublet of *Il.* 20. 105, *Aph.* 1, 9).

(ix) *Hecate*

*Dem.* 24–5 (adaptation of Hom. formulae; cf. *Dem.* 438, 458), 438 (cf. *Dem.* 25). The poet takes an epithet used only once in Homer (λιπαροκρήδεμνος) for both Hecate and Rhea.

(x) *Athena*

*Dem.* 424 (new formula? Cf. *Phoronis*, oracle, inscriptions; Παλλάς always with Ἀθήνη/-αίη in Homer and Hesiod; cf. *Th.* 925).

The possible significance of doublets as evidence for the breakdown of formulaic 'systems' has already been mentioned. Not all, however, of those mentioned above are necessarily strict doublets. The existence of three separate whole-line formulae for Demeter in the vocative (60, 75, 492) is notable, especially as they cannot easily be explained as due to separate traditions. More probably they are due to the fact that formulae for Demeter had not developed sufficiently to form a set system. Two of them (*Dem.* 60, 75) are apparently adapted from nominative formulae (cf. ad loc.). Moreover, Zeus in Homer has four different whole-line forms of address (*Il.* 2. 412, 3. 276 etc., 8. 31 etc., 16. 233; these vary according to circumstances). In *Dem.* 453 the poet perhaps deliberately avoided the Hesiodic *πολυφόρβης*, as inappropriate here. *χρυσαόρου* (*Dem.* 4) would have been possible also. (*καλλισφύρου* is a general epithet.)

Zeus-formulae are more important, as Homer shows a developed system here:

*Dem.* 3 (etc.) *βαρύκτυπος εὐρυόπα Ζεύς* does not appear elsewhere, and combines Homeric with Hesiodic elements. Homer already has two formulae for this position, *Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω* (*Il.* 2. 205 etc.) and *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (1. 544 etc.). The first of these is not used for Zeus in Hesiod. The poet of the *Hymn* may have created a new formula here, adapting the Hesiodic *Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ* (*Th.* 388, *Sc.* 318), *Διὸς . . . βαρυκτύπου* (*Op.* 79). *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* is too general for the *Hymn*: in *Dem.* 3 he is mentioned in connection with his daughter Persephone, in 441 and 460 with his mother Rhea.

*Dem.* 321 *πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδώς* is again a doublet for this position. The poet perhaps had *Il.* 24. 88 (or a similar passage) in mind (cf. ad loc.).

*Dem.* 408 *πὰρ πατέρος Κρονίδαο* is a doublet of *Il.* 2. 787 *πὰρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* (where 786 is similar to *Dem.* 407: see notes ad loc.). The Homeric formula is, however, itself an adaptation from the regular *Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* at the end of the verse, and *αἰγιόχοιο* Διός* in the 2nd–4th feet, and it occurs nowhere else in Homer or Hesiod (cf. *Herm.* 551). It was therefore more natural for the poet to adapt a formula which he had already used (*Dem.* 21, 27 *πατέρα Κρονίδην*).

The absence of doublets for Persephone has been noted. In the case of Hades, *Dem.* 31b and 84b (= 376b) are not really

doublets. In *Dem.* 31 alliteration and euphemism play an important role (cf. ad loc.). The use of *πολυδέγμων* in *Dem.* 17, 31, 404, 430 created a further doublet between the Homeric *ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς* (357) and *ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων* (430), but this is perhaps due to extension:

17 *ἄναξ πολυδέγμων*
+ 404 *κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων*
> 430 *ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων*

The other cases of doublets are:

(*a*) *Dem.* 407 (Hermes): *εὖτέ μοι ἄγγελος ἦλ[θ' ἐριούνιος Ἀργεϊφόντης*. The reading is due to restoration, from papyrus 2, but *ἐριούνιος* in M seems to guarantee that this is right. Homer has *διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης* (cf. especially *Od.* 24. 99), and cf. *ἐῦσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης* (*Hymns*, 3 times). The *Hymn* constructs a new formula from Homeric elements.

(*b*) *Dem.* 102 *φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης*. Cf. *Il.* 20. 105 *Διὸς κούρης Ἀφροδίτης*, from the nominative *Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη* (*Il.* 3. 374 etc.). This occurs only once, and is clearly an adaptation.

Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 980 *πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης*. This is the commoner (Hesiodic) formula (6 times in Hes. and *Aph.*). *Dem.* 102 is itself perhaps a combination of

*φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη* (*Il.* 3. 424 etc.) and
*ἐϋστεφάνου Κυθερείης* (*Od.* 8. 288 etc.) ~
*ἐϋστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης* (*Od.* 8. 267)

providing a variant to the latter with initial consonant. (It is notable that Aphrodite already has two equivalent nominative formulae in Homer, as quoted above.)

A few other formulae illustrate well the various possibilities for development from existing models. Some arise from combination:

Cf. *Dem.* 14 *ἁλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης* (~ *Od.* 12. 236 etc., *Il.* 4. 422 etc., Hes. *Th.* 107, 964, *Certamen* 131). Cf. ad loc.

34 *πόντον ἀγύρροον ἰχθυόεντα* (*Il.* 9. 4 etc., 2. 485). This is a doublet of *Od.* 4. 510. Cf. ad loc.

107, 180 *φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός* (*Od.* 19. 458, *Il.* 12. 221). This shows a shift of epithet. Cf. similarly 113 *γρηῢ παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων* (*Od.* 22. 395, Hes. *Th.* 879 etc.)

118 *ἡ δ' ἐπέεccιν ἀμείβετο* (*Il.* 15. 127, *Od.* 4. 706 etc.).

118 *πότνα θεάων* (*Od.* 5. 215 etc., *Il.* 5. 381 etc.). This is a doublet of Hom. *δῖα θεάων*, and shows a misuse of *πότνα* as nominative. *Od.* 13. 391–2 (*vel sim.*) perhaps had some influence.

Adaptation of case, position in verse, etc. accounts for others, e.g. *Dem.* 11b, 18a, 23b, 38a, 38b, 40b, 44b, 66b (*εἴδεϊ κυδρήν*), 71 (*φίλον τέκος*), 103b, 204b, 340b, 351b, 383 (*βαθὺν ἠέρα*), 471b.

*Dem.* 119–20 *τέκνα φίλ', αἵ τινές ἐcτε . . . | χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν . . .* is curiously similar to the epiphany language of Emp. 112. 1–4 (~ *Od.* 11. 248–52), and is perhaps derived from such an original context.

There are a few doublets besides those already noted:

*Dem.* 28 *ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηῷ* ~ 355 *ἀπάνευθε θυώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ*.

30 *Διὸς ἐννεσίῃcιν* ~ *Th.* 572 etc. *Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς* (the poet could not use this here, as *Κρονίδεω* would be ambiguous in the context. It is also not a strict doublet, on account of the double consonant *Κρ-*.).

44 *ἐτήτυμα μυθήcαcθαι* (adapted from Hes. formula) ~ *Il.* 6. 382 etc. *ἀληθέα μυθήcαcθαι*.

103 *θεμιcτοπόλων βαcιλήων* (adapted from Hes. formula) ~ *Il.* 1. 176 etc. *διοτρεφέων βαcιλήων*.

352 *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων* (Hesiodic formula) ~ *καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*Il.* 6. 123 etc.). But the Hesiodic formula seems to be used in a particular context (cf. notes ad *Dem.* 113, 352).

Misinterpretation of words is also a fruitful source of new expressions (cf. M. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*). Cf. the following:

*Dem.* 15 *χερcὶν ἄμ' ἄμφω* = *Il.* 7. 255b (~ 23. 686). In Homer *ἄμφω* goes with the subject of the verb, but it was easy for a later poet to misunderstand the words and take *ἄμφω* as dative. (But cf. ad loc.)

16 *χθὼν εὐρυάγυια*. This seems to be due to interpretation of the Homeric *χθονὸc εὐρυοδείης* as connected with *ὁδός* rather than *ἕδος* (cf. ad loc.). The epithet *εὐρυάγυια* is only used of cities in Homer.

140 *γυναικὸc ἀφήλικος*: *παναφήλικα* in *Il.* 22. 490 means 'without contemporaries'. The sense 'aged' for *ἀφῆλιξ* is probably due to understanding *ἡλικία* as 'youth'. This sense of *ἀφῆλιξ, ἡλικία*,

etc. is found commonly in the classical period. Cf. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 45 f.

279 *κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους* (~ Hes. *Sc.* 269b). The use with a plural subject is probably due to interpretation of an obscure verb form as plural, perhaps by analogy with aorist passives in *-θεν*. (It would, however, be possible to emend to the singular here. Cf. ad loc.)

296 *πολυπείρονα λαόν*: cf. *δῆμος ἀπείρων* (*Il.* 24. 776), *λαὸς ἀπείρων* (Hes. *Sc.* 472). The poet seems to have taken the *ἀ-* of *ἀπείρων* as an intensifying prefix (cf. Zumbach, o.c. 19).

383 *βαθὺν ἠέρα τέμνον*: it is possible that the poet intended *ἠέρα* here to mean 'air', the sense which it has in classical Greek. In Homer it means 'darkness, mist', but in *Il.* 14. 288 it was later understood as 'air'. In Hes. *Th.* 697 *ἠέρα* would have this sense, but one should perhaps read *αἰθέρα* (cf. West ad loc.). However, the sense 'air' may not have come in until much later (fifth century only), and in *Dem.* 383 the sense 'mist' might be possible. Cf. ad loc.[1]

### E. ATTICISMS

Voss first argued for an Attic poet on the grounds of language, and several scholars have followed. For early views cf. Gemoll, and see also Wackernagel, *Spr. Unt.* 179, Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 56 ff., 62 f. Francke, however, pointed out that the *Hymn* contains some distinctively non-Attic forms. Cf. especially *γληχών* (*Dem.* 209), *λιμός* as feminine (*Dem.* 312). A case can only be made on the basis of words or forms which definitely occur in Attic but not epic or Ionic, and in particular those cases where an epic word or form was at hand which the poet might as easily have used. These are not very numerous. The following list is of those words and forms which have at some time been labelled 'Attic':

*Words*

*Dem.* 142, 244 (*ἐπι*)*τηρεῖν* (Voss, Gemoll, Zumbach). In the first case, the epic *δῶμα φυλάσσειν* might have been expected. The sense in *Dem.* 244 is not certain. *τηρεῖν* occurs in Pindar and Attic, *ἐπιτηρεῖν* in Attic. But *τηρεῖν* is used by Democritus (fr. 239), and may well be Ionic also.

[1] On adaptations etc. see also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, especially 49 ff.

203 (παρα)σκώπτειν (Zumbach). This occurs in Herodotus (2. 121 δ), and it may also be connected with σκώψ (cf. Ath. 9. 391 ab, Ael. *NA* 15. 28), which is Homeric (*Od.* 5. 66). There is no reason to consider it exclusive to Attic.

268 τιμάοχος (Zumbach). This also comes in *Aph.* 31, and is hardly a normal form in Attic, any more than Ionic. The later Attic and Ionic form was τιμοῦχος. Cf. n. ad loc., and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 56.

278 φέγγος (Zumbach). The normal epic word is φάος. φέγγος occurs in Pindar and Attic poetry. In classical Attic prose it seems to be normally used only of moonlight (cf. Hsch. s.v.). There is again no reason to suppose this un-Ionic.

312, 368 θυσία (Voss, Gemoll). The normal epic word is θύος, which could have been used here, and has been restored. If the word is Attic, it could be due to transmission. Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 364 d, where θυσίαισι is quoted in *Il.* 9. 499, as at *Dem.* 368. But Herodotus uses θυσίη frequently, also θύσιμος (1. 50), and cf. perhaps Emp. 128. 6 (θυσίαις). It may be doubted whether in the case of such religious terms Herodotus would choose an exclusively Attic word. The word is not Homeric, but cannot be used as evidence for an Attic poet.

367 ἀδικεῖν (cf. Gemoll). ἄδικος occurs first in Hesiod, ἀδικεῖν perhaps first here (cf. Homeric ἁμαρτάνειν, παραβαίνειν). It is as much Ionic as Attic: cf. Hippon. fr. 115 West (or Archilochus?). It is also Aeolic and Doric.

Vocabulary, therefore, gives no grounds for assuming an Attic composer.

*Forms*

*Declension*

11 etc., 40 etc. (cf. Gemoll): datives in -οις, -αις. These are not very common in Homer, commoner in Hesiod and the *Hymns*. Cf. C. Reichelt, *De dativis in -οις et -ηις (-αις) exeuntibus* (Progr. Breslau, 1893), 19: in Homer the proportion of short to long forms is 1:5, in the early *Hymns* more than 1:4, in Hesiod (*Th.* and *Op.*) more than 1:3.[1] Wackernagel (*Spr. Unt.* 53 f.) thought -αις was an Atticism. It is found only twice for certain in Homer, but three times in the *Theogony* and five

[1] For further discussion see Appendix II, 334 f.

in this *Hymn*. It might be due to Attic transmission (for -ηc). Neither -οιc nor -αιc is likely to be due to an Attic poet of the archaic period, since early Attic used -οιcι, and -ηcι or -ācι. The same argument applies to the form θυcίαιcι (*Dem.* 368), which was never used in spoken Attic, and in tragedy perhaps not before Sophocles (cf. ad loc.).

12 κάρᾱ (nominative plural) (cf. Voss): this form, which is only definitely attested once in Attic (Sannyrion, fr. 3), is an anomaly, and perhaps due to the analogy of κέρᾱ (cf. ad loc.). It is hardly good evidence for Attic composition.

15 ἄμφω as dative (Zumbach): this, again, is not normal in Attic (ἀμφοῖν), although it occurs in Arist. *Top.* 118ª28. Cf. ad loc.

19 ὄχοιcιν (Voss, Gemoll, Zumbach): epic only uses ὀχέεccιν, ὄχεcφιν, and as the latter is found at *Dem.* 375, it might have been corrupted here (cf. ad loc.). The second-declension form, however, is used by Pindar and Herodotus, as well as Attic.

406 coι (Wackernagel): Hermann's conjecture τοι is confirmed by the papyrus here. This illustrates the dangers of searching for Attic forms.

*Verb forms*

383 τέμνον (Wackernagel, Zumbach): this occurs also at *Od.* 3. 175, and Hes. *Op.* 570 v.l. Cf. ὑποταμνόν in *Dem.* 228 and note to *Dem.* 383.

403 ἄνει (Wackernagel, Zumbach): Homer uses εἶcθα, which is a secondary form, Hesiod εἶc (*Op.* 208), Attic εἶ. Ionic evidence seems to be lacking, but there is no reason why εἶ should not be normal there also. εἶcθα only occurs twice in Homer (*Il.* 10. 450, *Od.* 19. 69), and this is not enough evidence even for the normal epic form.

*Usage*

132 τιμή = 'price' (Voss). This sense is found in Herodotus (7. 119), and for similar uses in Homer cf. ad loc.

242 ἀθάνατον ποιεῖν (Voss). Cf. ad loc. for epic parallels.

253 πέδονδε (Voss). One might have expected χαμᾶζε here, as in *Od.* 21. 136, but πέδονδε is Homeric, and the sense is not an unusual one.

*Contraction, synizesis, crasis*

55 (etc.) *θεῶν* (synizesis), 137 *τοκῆ(ϵ)ϲ*, 173 *καλ(ϵ)ϵῖν*, 284 *ἐλ(ϵ)ϵινήν*, 379 *ἄκοντϵ*, 413 *ἄκουϲαν*(?), 406 *ἐρ(ϵ́)ω*, 455 *ἦροϲ*, 494 *ᾠδῆϲ*:—none of these forms need be considered Attic. For detailed discussion cf. ad locc.

227 *κοὐ* (crasis; cf. Zumbach): although this particular crasis is not found in Homer, it is not un-epic. Cf. Parm. fr. 6. 9, ?Hes. fr. 62. 3.

*Aspirate and contracted form*

347 *Ἅιδη* (Wackernagel, Zumbach). Epic uses *Ἀΐδηϲ*, but the contraction is not impossible in epic, and the aspirate could be due to Attic transmission. Cf. also Pindar (*P.* 4. 44) *Ἅιδᾱ*.

*Treatment of digamma*

439 *κόρην* (Voss, Gemoll, Wackernagel, Zumbach). The epic form is *κούρη*, found in *Dem.* 8 etc. *κόρη* is Attic, but also found in [Archilochus], fr. 322 (West), which is probably not genuine. It occurs in some later Ionic inscriptions, as the title of Persephone, as also in Hdt. 8. 65. 4 (the context is Eleusinian). The compensatory vowel-lengthening, after loss of *ϝ*, is not universal in Ionic (cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 49 f., 143).

In *Dem.* 439 the Attic form is probably used as a deliberate reference to Persephone's title at Eleusis (cf. ad loc.). A non-Attic poet might as easily have paid her this compliment as an Attic one. Although, therefore, this is the strongest piece of evidence pointing to Attic composition, it is by no means conclusive.[1]

*Summary*

There is some evidence which might suggest Attic *transmission*, (*-οιϲ*, *-αιϲ*, *θυϲίαιϲι*, *ὄχοιϲιν*, *τέμνον*, *Ἅιδη*). But equally these may be corruptions due to generalization in the medieval tradition. The only certain Attic form in the poem which cannot be assigned to this stage is Persephone's title *Κόρη*, and the presence of this can be explained on other grounds. (*Ἅιδη* also looks

[1] Cf. also Forderer, *Gnomon* (1958), 98 f.: *κόρη*/*κούρη* is due to analogy with (epic) *ὄροϲ*/*οὖροϲ* ἔτc?

In *Dem.* 56, 405 the form *Φερϲεφόνη*(*ν*) is given by papyri. This is not the form of spoken Attic but could be due to Attic influence on the composer. Equally, it may have come in during transmission.

suspicious, but is less certain.) Attic composition cannot therefore be proved by language alone. But the probability that the *Hymn* was composed for recitation at Eleusis has already been considered, and the presence of some slight Attic colouring would not disagree with this.

## VI. STYLE AND NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE

The *Hymn* seems to exhibit two distinctive qualities, which one might call σεμνότης and χάρις. It is grave and gay by turns, as suits its subject, the two goddesses who are σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε (486), whose ὄργια are σεμνά (478), but who are also the deities of the gay harvest (ἀγλαόκαρπος), and of the rich blessings of Πλοῦτος.

At the opening a tone of awful grandeur is set, with the theme of the Rape, and the rapidity of the narrative here suggests the terrible suddenness with which Persephone is carried off, contrasting sharply with her youthful gaiety as she plays with her companions, the nymphs, and her amazement at the magic flower, the 'lovely plaything' (15 f.). In this amazement the whole upper world seems to share (10 f., 13 f.), and the freshness of youth seems to be emphasized by the catalogue of flowers. Persephone's cry for help is not heard by her father Zeus, who is a distant, august figure in the *Hymn*. In contrast, Hecate, who hears, is not as solemn as she later became, being described as ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα (26), a suitable attendant for Persephone (440).

The story then turns to Demeter, and shows her anguish at her loss. Throughout the main part of the *Hymn* it is her sorrow which is the keynote, together with her anger against the gods, and later against men too. The effect of her meeting with the daughters of Celeus is heightened because she takes the disguise of a very old woman (100 ff.), whereas they are in the first freshness of youth, κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι (108). In the following scene their gaiety and eagerness to help are contrasted with Demeter's reticent sorrow, and this is especially poignant in the picture of them running down the road from the palace, like young deer or calves in spring-time (174 ff.), to find the reverend goddess, who then follows them, sorrowful at heart, her head veiled, her dark robe moving about her feet as she walks (179 ff.). This leads on to the first awe-inspiring epiphany of Demeter, as

she enters the palace, and the solemn scene which follows, itself the *aition* for Eleusinian solemn ritual, but centred on the figure of Iambe, the eponym of the jesting and *aischrologia* of the Mysteries (188–211). This is balanced by Demeter's second epiphany, before she leaves the palace, and her command to build a temple in which her ὄργια will be celebrated (256–80).

The central episode, the nursing of Demophon (212–91) is again characterized by a mixture of solemnity and humour. Metaneira is horrified to discover Demeter's methods as a nurse and the goddess is angry and condemns mortals for their folly, which prevents the gods from helping them. But instead, Demeter promises to teach men her solemn rites. After her departure Metaneira is speechless with terror, but her daughters hear the piteous wail of the child Demophon, who has been thrown to the ground by Demeter. They leap from their beds to help him, and gathering round wash him and try to console him. 'But', the poet says, 'his spirit was not appeased, for far inferior were the nurses who now were holding him.'

The *Hymn* then describes the terrible Famine, by which Demeter threatens the existence of mankind, even perhaps of the gods, and eventually forces Zeus to recall Persephone from Hades. The scene in the Underworld is again both solemn and humorous. Hades is an ambiguous figure, who smiles with his eye-brows, and consoles Persephone (357 ff.), but who also ensures that she will return to him. She herself is promised the highest honours amongst the gods, rule over all living things, and the power to exact punishment from 'those who do wrong, whoever do not propitiate her'. She is full of joy, and does not seem to see Hades' trick (370 ff.). Later, she protests that she was compelled to eat the pomegranate seeds by force (411–13), perhaps a touch of irony such as one might find several times in the poem (cf. notes on 98 ff., 113, 120 f., 147 f., 216 f., 225, 406).[1]

The return journey to the upper world is described with a slight pictorial elaboration (380 ff.), which seems characteristic of this poet (cf. *Dem.* 33 ff., 38 f., 174 ff.). The reconciliation of mother and daughter again shows a delicate mixture of anxiety and joy. At the end it is the joy which is most important (434–40), all fears for the future being set aside as the poem prepares for

[1] But *Dem.* 413 may not be genuine. See notes ad loc.

the closing episodes, the embassy of Rhea, herself a solemn figure like Demeter (441 ff.), the return of life to the fields (450 ff., 471 ff.), and the accompanying institution of the Mysteries at Eleusis, whose awesome secrecy is emphasized (473–9). The poet promises happiness to the initiates, and another fate after death to the rest of mankind, once more sounding the ominous note (480–2). The *Hymn* closes with the ascent of the goddesses to Olympus, a further promise of happiness and prosperity to their followers, and a final invocation and prayer for material welfare (483–95).

Throughout the poem the richness of nature, the realm of Demeter, receives special attention, and the result is a pictorial quality which adds great charm and grace. The catalogues of flowers, the list of nymphs, the descriptions of Celeus' daughters, the journeys over land and sea, the death and rebirth of the crops, portrayed in all their stages of growth from spring to harvest, the appearance of Persephone herself with the spring flowers, and the participation of Earth and the whole of nature in the Rape and Recovery of the goddess: these and many other touches seem to give this *Hymn* a quality of archaic χάρις, which has led some of its readers to compare its tone with that of the early Greek lyric, or the Greek art of the seventh and sixth centuries.[1] The lyrical quality of the language accounts for some words referring to nature and growth which are not found in Homer and Hesiod (e.g. 8, 420 καλυκῶπις, 54 etc. ὡρηφόρος, ἀγλαόδωρος, 102 φιλοστέφανος, 108 κουρήϊος, 178 κροκήϊος, 241 προθαλής, 452 πανάφυλλος, etc.).

In accordance with the solemnity of the style, the poet also seems to be careful to observe that *propriety* which was recognized by later scholars as a feature of Homeric epic. It is perhaps for this reason that the nature of Iambe's jesting is so delicately referred to (202–5), and she is characterized as κέδν' εἰδυῖα (195, 202; cf. ad loc.). It is also probable that the poet (or the epic tradition) has suppressed an older version of the story of Demophon, in which the child died in the fire (cf. ad *Dem.* 254).

The traditional quality of the language has already been discussed. On a larger scale, also, the *Hymn* conforms closely to epic conventions. It is possible to detect the structure of a 'typical scene' under many of the episodes. At the same time these

[1] Cf. for example H. Fränkel, *Dichtung and Philosophie*² (1962), 288 f.

preserve an individual character, and sometimes a traditional *schema* is used for a very particular purpose, the representation of the *aitia* for Eleusinian ritual. This reuse of traditional patterns is most skilful, and suggests a poet who was to a great extent in command of his techniques. For details see especially the notes to 180 ff., 188–211 ff., 192 ff., and also 64 ff., 82 ff. ~ 362 ff., 147 f. ~ 216 f., 98 ff. (also 119 ff., 127 ff.), 179 etc., 256 ff., 314 ff. 334 ff. ~ 441 ff., 375 ff., 19 (~ 40, 44–5, 380 ff., 383).

In one respect, however, the poet does not follow the Homeric conventions, in his avoidance of direct speech by Zeus when sending out a messenger, the conclusion of indirect speech with ὣς ἔφατο, and the elaboration of a message with the speaker's own comments (cf. notes to 314 ff., etc.). It may be questioned whether this is necessarily due to clumsiness or a desire to hurry over his narrative. Another possible reason has already been suggested, in the character of Zeus. Some of the direct speeches are also unusually short, in the Hesiodic manner.

In contrast, 'epic repetition' is practised quite regularly (e.g. 5–20+340–74 ~ 405–33, 147–8+164–8 ~ 216–23, 321–3+327–8+443–7 ~ 460–8, 338–9 ~ 349–50 ~ 409–10, etc.). But such repetition is not rigidly observed, and there is scope for considerable variation and expansion (e.g. 416 ff. with its Catalogue of Oceanids and variant list of flowers; cf. also 15–20 ~ 429–32, where 19–20 and 431–2 are interchangeable). Sometimes repetition is used for a technical purpose, as in the device known as ring-composition, to mark off an episode and open the way for a further stage. An example of this is the opening scene, where 17b–18 are repeated at 31b–2. This opening narrative shows considerable repetition of a rather similar type, especially in 16–39 (cf. notes to 20, 22–37, 25, 27, 30, 39). The repetition has been considered awkward here, but it seems rather to convey an insistence on the important features of the narrative. The same device is noticeable elsewhere, for example where a detail is emphasized which has ritual significance, such as Demeter's black veil and robe (42, 182 f., 197, 319, 360, 374), the torches of Demeter and Hecate (48 ~ 61, 52), her fasting (49 f., 200, 206 ff.) and silence (59–60, 194, 198–9), and above all her sorrow (40 ff., and *passim*) and anger (83, 91, 251 ff., 305 ff., 330, 338–9, 349–50, 354, 467–8). Another good example of 'ritual repetition'

is 195 ~ 202, and in fact the whole structure of 192 ff. (cf. ad loc.). The terms of Persephone's division of the year between upper and lower worlds are also emphasized (398–403, 445–7, 463–5).

Another type of repetition, which may strike a modern reader as a fault of style, is the apparently fortuitous recurrence of words several times in the same passage, or within a few lines. This is quite common in the *Hymn*. It occurs also in Homer, and epic poets do not seem to have troubled to avoid it. (Cf. notes to 43–4 ~ 46, 58 ~ 60, 171–2, 136–44, 407 ~ 409, 411, 426 ~ 428, 434–6.)[1]

Occasionally the poet uses an elliptical construction which seems slightly awkward, as in 126–8, where he is perhaps combining two separate formulaic sentences, and 445–7, which are readily understandable after 398 ff. At 403 a lacuna was suspected by earlier editors. But P. Oxy. 2379 confirms the text, at least for the third century A.D. There is also a slight compression, and corresponding ambiguity, at 185, where ἔνθα must mean 'to the place where . . .'. Sometimes also his word-order is unusually complex, as in 71–3, 153–6, 169–70, 182b–3 (where it is perhaps deliberate: note the chiasmus and polarization of πέπλος . . . ποσσίν), 251–5 (also repetitive: χωσαμένη . . . θυμῷ κοτέσασα μάλ' αἰνῶς), 414–16 (~ 71–3). 208b–9 is also slightly involved (and 209a looks 'unformulaic'). In general, however, the poet's construction and word-order have the traditional clarity and simplicity of early epic.

This does not of course mean that his narrative always proceeds by short sentences. The most striking example of extended sentence structure is that of the opening lines, whose 'rapidity of narrative' has already been mentioned. Here the poet proceeds immediately from his title ('Demeter . . . and her daughter') by way of a relative clause to a traditional summary of the Rape myth (2–3), mentioning Hades and Zeus, and then with two participial clauses into the opening scene. This is expanded by the list of flowers, leading again to a relative clause describing the origin of the narcissus, a theme which is itself then developed for seven lines. The first 'full stop' comes at line 14, but we are

[1] H. N. Porter's interesting discussion of 'Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite' (*AJP* 70 (1949), 249 ff.) has some good remarks on the functions of repetition in hymnal poetry, and examples of the different types noticed here.

carried forward at once to the moment when Persephone picks the flower, the earth gapes, and Hades springs out. In a flash she is carried off, crying for help, and the following lines develop the theme of her *ἰαχή* (20–9), returning to her rape (30–2), and then again probably to her cry (33–9: cf. ad *Dem.* 37), which is heard by Demeter. The story continues at breathless speed (cf. 43 *σεύατο* . . . 48 *στρωφᾶτο* . . . 58 *ὦκα* . . . 60 *ὦκα* . . . 61 *ἤϊξ'* . . .) until Demeter learns the truth from Helios. Despite some slight imperfections (cf. above on 16–39, 43–6, and notes to 7, 17) this is a remarkably effective passage.[1]

Effects of sound are a feature of style of which the poet seems at times to have been conscious. Alliteration is quite common in epic formulae generally,[2] but the repetition and alliteration of 31–2 must be deliberate, and perhaps intended to produce what I have called an 'incantatory' effect. This may also be detected at 228–30, and 238 (cf. notes ad loc.). A truly remarkable example of vowel assonance occurs at 289–90, where there is a parallel in Homer (cf. ad loc.).

The use of three compound epithets with *πολυ-* in 31–2 is also an example of this poet's remarkable fondness for such compounds. Cf. 9 *πολυδέκτῃ*, 18, 32 *πολυώνυμος*, 28 *πολυλλίστῳ*, 31 *πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων*, 165 *πολυεύχετος*, 211 *πολυπότνια*, 220 *πολυάρητος*, 230 *πολυπήμονος*, 296 *πολυπείρονα*, 315 *πολυήρατον*. Six are new to epic, and occur rarely or not at all later. Of the rest, only *πολυάρητος* is Homeric; the rest occur in Hesiod and the *Hymns*. The frequency of these compounds might be considered a sign of later epic development, but it may have been felt more appropriate to the style of a hymn.

## VII. METRE AND PROSODY

### *Dactyls and Spondees*

Spondaic endings are more than twice as common in the *Hymn* as in Homer. Francke counted 63 (omitting 387–402, 462–71),

[1] Rapidity of narrative may be connected with a feature of style unusual in early epic, the high frequency of what Milman Parry called 'necessary enjambement'. On this, and its bearing on the question of composition of the poem, see Appendix II.

[2] Cf. A. Shewan, *CP* 20 (1925), 193 ff., and in the *Hymn* such phrases as *καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ*, *δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο*, *ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ*, etc.

i.e. about 2 in 15, whereas in Homer the proportion is 1 in 18 (Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 83). In the *Theogony* there are 66 in 1,022 lines, i.e. 1 in 15 or 16, but the proportions vary in different parts of the poem (West, *Theogony*, pp. 93 f.). 14 of those in the *Hymn* also have a spondaic fourth foot (including 195, 202, 474), again more than twice as often as in Homer (*Iliad* 1:87, *Odyssey* 1:89, *Dem.* 1:33). Of these, 7 are of the type ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις (*-ῶν -ων* etc.) and 5 are due to proper names. *Dem.* 204 is very unusual, having a self-contained final foot and monosyllable in the fifth-foot thesis (cf. ad loc., and Meister, *Hom. Kunstsprache* 7 f.).

A spondaic fourth foot followed by word-end occurs 33 times (including 293, but not 1 or 179). The proportion of spondaic to dactylic fourth feet with word-end is about 1 to 7, in Homer 1 to 8 (Maas o.c. § 84; I have counted 28 or 29 spondaic cases in *Il.* 1. 1–495). Most examples are of a genitive in *-ης* (ἥβης etc.) or *-ων* (γυναικῶν). There is no case of lengthening by position in the fourth-foot thesis. These statistics do not include cases of καί, prepositions, etc. in fourth-foot thesis. There is no example of spondaic fourth foot followed by a stop, which occurs in Homer and Hesiod (Maas, o.c. § 84, West, *Theogony*, p. 97).

There are four lines which describe rapid movement beginning with ῥίμφα or αἶψα, which are notably dactylic (89, 171, 184, 380). All except 89 have trochaic caesurae in both second and third feet, which contributes to the effect of lightness. For similar lines in Homer cf. notes ad locc. (Cf. also 469, 471.)

*Caesurae*

206 lines have strong caesurae in the third foot, 279 weak (excluding *Dem.* 387–92, and 477, and counting enclitics as such). This gives a proportion of about 425 strong in 1,000, not much differing from Homer (*Iliad* 381, *Odyssey* 410: cf. H. N. Porter, *Tale Class. Studies* 12 (1951) 1 ff.).[1] 3 lines have no third-foot caesura (74, 109, 458), i.e. about 6 in 1,000 lines, compared with 14 in 1,000 in the *Iliad*, 9 in 1,000 in the *Odyssey*. Two are due to proper names, and the third (458) is unusual also in having a pyrrhic word in the second-foot thesis, with caesurae in the second and fourth feet. This is rare in Homer (1:1,120 verses), and

[1] Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 14 n. 2 gives different figures: *Iliad* 437, *Odyssey* 419.

occurs only *once* with a verb, as at *Dem.* 458 (*Il.* 15. 339). Cf. also Porter, o.c. 46 f., on the special effect of some lines without third-foot caesura.

Trochaic caesura in the fourth foot occurs twice, in breach of Hermann's bridge (*Dem.* 17 and 248). *Dem.* 17 ends with a four-syllable word, as in some Homeric examples (Monro, *HG*², § 367. 2). But it has some other unusual features, and is perhaps due to reshaping of an older version (cf. ad loc.). In *Dem.* 248 an enclitic monosyllable precedes, another type which is found in Homer. Porter (o.c. 48) counts *Dem.* 452, but here ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα go closely together. See also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 54, 62 ff., and the useful criticism of this by L. E. Rossi, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* 223 (1971), 170 f.

The awkward τῇ scanned short in the third foot in *Dem.* 17 also reappears at 46, another metrically bumpy line.

Word-end after the trochee or end of the second foot, with a word beginning in the first, occurs 12 times (16, 92, 137, 194, 200, 254, 275, 295, 325, 339, 350, 441, cf. also 46; 194 has an illicit hiatus at this point, and should perhaps be emended). This is slightly less often than in Homer or the *Theogony* (West, p. 95), i.e. 1 in 41 or 45, as opposed to 3 in 100. In Hellenistic poetry this law is hardly ever broken (cf. Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 94). Cf. also Porter, o.c. 37 ff., who notes the special effect of *Dem.* 200.

On the position of θεά (etc.) in *Dem.* 34 (etc.) see Appendix V.

*Hiatus*

'Illicit' hiatus occurs at:

(i) 76 μέγα ἄζομαι (in third-foot thesis). This hiatus is paralleled by Hes. *Th.* 532 ταῦτ' ἄρα ἀζόμενος (cf. West ad loc. and pp. 92, 96).

(ii) 194 ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα ἔμιμνε (in second-foot thesis). This should perhaps be emended (cf. above).

(iii) 241 θεοῖσι δὲ ἄντα ἐῴκει is cited by Zumbach as a third example. But the hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis, though rare, is paralleled in Homer (28 times in the *Iliad*), and the hiatus in the fifth foot is paralleled by *Od.* 4. 654 πάντα ἐῴκει (on which see Chantraine, *GH* i. 479 f.).

(iv) 424 καὶ Ἄρτεμις (in third-foot thesis): the line has been suspected, but the hiatus with καί has parallels in early epic (cf. ad loc.).

*Lengthening in arsis*

There are three examples of lengthening of a final dative singular in -ι, followed by hiatus. Two are at the third-foot caesura, and occur within three lines (99, 101). The third is in the fifth foot, at 248. For parallels cf. notes ad loc. A short final syllable is lengthened before a vowel also at 57 (γὰρ ἤκουϲ').

*Lengthening in thesis*

There are only two examples which I have noted of a short final syllable ending in a consonant made long by position in any other foot than the first (where this is normal). These occur at 147 and 216, in the second thesis: θεῶν μὲν δῶρα (the phrase is the same). For such lengthening with μέν cf. Hes. *Th.* 150, 671, 762, 969. I do not count *Dem.* 157. See also below on *mute and liquid*. At 381 ὕδωρ is lengthened in the first-foot thesis. In Homer this only occurs in the final arsis, and 'metrical lengthening' in the thesis is in general rare (except between two longs, e.g. ὑπεροπλίηϲι etc.) as the thesis is actually longer than the arsis. But the first thesis shows greater freedom in this respect (cf. below, on *Dem.* 113).

*Shortening of normally long vowel*

At 105 Ἐλευϲῖνίδαο is shortened, presumably because it would not otherwise fit into the verse. Cf. 266 Ἐλευϲινίων, which may however be a case of synizesis (cf. ad loc.).

*Mute and liquid*

At 113 a short final vowel is lengthened in the second thesis (ἐϲϲὶ γρηῢ: cf. note ad loc.). Attic correption occurs once, at 256, καὶ ἀφράδμονεϲ (cf. ad loc.).

*Digamma*

Statistics for observance and neglect of the digamma are given by Allen and Halliday (Introduction, xcvi ff.). Their figures should be adjusted, to exclude cases where neglect is not certain (e.g. movable *nu*). They list 47 observances, and 35 neglects, of which not more than 21 are definite and hence significant (and I should add 35 ἤλπετο). Most of these have Homeric parallels. The ratio of observances to neglects is 2·1 : 1. This is lower than that of Homer (*c.* 6:1), or Hesiod's *Theogony* (*c.* 3:1) and

*Scutum* (*c.* 5 : 1), but not *Works and Days* (*c.* 2 : 1). But it is doubtful whether any conclusions can be drawn from this.[1]

*Synizesis, contraction, and crasis*

*Synizesis* of θεῶν, θεούς occurs at 55, 259, 325. It is found only twice in Homer, and once in the *Theogony* (cf. ad *Dem.* 55). At 325 the synizesis of a monosyllable before the bucolic diaeresis is also unusual. M has θεάν in the same position at 1 and 179, but θεόν should probably be read there, as at 292. Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 49.

Other examples are: 137 τοκῆ(ε)ς (cf. *Il.* 11. 151, Hes. *Op.* 263, 607, *Herm.* 113); 210 κυκεῶ, 266 Ἐλευσῑνίων (or -ῐνίων? Cf. above), 269 ὄνεαρ, 406 ἐρέω (cf. Hes. *Op.* 202), 425 ἄνθεα (in Homer this synizesis of neuter plural nouns in -ος usually occurs at the verse-end: but cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 56). The following may be classed as synizesis or contraction: 110 ἀπασῶν (Attic transmission? Read ἀπασέων?), 173 καλ(ε)εῖν (cf. *Il.* 3. 390 etc.), 284 ἐλ(ε)εινήν, 379 ἄκοντε, 413 ἄκουσαν (cf. ad *Dem.* 379), 455 ἦρος (cf. Hes. *Op.* 462, 492), 494 ᾠδῆς (cf. *Ap.* 20, *Hy.* 30. 18). Note also λουτροῖς (from λοετροῖς: cf. *Op.* 753).

*Crasis*: 227 κοὐ (cf. Parm. fr. 6. 9, ?Hes. fr. 62. 3). At 13 κῶζ' is due to emendation, and is open to a number of objections (cf. ad loc.).

## VIII. MANUSCRIPT AND PAPYRI

There is only one medieval manuscript of the *Hymn*, the celebrated Mosquensis (M), discovered in Moscow in 1777 by Christian Friedrich Matthaei, and now in Leiden ( = Leidensis BPG 33H, f. 31 col. 1 lin. 13–f. 36 col. 2). An account of this is given by Allen and Halliday (xvii ff.). It is dated by the watermarks to the early fifteenth century.[2] Bücheler's edition reproduces the part which contains the *Hymn* in full, and there are plates of individual pages in Goodwin's edition, and a reproduction of half of it in Merkelbach and van Thiel's *Griech. Leseheft* (Göttingen, 1965), No. 1. The manuscript was found, according to Matthaei, in a stable, 'ubi per plures annos . . . inter pullos et

[1] Cf. West, *Theogony*, pp. 91, 99 f., and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 31 ff. For further discussion see Appendix II, p. 335.

[2] See *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti*, VIII (Leiden, 1965), 49 f. Mr. N. G. Wilson confirms that the date is probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

porcos latitabat'. For an excellent account of this, and of how it may have come there from its home (the Moscow Imperial Archive) see O. von Gebhardt, *Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen* 15 (1898), 441 ff.

The manuscript is fragmentary, the main lacunae in the *Hymns* which it preserves being *Ap.* 23–73 and *Aph.* 68–112. It was conjectured that these were due to the loss of single leaves, of 22–6 lines to a page (cf. Allen and Halliday, xx f.). This is supported by the existence of lacunae at *Dem.* 137, 211, 236, i.e. at intervals of 25 or 100 lines. It is notable that all of these occur at the foot of the page in M also. At *Dem.* 37 it is possible that an attempt has been made to fill a gap, as 37 is a suspect line (cf. ad loc.). At 236 the last word or words have been replaced by *Δημήτηρ*, to give a subject to the following lines. 437 is also a doubtful line, which could have been added to fill a lacuna (cf. ad loc.). Cf. also ad *Dem.* 13, 413.

M itself was torn at some stage, resulting in a V-shaped rent in the lines 387–404 and 462–79. A sixteenth-century scribe repaired the damage roughly and added supplements which were apparently conjectural (cf. Allen and Halliday, xxi f., and for facsimiles Goodwin's edition).

M's tendency for 'restoring' unmetrical 'epicisms' may be noted at 137, 173, 269, 284. Possibly *ἀχέειν* at 479 has also replaced *ἰαχέ(ε)ιν* (i.e. *ἰαχεῖν*). Cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 800.

The most complete apparatus criticus is provided by Goodwin. The deficiencies of M's text are well illustrated by a small fragment of papyrus (pap. 2), of the third century A.D., which contains 402–7 (P. Oxy. 2379). In the space of six lines (and only 14 fragmentary words) it confirms two previous conjectures (at 404 and 406) and gives the true reading of 407, which had long been suspected (and was in fact marked as corrupt in M itself). The papyrus also contradicts the suspected lacuna after 403, and provides an Attic form of the name Persephone at 405 (*Φερσεφόνη*). For a discussion cf. R. Merkelbach, *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik* (Cologne and Opladen, 1959), 155 f.

There is one other papyrus which has bearing on the *Hymn* (pap. 1). This was first published by Schubart and Bücheler in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V, 1 p. 7 (P. Berol. 13044). It is at present in East Berlin, and is probably mid-first-century B.C. (Dr. W. Müller, in a letter to me). It can conveniently be found in Kern, *Orph. Frag.* 49, pp. 119 ff. This papyrus contains an account of

the Rape of Persephone and Demeter's Visit to Eleusis which differs considerably from the *Hymn*, ascribed to Orpheus (and Musaeus, as his amanuensis), together with lengthy quotations from the *Hymn*, two of which are ascribed to Orpheus and Musaeus(?) respectively. The lines quoted are 418–23 (Catalogue of Nymphs, omitting 419), 8–18+33–6, 248–9, 256–62, 268a+54b–56. The papyrus makes it clear, first, that the *Hymn*, or parts of it, were here treated as the work of Orpheus. It also appears to adapt the lines of the *Hymn* to suit a different, Orphic version (see below: Introduction XI, c). At 256–62 its text differs considerably from that of M, and between 258b and 261 it cannot be reconstructed. It omits lines (19–32: cf. ad loc.), and transfers and adapts 54–6 to follow 268a. Despite these idiosyncrasies, it provides useful testimony, especially at 418–23, where it has correct readings of all but one name (M is full of mistakes here), and agrees with Pausanias' quotation in omitting 419 (cf. ad loc.). At 8–18 it agrees closely with M (12b–16 are missing in the papyrus), but reads *ἀθανάτα*[*ισι* at 18, which might, just possibly, point to a true reading *ἀθανάτησι*. At 33–6 it omits *δέ* in 35 and clearly breaks off at 36. This is interesting, as 37 had already been suspected as an interpolation (cf. above). At 248 the papyrus apparently read [*πυρῇ ἔνι πο*]*λλῇ*, but this can hardly be correct. Its text of 256–7 is significantly different, suggesting a variant version of lines which are traditional in character (cf. ad loc.). The adaptation of 54–6 may be deliberate, but the reading *ἥπα*]*φε θυμόν* in 56 suggests a variant version, and it also has *Φερσεφόνην* (cf. pap. 2).

The papyrus also presents a slightly different version of the names of Celeus' daughters (cf. ad *Dem.* 105). It represents Athena and Artemis as present at the Rape (Orph. fr. 49. 40 f.), and there is no reason to assume that the version of the *Hymn* which it used omitted *Dem.* 424.[1]

## IX. QUOTATIONS

Direct quotations are not numerous, and all are late. Apart from the 'quotations' in the Orphic papyrus there are five definite cases, three in Pausanias. Cf. Allen and Halliday, lxxix ff.

[1] For other features of this version see below (Introduction XI, c: Orphic versions). Cf. also the articles referred to by Kern (l.c.), and L. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 426 ff., A. Krüger, *Hermes* 73 (1938), 352 ff.

1. Philodemus *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 40. 5 (ed. Gomperz, *Herkulanische Studien*, ii (1866), 42, tab. 91, vv. 12 ff.) refers to *Dem.* 440.
2. Paus. 1. 38. 2 refers to *Dem.* 154, but reads *ἀγήνορος* (cf. 155) instead of *ἀμύμονος*.
3. Paus. 4. 30. 4 quotes *Dem.* 417–20, omitting 419 (cf. the Orphic papyrus).
4. Paus. 2. 14. 3 quotes *Dem.* 474–6, with variant readings (476 *δρησμοσύνην . . . πᾶσι* Paus.: *χρησμοσύνην . . . καλά* M). He probably did not have 477, which is not original (cf. ad loc.).
5. Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130 (cf. Schol. Eur. *Or.* 964) paraphrases *Dem.* 202 ff.

Pausanias and Philodemus quote from 'Homer', or 'the Hymns of Homer', whereas Schol. Nic. refers to *τοῖς εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένοις ὕμνοις*.

In addition there are two possible references in Philodemus to *Dem.* 2 and 269 (Allen and Halliday, lxix; cf. Philodem. o.c., Gomperz, *Sb. Akad. Wien* 123 (1890), vi, p. 29, and *Herkul. Stud.* ii. 29, col. 57a). The first is highly doubtful (*καὶ τανύσφορον εἰπεῖν*, with no author's name), the second at best garbled. Cornutus (35) cites *πολυδέκτης*, *πολυδέγμων*, which are probably from *Dem.* 9 and 17 (etc.). Apollodorus (ap. Schol. Genav. ad *Il.* 21. 319) quotes *φερέσβιος* from 'Homer': it appears at *Dem.* 450, 451, 469, and also *Ap.* 341 and *Hy.* 30. 9, but not in Homer. Paus. 1. 38. 3 quotes 'Pamphos and Homer' for the names of Celeus' daughters, but gives them as Diogeneia, Pammerope, and Saesara (cf. ad *Dem.* 105, and below, Introduction XI, A).

It appears from Pausanias' quotations that he possessed a form of the *Hymn* which differed considerably from ours, but which he accepted as Homeric. The existence of variant versions is indicated also by the Orphic papyrus (above), and there were other versions attributed to Pamphos and Musaeus, which perhaps resembled the *Homeric Hymn* to some extent (cf. below, Introduction XI, A and C).

## X. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE

The influence of the *Hymn*, certain or probable, may be detected or suspected in many places in Greek literature. But its popularity was clearly greatest in the Hellenistic period. Many of the echoes of it are in passages where the subject is either Demeter or the

Eleusinian Mysteries. The *Hymn to Ge* (*Hom. Hy.* 30) is perhaps the earliest piece which may be influenced by the *Hymn to Demeter*, although it is always possible that the parallels are due to traditional formulae, and it is also possible that it is of a much later period.[1]

In the fifth century both Pindar and Sophocles refer to the Mysteries in language which probably recalls *Dem.* 480–2 (Pi. fr. 137a Snell, S. fr. 837 P.). Bacchylides may also have known the *Hymn* (cf. below, Introduction XI, A).

Euripides has an ode in the *Helen* about the Rape of Persephone and Wrath of Demeter, here identified with the Mother of the Gods (1301 ff.). It is probable that he has the *Hymn* in mind, although his version of the myth is different.[2] Carcinus fr. 5 is dependent on the *Helen* ode. At Ar. *Thesm.* 1155 f. the invocation *ὦ Θεσμοφόρω πολυποτνία* probably belongs to the cult, rather than recalling *Dem.* 211 (cf. A.R. 1. 1125, 1151, *Orph. Hy.* 40. 16). See also Addenda.

In this period it is perhaps significant that Antimachus, the precursor of learned Alexandrian poetry, apparently related the story of Demeter's wanderings, and shows some traces of knowledge of the *Hymn*.[3] In the third century Callimachus in his *Hymn to Demeter* also seems to echo the Homeric poet's description of Demeter's wanderings.[4] Philitas also wrote an elegiac poem called *Demeter* (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 90 f., frr. 1–4), in which someone (Demeter?) complains of his (her?) troubles, but not much more can be deduced about it with certainty.

It is Apollonius Rhodius who shows most clearly the influence of the *Hymn*. His description of Thetis' attempt to immortalize Achilles (4. 869 ff.) is closely similar to *Dem.* 237 ff. Both passages

[1] Cf. *Hy.* 30. 6 ~ *Dem.* 54, 492 *πότνια* at beginning of verse; 7–8 ~ *Dem.* 486–7; 9 ~ *Dem.* 450–1, 456, 469; 12 ~ *Dem.* 489; 16 ~ *Dem.* 1; 18–9 ~ *Dem.* 494–5.
For a possible link between *Dem.* 380 ff., Ibycus, and Bacchylides, *Ode* 5 see notes to *Dem.* 383.

[2] Cf. especially 1301 ff. ~ *Dem.* 40 ff., 1306 f. ~ 201, 304; 1315 f. ~ 424; 1316a–18 ~ *Dem.* 9, 30, etc.; 1327–37 ~ 305–12; 1338–45 ~ 313–28; 1342 f. ~ 77; 1349 ff. ~ 202–4. Perhaps also 1355–7 ~ *Dem.* 367–9?

[3] Fr. 32. 5 W. ~ *Dem.* 8–11; fr. 109 ~ *Dem.* 208?; cf. also frr. 67, 96, Wyss ad loc.

[4] Call. *Hy.* 6. 12, 15–16 ~ *Dem.* 49–50, 99–100, 201–2; 6. 47 ~ *Dem.* 165, 220; 6. 57–8 ~ *Dem.* 188–9, 251 ff.; note also fr. 611 ~ *Dem.* 98 f., *Hy.* 6. 134 ~ *Hom. Hy.* 13.3 (to Demeter); fr. 63. 8 *πότνα* as nominative, of Demeter ~ *Dem.* 118.

might reflect an earlier epic model, but this seems unlikely on internal grounds (cf. ad loc. for discussion and parallels). There are many other parallels of expression between the two poems, some of which are probably fortuitous, but hardly all.[1]

Theocritus 25. 38 ff. was thought by Ruhnken to be an imitation of *Dem.* 213 ff., but the passages are traditional in character and he may have had other models (cf. ad loc.). Note however also 25. 163 ὡς εἴ περ (cod.) ~ *Dem.* 215 (cf. ad loc.), and 25. 46 ~ 151–2.

Nicander refers to the story of Demeter's reception at Eleusis (*Alex.* 128 ff.) in language which clearly recalls *Dem.* 202 ff.[2]

The choriambic *Hymn to Demeter* of Philicus[3] tells of the famine caused by Demeter, and the attempts to pacify her, culminating in the appearance of Iambe, who makes her laugh. The poet evidently has the *Homeric Hymn* in mind, although his version of the story is different.[4]

Another lyric hymn which perhaps belongs to this period (or the fourth century B.C.) is that to the Mother of the Gods.[5] This has affinities with Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff., but also with the *Homeric Hymn.*[6]

A third hymn to Demeter of the Hellenistic period, in dactylic hexameter and tetrameter couplets, is Page, *Greek Lit. Pap.* no. 91. Here too one may detect traces of possible influence.[7] P. Harris 6,[8] of the second or third century A.D., preserves a frag-

[1] These are: *Dem.* 8–11, 17 a ~ A.R. 2. 1209, 1214; 20b ~ 4. 70; 25, 52 ~ 3. 1212–16; 67 ~ 4. 1422; 94 ~ 1. 834; 101 ~ 3. 72; 107 ~ 1. 1207 (~ Theocr. 13. 39, 46); 111, 147–8 ~ 1. 298 ff.(?); 131b ~ 4. 181(?); 168 ~ 1. 283; 176–7 ~ 3. 874–5, 4. 940 ff. (936b ~ *Dem.* 269b), 4. 45; 190 ~ 3. 741 f.; 201, 304 ~ 1. 286; 211 ~ 1. 1125, 1151 (cf. sup.); 231, 254 ~ 3. 867 (4. 1135 f.)(?); 259 ~ 3. 714; 269 ~ 4. 936; 274a ~ 2. 699, 3. 1204; 281 ~ 3. 158; 282 ~ 3. 811(?) (Mosch. *Eur.* 18); 293 ~ 4. 752 (Mosch. *Eur.* 16 f.); 308 ~ 1. 686 f.(?); 355 ~ 1. 307(?); 362b ~ 1. 466; 437 ~ 2. 878; 451 ~ 3. 969.

[2] Cf. Schol. ad loc., and especially *Alex.* 128 ~ *Dem.* 208–9; 129 ~ 207a, 210; 130 ~ 47 ff., 200; 132 ~ 202–4; cf. also Nic. *Ther.* 483–7.

[3] Cf. A. Körte, *Hermes* 66 (1931), 444 ff.; also D. L. Page, *Greek Lit. Papyri*, no. 90 and K. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 539 ff.

[4] Col. i fr. 4a, 21 ~ *Dem.* 305 ff.; 24 ff. ~ 314 ff., 441 ff.; col. ii fr. 5, 33 ff. ~ 325 ff., esp. 327 f.; 36 ὥρασιν ~ 265; 53 ~ 305 ff.; 54 ff. ~ 202 ff. Cf. Latte, o.c. 553, 559, F. R. Walton, *HTR* 45 (1952), 107 n. 7.

[5] *PMG* 935; cf. especially P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 134 ff., and M. L. West, *CQ* 20 (1970), 212 ff.

[6] 5 ff. ~ *Dem.* 40 ff.; 9, 15 ~ 313 ff.; 19 ~ 331 f.; cf. Maas l.c.

[7] Page 91. 1 ~ *Dem.* 1, 18, 32; 3 ff., 9 ~ *Dem.* 85–7.

[8] Cf. Snell, *Gnomon* 13 (1937), 580 f., Körte, *Arch. Pap.* 13 (1938), 80 f.

ment of another hexameter poem about Demeter, in which Hermes is sent as a messenger by Zeus to entreat her and offer her honours.[1]

The last poet of this era who shows definite knowledge of the *Hymn* is Moschus, in his *Europa*. The flower-catalogue (*Europa* 63 ff.) is similar to that of *Dem.* 6 ff., 425 ff., and although both might derive from an earlier epic version of the Rape of Europa, there is no doubt that Moschus had the *Hymn* in mind (cf. notes to *Dem.* 6 ff., Bühler, *Europa*, 108 ff.). This is supported by other clear parallels.[2]

Of the many inscriptions in verse referring to the Eleusinian cult there is only one which I have noted which shows a possible reminiscence of the *Hymn*, *IG* ii². 3661. 3 (second/third century A.D.): ὄργια πᾶσιν ἔφηνε βροτοῖς φαεσίμβροτα Δηοῦς, cf. *Dem.* 474–6 δεῖξε . . . καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι (cf. ad loc.).

The use of the *Hymn* as a work of Orpheus has already been noted (see above, Introduction VIII). Apart from Orph. fr. 49, another well-known reference to the 'works of Musaeus and Orpheus' (Plato, *Rep.* 364 e 3 ff.) possibly indicates use of the *Hymn* as an Orphic poem (cf. ad *Dem.* 367–9). There are also some parallels between the *Homeric Hymn* and the *Orphic Hymns* and *Argonautica*.[3]

In prose the account of the Rape by Apollodorus (1. 5) appears to paraphrase the Homeric version, although he also includes features from other accounts, and differs from the *Hymn* in making Demophon die in the fire. He echoes the language of the *Hymn* at several points.[4] See also Addenda.

In Latin poetry definite reminiscences are confined to those poets who retell the myth, Ovid and (probably) Claudian. Ruhnken compared *Dem.* 101–2 with Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 33, 'nec

[1] Cf. *Dem.* 313 ff., and v. 5 λίσσομαι ἀγλαόδω[ρε ~ *Dem.* 54 etc.; 7 Ζεὺς γάρ με πρ[οέηκε ~ *Dem.* 314, 335, 348, etc.; 9–10 δώσειν γὰρ τιμὰς [. . .] ἔν τε θεοῖς μακά-ρ[εσσι ~ *Dem.* 328, 443–4, 461–2.

[2] *Eur.* 16–7 ~ *Dem.* 285, 293; *Eur.* 18 ~ *Dem.* 198, 282; *Eur.* 126 ff. ~ *Dem.* 176, *Eur.* 127b ~ *Dem.* 131b; cf. Bühler, 61 ff., 169 ff.

[3] Orphic *Hy. prologue* 6b ~ *Dem.* 4* etc.; 38a ~ 424*; 10. 18b ~ *Dem.* 291*; 18. 11b ~ 17* etc.; 24. 1b ~ *Dem.* 337a; 29. 4b ~ *Dem.* 340, 415*, 29. 12 f. ~ *Dem.* 401 ff.; 40. 16b ~ 211*; 55. 18b ~ 431*; 56. 8b ~ 66*; 79. 2b ~ 8*; *Arg.* 33b ~ *Dem.* 296*; 377b ~ 272*; 625b ~ 459*; 730–1 ~ 99, 272(?); 1191–6 ~ *Dem.* 2 ff., 1195b ~ 300*, 1196a ~ 19*; 1339b ~ 108 (?).

[4] Cf. *Dem.* 3, 22 ff., 44 ff.; 47 f.; 91 ff., 98–9, 101, 184, 191, 202–4, 233–5, 239 ff., 244, 248, 268, 334 ff., 372, 373, 399–400, 445–7; Förster, *Raub und Rückkehr*, 57.

dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris', and *Dem.* 176 with Cat. 64. 129, 'mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae'. The first of these has no closer parallel elsewhere, but need not necessarily be an echo of the *Hymn*. The second is more directly derived from Hellenistic poetry (cf. notes ad loc.).

Ovid has two versions of the Rape, *Metamorphoses*, 5. 341 ff., and *Fasti*, 4. 417 ff. There has been considerable discussion about the sources of these, and it has been thought that those passages which recall the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite depend on a Hellenistic intermediary.[1] But there is no reason to doubt that Ovid knew and imitated the *Hymns* directly, although he follows in the main the version popular later, which placed the Rape in Sicily.[2]

The last poet who concerns us here is Claudian, whose unfinished mythological epic, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, is indebted partly to Ovid and partly to other Latin and Greek sources.[3] It is debatable whether he knew the *Hymn*, or was influenced by it. There is remarkably little evidence of such knowledge, 'although it is a reasonable assumption that as an Alexandrian born he would have been familiar with it' (Hall, o.c. p. 197). His method of telling the story is full-blown and rhetorical, in complete contrast to the Homeric poet's directness and simplicity, and also to Ovid, who at times comes close to the brevity of the *Hymn* (e.g. *F.* 4. 445–6, *M.* 5. 395–6 ~ *Dem.* 16 ff.; Claudian takes 55 lines over this, 2. 151–205). Claudian's flower-catalogue (2. 128 ff.; cf. 92 ff.) is indebted mainly to Ovid rather than the *Hymn*, but he includes the narcissus, which is important in the *Hymn* but does not appear in Ovid's versions. He is closest to the *Hymn* in Pluto's speech of consolation to Proserpine.[4]

[1] Cf. Herter, *Rhein. Mus.* 90 (1941), 236 ff., for bibliography.

[2] Cf. Bömer, *Fasti*, l.c., and *F.* 4. 437 ff. ~ *Dem.* 6 ff., 425 ff.; 447 f. ~ *Dem.* 20 ff., etc.; 453 ~ 38, 455 ~ 39, 457 f. ~ 41 ff., 386; 498 ff. ~ 43b; 502 ff. ~ *Dem.* 96 ff., 503 f. ~ 98, 201 f.; 513 f. ~ 113 ff., 147a; 517 f. ~ 101 ff., 42, 182, 197; 540 ff. ~ 233–41; 550 ~ 231, 238; 553 ff. ~ 239 ff.; 557 ff. ~ 256 ff., 561 f. ~ 275–81; 577 ff. ~ 69 ff.; 581 ff. ~ 62 f., 69 f., 76 ff.; 584 ~ 85–7; 591 f. ~ 83–5, 363–4; 598–600 ~ 83–7, 363 ff.; 603 f., 607–8 ~ 372–4, 393 ff., etc.; 605 ~ 335; 613–14 ~ 445 ff., 463 ff.; 615 f. ~ 470 ff.; *M.* 5. 391 ff. ~ *Dem.* 6 ff., 16–20; 438 ff. ~ 43 ff., 446–7 ~ 49–50; 449 ff. ~ 202–11; 471 f. ~ 40 f., 90; 477–86 ~ 305 ff.; 506–8 ~ 83 ff., 363–9; 521 f., 526–9 ~ 83 ff., 363–4; 530–2, 564 ff. ~ 393 ff., 445–7, 463–5.

[3] Cf. J. B. Hall, *Claudian De Raptu Proserpinae* (Cambridge, 1969), 106 ff., for recent discussion and bibliography, and also A. Cameron, *Claudian* (Oxford, 1970), 310–11.

[4] 2. 276 ff.: 277–8a ~ *Dem.* 361–2; 278b–80a ~ 363–6; 294–9 ~ 364–5; 302b, 303b–4 ~ 367–9.

Ovid does not have this address to Proserpine in either version, although he echoes it (with *Dem.* 82 ff.) in speeches addressed to Ceres (*F.* 4. 598–600, *M.* 5. 506–8(?), 526–9). It is possible that Claudian is influenced here by another version which we do not possess (perhaps one ascribed to Orpheus), in which Hades consoles Persephone as he carries her off rather than when she returns to her mother (cf. ad *Dem.* 363). Consolation by an abductor is also a feature of Mosch. *Eur.* 153 ff. (cf. Bühler ad loc.).

There are a few other parallels, of which the most notable is Claud. 2. 313–14, where Pluto smiles: 'facili passus mollescere risu, dissimilisque sui' (cf. *Dem.* 357–8, notes ad loc.). This is an unusual feature (not in Ovid) and as it comes shortly after Pluto's speech of consolation it might have been suggested by Hades' smile before he addresses Persephone in the *Hymn*.

The appearance of Minerva and Diana as companions of Proserpine in Claudian is probably due to Ovid and/or another source (Orphic version?). The description of them at 2. 20–1, 'haec tristibus aspera bellis, haec metuenda feris', is close to *Dem.* 424, but this is probably simply traditional. The same applies to 3. 50–1 (~ *Dem.* 43–4) and 149–50 (~ *Dem.* 40–1). But note 3. 169 ff., where Electra, one of the Oceanids, is described as the nurse of Proserpine (~ *Dem.* 418).[1]

We must therefore conclude that, whilst knowledge of the *Hymn* by Claudian is definitely possible, it cannot be demonstrated.[2]

Claudian completes this brief survey of the *Hymn*'s influence. It has often been said (e.g. Allen and Halliday, Introduction lxxviii ff.) that the *Homeric Hymns* were not widely read in antiquity, on the ground that they are seldom quoted (see above, Introduction IX). In comparison with Homer or Hesiod their influence is slight, but it can, I think, be traced throughout antiquity (this applies equally to the other major *Hymns*), although it was the learned Alexandrian poets who show the greatest interest in the *Hymn to Demeter*.[3]

[1] There is an interesting parallel between Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, 2. 277 and *Dem.* 188–9 (~ *Aph.* 173–4), but the motif probably occurred elsewhere.

[2] Cf. also below, Introduction XI, c.

[3] As the manuscript of the *Hymn* was not apparently known to the world in general until the end of the eighteenth century, the *Hymn* exercised no influence over Renaissance literature. A paper was once written which endeavoured to

## XI. OTHER VERSIONS[1]

### A. LITERARY VERSIONS

The myth was a stock subject of hymns, and popular in all literary forms throughout antiquity.[2] It is referred to in Hes. *Th.* 913–14, in a way which suggests that it was already traditional (cf. ad *Dem.* 1–18). Other epic versions besides the *Hymn* are attested. We know something of Pamphos' hymn, thanks to Pausanias, who calls him the earliest hymn-writer for the Athenians (7. 21. 9; 9. 29. 8), and earlier than Homer (8. 37. 9). Pamphos agreed with Homer in calling Demeter's daughter by her proper name Persephone (8. 37. 9), and like the Homeric poet he made the narcissus the means by which Persephone was deceived, and so carried off, in contrast to the Sicilian version later popular, in which she was picking violets (Paus. 9. 31. 9; *Dem.* 8 ff.). In this he perhaps followed local Attic legend (cf. Soph. *OC* 681 ff., Förster 30 f.). In other details, however, he differed from the *Homeric Hymn*, as he called the well by which Demeter sat Anthion (but cf. ad *Dem.* 99), and Pausanias locates this on the road to Megara, and distinguishes it from Callichoron. She was disguised as an old woman as in the Homeric version, but here she claimed to come from Argos, rather than Crete (Paus. 1. 39. 1; contrast *Dem.* 99, 123 ff.). Pamphos also named the daughters of Celeus, who greeted Demeter and took her to their mother Metaneira, differently from our version of the *Hymn*, although according to Pausanias (1. 38. 3) he agreed with Homer on this point. One of his names, Saesara, seems to belong to local Attic legend again (cf. ad *Dem.* 105). Diogeneia also is perhaps local (cf. Apollod. 3. 15. 1), but Pammerope cannot be identified.

We seem to find in Pamphos a variant epic version which both agrees and disagrees with ours, and which also preserves some traces of Attic legend that are not found in ours. In the main,

identify Milton's debts to the *Hymn*. This should serve as a warning against the perils of any such attempts to trace literary influences; that applies also to the tentative identifications which have been made in the preceding pages.

[1] On this subject see especially R. Förster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* (Stuttgart, 1874); also F. Bräuninger, *RE* 19. 948 ff.

[2] Cf. Aristides, *Eleus.* i p. 416 D. εἰς μέσον ποιηταὶ καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πάντες ὑμνοῦσι Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι; Menander, *Rhet. Gr.* 9. 144 Walz = 3 p. 338 Spengel; Nonnus *D.* 19. 80 ff., 47. 47, 27. 288 ff.

however, it looks as if his version of the myth was closely similar.

Further evidence for variant 'rhapsodic' texts may perhaps be detected in the quotations of Pausanias from the *Homeric Hymn* itself (see above, Introduction IX). The evidence for various Orphic versions, which also supports this view, will be considered separately below.

The allusions by the later epic poet Panyassis may here be mentioned. He referred to Demeter's arrival at Eleusis, but replaced Celeus by Triptolemus as a son of Eleusis (fr. 24 K. ap. Apollod. 1. 5. 1). He also mentioned in passing how Demeter was in service to a mortal for a whole year, presumably as nurse to the king of Eleusis (fr. 16).[1]

Of the lyric poets, several wrote hymns to Demeter and Persephone, of which very little is known for certain. [Archilochus] fr. 322 (West) is at best of doubtful authenticity (but see on *Dem.* 192–211 : 3. Iambe). Cf. also Lasus, *PMG* 702, Pindar fr. 37 Sn. (= 18 Bowra), probably also Bacch. fr. 3 Sn. (and perhaps frr. 2, 47). Archilochus had important family connections with the cult of Demeter, and could have composed a poem following a local version which made Paros the scene of the Rape (cf. ad *Dem.* 17). It is very likely that Lasus did so for Hermione, whose claim to have been the scene was taken seriously later (cf. Apollod. 1. 5. 1, etc.). Bacchylides, somewhat surprisingly, located it in Crete (fr. 47). In the *Homeric Hymn* Demeter claims to have come to Eleusis from Crete (123 ff.), and Bacchylides perhaps followed this version, making her actually come from the place of the Rape itself (cf. Förster, 65). He also mentioned Celeus (fr. 3). The Orphic *Rhapsodies* seem to locate the Rape of Persephone by Zeus in Crete (Orph. fr. 303), but this is a separate affair (see below).

The story of how Pindar composed a hymn to Persephone, or Demeter, after a dream in which either goddess had appeared to him, may have been suggested by something in the poem itself (cf. Bowra, *Pindar*, 51). The hymn contained many epithets of Hades (Paus. 9. 23. 4) but perhaps did not tell the story of the

[1] R. Rapetti, *Parola del Passato* 107 (1966), 131 ff., suggests that Hyginus, *Fab.* 147 is dependent on Panyassis for the major part of his version, since Triptolemus is also son of Eleusis here (on this see Förster, 70 f., *contra*). He also conjectures that the episode came in the *Heraclea* of Panyassis, in connection with Heracles' initiation at Eleusis before his descent to Hades.

Rape (cf. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 429 n. 1). In *O.* 6. 92 ff. he mentions the festival of Demeter and Persephone at Syracuse, but this would not necessarily indicate that he also located the Rape there (Malten l.c.), although *Nem.* 1. 13 does probably imply this (cf. Schol. ad loc., Zuntz, *Persephone*, 71). Another lyric poet, Melanippides, also wrote a poem called *Persephone*, in which an etymology of Acheron was given (*PMG* 759). This may have been a hymn (cf. Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 4. 1. 7). He also made the identification of Demeter with the Mother of the gods (*PMG* 764).

It is not known if Aeschylus referred to the myth of Persephone. He was Eleusinian by birth, and was accused of revealing secrets from the Mysteries (Arist. *EN* 1111ª9 f.), but whether he was initiated or not is unclear (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 886–7; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2. 461). His play *Ἐλευσίνιοι* may have contained allusions to the cult or myths of Eleusis, but there is no evidence for this. Sophocles, besides echoing the *Hymn* in his words about the Mysteries (fr. 837 P.) also made the story of Triptolemus the subject of a tragedy (frr. 596–617 P.), which evidently followed the version popular at Athens in the classical period, in which Triptolemus received from Demeter the gift of corn and became the teacher of mankind (cf. ad *Dem.* 153). Although direct influence from the *Hymn* is not perceptible, the occurrence of the word *ἀφράσμων*, rare enough to be quoted by Hesychius, in this play is interesting (fr. 613; cf. *Dem.* 256).

The Euripidean ode, in the *Helen*, has been mentioned above (Introduction X: Influence). Of the logographers, Pherecydes (*FGH* 3. 53) gave a genealogy of Triptolemus, and Phanodemus (*FGH* 325. 27) located the Rape in Attica, being the first attested authority for this (cf. ad *Dem.* 17). Philochorus apparently gave a rationalized account of the myth (*FGH* 328. 104), at least in so far as concerns his explanation of the winged chariot of Triptolemus.

The Parian Marble has an account of Demeter's visit to Athens and invention of corn, followed by Triptolemus' sowing of it (*Mar. P.* 12–13; see below: XI, c). Apollodorus (1. 5) gives a summary of the myth, largely based on the *Hymn*, but drawing on other versions also (cf. Frazer ad loc.).

The first explicit appearance of the Sicilian version[1] is in

[1] But cf. Pi. *N.* 1. 13 (above). The earliest coins from Henna (*c.* 450 B.C.) perhaps

Carcinus (the younger), who refers to the Rape and Famine, in language closely similar to Euripides, but locates it in Sicily (fr. 5). It is thought that the Sicilian historian Timaeus, of the late fourth and early third century, is the source (*FGH* 566. 164) for the later full accounts given by Diodorus (5. 2–5) and Cicero (*Verr.* 4. 106 ff.). It was this version which prevailed in later Greek and Roman poetry and mythographical accounts.[1]

The other versions and references of the fourth century and Hellenistic period, in Antimachus, Philitas, Callimachus, Nicander (cf. fr. 56), and Philicus, and the various papyrus fragments of poems about Demeter have been discussed above (Introduction X: Influence). There is an interesting Roman version (Virg. *G.* 1. 39, Serv. ad loc., Colum. 10. 272 ff., Lucan, *Bell. Civ.* 6. 698 f., 739 ff.) in which Proserpine is reluctant to return from Hades.[2] For other late accounts cf. Förster, Bräuninger l.c.

### B. LOCAL VERSIONS

On these see notes to *Dem.* 17, 75 ff., 96, 200, 227, and Bräuninger, *RE* 19. 951. 37 ff., 954. 19 ff., 959. 43 ff.

### C. ORPHIC VERSIONS[3]

Under this heading may be classed those versions of the Rape of Persephone and Wanderings of Demeter, and also those hymns to Demeter and other related deities, which are ascribed to Orpheus, Musaeus, or Eumolpus.

#### (*a*) *Orpheus*

The *Parian Chronicle* (*FGH* 239 A 14 = Kern, *Orph. Frag.* Test. 221) refers to poetry published by Orpheus[4] concerning the

already show Demeter looking for Persephone: cf. B. V. Head, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Sicily*, 58, Zuntz, *Persephone*, 70 f. Demeter is represented with torches, driving her chariot. The connection with the myth is not explicit, but it is probably there in the background.

[1] Cf. Moschus, 13. 121 ff., Opp. *H.* 3. 486–90, Nonn. *D.* 6. 1 ff.; Ovid and Claudian above, Val. Fl. 5. 343 ff., Stat. *Ach.* 2. 149–51, Sil. Ital. 7. 688 ff., 14. 239 ff.; Hygin. *Fab.* 146, 147, Lact. Plac. ad *Theb.* 2. 482; Firm. Mat. *de err. prof. rel.* 7; etc.

[2] Förster traced this back to Philochorus l.c., but cf. Jacoby ad loc.

[3] Cf. especially L. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 417 ff., 'Altorphische Demetersage'; and for a good general account of Orphic literature I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Univ. of California Press, 1941); cf. also L. Moulinier, *Orphée et l'orphisme* (Paris 1955). See also Preface, p. viii.

[4] The name is in a lacuna, but is probably correct. Cf. Jacoby, *Mar. Par.* ad loc.

Rape, Demeter's Search, her Discovery of Corn, and its Dissemination throughout the world. The Orphic papyrus which quotes parts of the *Homeric Hymn* (Orph. fr. 49 K.) also contains a prose paraphrase of such a version, with commentary, and tells us that Musaeus acted as Orpheus' amanuensis (49. 4 f.). Pausanias (1. 14. 3 = Kern, fr. 51) again refers to a poem of Orpheus about Demeter's Visit to Eleusis and Gift of Corn, which he distinguishes from another version, ascribed to Musaeus. The Orphic *Argonautica* (26 f. = Kern, Test. 224) includes in a catalogue of poetry by Orpheus 'Demeter's Wanderings and Grief for Persephone, and how she was Thesmophoros', and the poet also mentions a past song, addressed to Musaeus, on the Rape (1191–6; Kern, pp. 115–16). Clement claims to quote lines from a poem of Orpheus about Demeter's visit to Eleusis (Kern, fr. 52).

Mention should also be made of the Orphic *Rhapsodies*, which included references to the Marriage of Persephone with Zeus, and Rape by Plouton (cf. Orph. frr. 58, 153, 303; 151, 191–7, 360). The *Rhapsodic Theogony* seems to have been compiled *c.* 100 B.C. from a number of poems ascribed to Orpheus. The Rape of Core, with the weaving-scene, perhaps goes back to the *Peplos*, ascribed to the early-fifth-century Pythagorean Bro(n)tinus (see below).

Further direct evidence is provided by the Scholiast on Hesiod, *Th.* 914 (Kern, fr. 43), by scattered references in the Orphic *Hymns* (18. 12 ff., 29. 9 ff., 41. 3 ff., 43. 7 ff.; Kern, 115), and the quotation by Justin of the opening line of a poem on the 'Wrath of Demeter', adapted from *Il.* 1. 1 (Orph. fr. 48).

(*b*) *Musaeus*

The *Parian Chronicle* (A 15 = Diels, *Vorsokr.*[6] 2 B 8) refers to the publication of the poetry of Musaeus by his son Eumolpus,[1] after the foundation of the Mysteries. Pausanias (10. 5. 6 = Musaeus fr. 11 Diels) also speaks of poetry ascribed to Musaeus, entitled *Εὐμολπία*, and the *Suda* (s.v. *Μουσαῖος* = Diels 2 A 1) calls him a pupil of Orpheus, who wrote, amongst other poetry, *Ὑποθῆκαι* to his son Eumolpus, consisting of 4,000 lines.

Pausanias, who quotes 'Musaeus' for a genealogy of Triptolemus (1. 14. 3 = Orph. fr. 51 K., Diels 2 B 10), doubted the

[1] Again the name Eumolpus occurs in a lacuna, but is almost certainly correct.

authenticity of any of the works ascribed to Musaeus, except the *Hymn to Demeter*, which was composed for the Lycomidae (1. 22. 7 = Diels 2 A 5; cf. 4. 1. 5 = Diels 2 B 20). Part, at least, of 'Musaeus' he attributed to Onomacritus (1. 22. 7; cf. Hdt. 7. 6).

(*c*) *Eumolpus*

In addition to the *testimonia* referred to above, the *Suda* (s.v. Εὔμολπος) makes him a son of Musaeus, and ascribes to him 3,000 lines of poetry about the Rites of Demeter, her Visit to Celeus, and Institution of the Mysteries, which she communicated to Celeus' daughters (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff., 154).

For a discussion of the 'poetry of Musaeus and his son', and 'the hubbub of books of Musaeus and Orpheus' in Plato, *Rep.* 363 c 3 ff., 364 e 3 ff., cf. notes on *Dem.* 367–8.

It is difficult to be certain how many separate poems are indicated by this evidence, but it may be noted that Pausanias clearly distinguishes between two versions, ascribed to Musaeus and Orpheus. It is, therefore, unwise to speak of a single 'Orphic version'. Kern thought that he detected four separate poems, of varying dates (*Orph. Frag.* p. 116). But the most complete account, despite its fragmentary condition, is that of Orph. fr. 49, and it may be useful to take this as a basis, and consider how far other *testimonia* agree with or supplement it. Only where actual disagreement is discernible can one safely speak of another version.

This account begins with Persephone, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, apparently picking flowers (as in the *Hymn*) with the Oceanids, whose names are quoted (*Dem.* 418–23). Persephone picks the narcissus, the earth opens, and Hades appears and carries her off (fr. 49. 17–38 ~ *Dem.* 4–20).

The place of the Rape is not mentioned. According to Schol. Hes. *Th.* 914 (fr. 43) Orpheus placed the Rape near Oceanus, and this is supported by *Orph. Hy.* 18. 13, *Arg.* 1196. Here too, this version probably agrees with the *Hymn*, as also in the mention of the 'Meadow' (*Hy.* 18. 13 ~ *Dem.* 7; cf. ad *Dem.* 5, 7, 17).

The papyrus commentary goes on to mention thunder and lightning in connection with Zeus, and then Artemis' archery, and Athena. In the *Hymn* Artemis and Athena are mentioned as present (*Dem.* 424), but Zeus is far away (27–9). The Orphic

version can here be supplemented from Euripides (*Helen*, 1314 ff.), where Artemis and Athena pursue Hades, but Zeus looks down from heaven and brings 'another destiny to pass', together with Claudian (*RP* 2. 205 ff.), who describes how they attack Pluto, but are driven off by Jupiter, who hurls a thunderbolt. In the *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (*PMG* 935. 9 ff.) Zeus' thunderbolt is again referred to, but its purpose there is not clear. In this version, then, Zeus is both a witness and an active participant, and Athena and Artemis also take an active part.

The next part is fragmentary and will be discussed below. When the thread can be resumed (line 45) Demeter has heard Persephone's cry (cf. *Dem.* 39), and leaving Sicily wanders over the earth. This indicates the influence of the Sicilian version, but does not necessarily mean that the Rape itself took place there (cf. sup.). The next words, ]ε πε[ρὶ] τ[ὴν] πόλιν ἀφανὴς γέγονεν, are obscure, but perhaps refer to the place where Persephone disappeared into the earth with Hades. If so, the city might be Eleusis (see below). The *Hymn* does not mention Persephone's Catabasis.

In the next section preserved Demeter is lamenting her daughter's loss (52 ff.) when she is met by the daughters of the king (of Eleusis), whose names are here different from those of the *Hymn*, and who come together with the *queen* to fetch water (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.). Demeter is disguised as a woman, and they ask why she has come (reading αὐτὴ παραγέγονεν. διὸ . . . in line 57). The next section is apparently part of the commentary, leading to the quotation of *Dem.* 8–36, with the significant omission of *Dem.* 19–32. The omitted lines describe how no one heard Persephone's cry except Hecate and Helios, and how Zeus was far away. The witness of Hecate and Helios leads in the *Hymn* to Demeter's discovery of the truth about the Rape (51–90), but the Orphic version has no place for this, and probably omits it deliberately. Zeus' role has already been shown to be different from the *Hymn*'s portrayal of him.

The next legible section (81 ff.) describes how Demeter is offered the child (Demophon) to nurse consents to this, and how she anoints him with ambrosia, puts him in the fire, and is detected by his mother (with quotation of *Dem.* 248–9 and 256 ff.). The only difference from the Hymn is in the name of the mother, who is called Baubo (lines 81, 89). But the papyrus goes on to

tell how Demeter then burns and kills the child (100 f.). This does not happen in the *Hymn*, but it was quite possibly the original story, and is also found in the version of Apollodorus (cf. ad *Dem.* 254).

Demeter reveals herself (101 ff.), in words which combine her self-revelation in the *Hymn* (268a) with Hecate's question there 'who has stolen Persephone?' (54–6). Demeter, then, still does not know what happened. At this point someone, whose name is uncertain, returns from the fields. In what follows there seems to be a dialogue, in which he asks who the stranger is, and is told that she is looking for her daughter. After another few fragmentary lines the words *πρὸς Τριπτ[όλ]εμον* . . . occur, followed by *ὅθεν κάθοδος λέγεται*. The papyrus ends here, but it is by no means certain that this is the end of the commentary.

At this point it is possible to take the story further, by means of Orph. fr. 51 (Paus. 1. 14. 3), which tells us that Eubuleus and Triptolemus, sons of Dysaules, revealed to Demeter information about her daughter, and were rewarded by her with the gift of agriculture (cf. Aristid. *Panath.* 105. 11 p. 53 Dind.).

They must therefore have witnessed the Rape, and Demeter's visit to Eleusis was here motivated by her search for her daughter. This form of the legend, whereby she learns the truth from local inhabitants of the place where the Rape occurred, is common (cf. ad *Dem.* 75 ff., 96), and is more likely to be original than that of the *Hymn*, where Demeter's wanderings on earth and visit to Eleusis have no special purpose. Cf. also *Orph. Hy.* 18. 14–15, where Persephone's *κατάβαcιc* took place at Eleusis. Orph. fr. 49. 120 perhaps means 'whence the *Κάθοδοc* is said to have taken place here' or 'the place is called *Κάθοδοc*'.[1]

Further information comes from Clement (Orph. fr. 50), who mentions the Rape and 'the chasm in the earth, and the pigs of Eubuleus which were swallowed up in the earth for the goddesses, which are the origin of the custom by which they throw swine into pits at the Thesmophoria' (on this custom cf. notes on *Dem.* 16). He also recounts elsewhere (Orph. fr. 52) how the inhabitants of Eleusis were autochthonous, and their names were Baubo and Dysaules and Triptolemus, and also Eumolpus and Eubuleus. The last three were respectively cowherd, shepherd, and swineherd. It appears, therefore, that Eubuleus and Triptolemus

[1] Cf. also Claudian, *RP* 3. 48 ff.; Förster, 94.

saw their swine being swallowed in the earth with Hades' chariot, and hence were able to report it to Demeter.[1]

That this version may have been already current in the fourth century B.C. is indicated by Asclepiades of Tragilus (*FGH* 12. 4), who described Dysaules as *αὐτόχθων*, and mentioned his wife Baubo, and his children, whom he called Protogone and Misa.[2] Asclepiades' master Isocrates was perhaps thinking of the Orphic version when he referred to the benefits which Demeter *received from* the people of Attica, of which only the initiated may learn (*Panegyr.* 28). Once again, this suggests that the Orphic version is simply the local legend of Eleusis, and later of Attica. The story of how Demeter rewarded Triptolemus with the gift of agriculture was in the classical period the standard Athenian myth (cf. ad *Dem.* 153 and 305 ff.).[3]

Attempts have been made to find a reference to the pigs in Orph. fr. 49. 39, 41 and 117, but the text is too damaged to allow any certain readings. The words *βραβευτὴς δυς[* in line 42 were compared by Malten (o.c. 433) with *Orph. Hy.* 18. 16, but this last passage refers to Hades and it would therefore be unwise to restore *Δυς[αύλης*.

Clement, in the same passage about the *γηγενεῖς* of Eleusis, describes how Baubo received Demeter and gave her the *κυκεών*. When Demeter refused to drink it because of her sorrow, Baubo caused her to laugh and accept it, by an indecent exposure. Clement then quotes some verses of Orpheus about this.

This incident is clearly a variant of the episode in *Dem.* 192–211 (cf. ad loc.). Baubo was worshipped in Paros in association with Demeter and Persephone, and may even have belonged to local Eleusinian legend also. It is possible that the Homeric poet glosses over this version as *ἀπρεπές*, just as he may have omitted the death of Demophon. But it should be stressed that it is impossible to know exactly when the various features of this version were put together, and some may have been added at a much later date than others (cf. Kern, 116). See also Addenda.

In Euripides' *Helen*, another version seems to be reflected.

[1] A trace of this version appears in Ovid, *F.* 4. 465–6, and he also makes the Eleusinians poor rustics, 507 ff.

[2] The last two names are both due to emendation. Cf. Palaiphatos, *FGH* 44. 1, and Malten, o.c. 430, also Headlam on Herodas, 1. 56.

[3] Note that in this myth the gift of the Mysteries comes two generations later (*FGH* 239 A 14–15).

Here, Demeter is consoled by the sending of the Charites, Muses, and Aphrodite by Zeus (*Hel.* 1341 ff.). In *Orph. Hy.* 43. 7 ff. Persephone is brought back to earth by the Moirai and Charites, together with the Horai, her companions in dancing (cf. *Hy.* 29. 9). Malten pointed out that already on the altar of Hyacinthus at Amyclae Demeter, Core, and Pluto were portrayed with the Moirai and Horai, and also Aphrodite, Athena, and Artemis (Paus. 3. 19. 4; Malten, 424 f.).[1] Euripides' reference to the κύκλιοι χοροί of Persephone (*Hel.* 1312 f.) is also similar to *Orph. Hy.* 43. 8 κυκλίοισι χοροῖς. His equation of Demeter and the Mother of the Gods (cf. notes on *Dem.* 441 ff. and especially the Derveni papyrus) is supposed to be a feature of Orph. fr. 47 (Malten, 419 n. 2, 421), but the original is almost wholly unintelligible.[2] It should be noted that the version given by Orph. fr. 49 does not refer to this identification, but keeps to the traditional relationship of Demeter as sister of Zeus, and the alternative account is explicitly referred to other sources than Orpheus (fr. 49. 15 ff.). Equally, the sending of Charites and Moirai to cheer up Demeter can hardly belong to the same 'Orphic' version as fr. 52, and might even be a poetic invention of Euripides himself, based on an assimilation of several earlier motifs (cf. *Dem.* 192 ff., 313 ff.).

Another detail which is difficult to place is that of Orph. *Arg.* 1191 ff., where Persephone is said to have been 'deceived' by her συνόμαιμοι when she was carried off. In Claudian (*RP* 1. 214 ff.) Venus is sent by Jupiter to entice Proserpine from her weaving, and Pallas and Diana are also ordered to go as her companions (229 ff.), and they are later said to have conspired against Proserpine (3. 198 f.), but wrongly so, since Pallas and Diana in fact oppose the Rape. Förster detected evidence of a version where all the goddesses assisted, on Roman sarcophagi (135, 201–10). If this is in fact the sense of Orph. *Arg.* 1191 ff. it would again suggest that more than one 'Orphic' version was current (but cf. Malten, 422 n. 4).

The reference to Sicily in Orph. fr. 49. 47 seems to indicate that the Sicilian version has contributed something to 'Orpheus'. A further link may be found in Diodorus' reference to Athena and Artemis as Persephone's helpers in weaving the πέπλος for

[1] But this is probably irrelevant. In fact it is doubtful how far, if at all, Euripides is following an 'Orphic' version in this ode.

[2] See Zuntz, *Persephone*, 344 ff., especially 352 f., on this inscription.

Zeus (5. 3. 4). In Claudian she is also weaving a robe, for her mother, on which the universe is portrayed (1. 246 ff.; cf. also Nonnus *D.* 6. 145 ff.), and the πέπλος of Core or Athena is a feature of the account in the Orphic *Rhapsodies* (cf. Malten, 426, Kern, Orph. frr. 192, 193, 178). This may derive from the *Peplos* of Bro(n)tinus (cf. Kern, 314). Cf. also fr. 33, and the robe of Chthonie in Pherecydes, fr. 2 Diels (Orph. fr. 192).

The Anodos of Core is caused by Zeus in the *Homeric Hymn*, and she is brought up by Hermes (334 ff.). But there are traces of a version in which Demeter herself went down to Hades in order to recover her, taking Eubouleus (or Euboulos) as her guide (*Orph. Hy.* 41. 5 ff.; cf. Ovid, *F.* 4. 611 ff., *M.* 5. 533?, Claud. *RP* 3. 107 f.). One may note in passing that the Famine, by which Demeter forces Zeus to bring Persephone back in the *Hymn*, does not seem to have a place in the Orphic accounts. In Callimachus (fr. 466 = Orph. fr. 42) Hecate, as the daughter of Demeter (cf. Orph. fr. 41), brought her back. In *Orph. Hy.* 41 Demeter is called Ἀνταία, which was a title of Hecate (cf. ad *Dem.* 52). Hecate herself is portrayed leading Persephone back on a vase-painting (cf. ad *Dem.* 24 ff., 440). It is notable that Hecate's role is here confined to the Anodos, and she is not mentioned at the Cathodos (cf. Malten, 438 f. n. 6). In the *Hymn* she appears in connection with both.

Euboulos, or Eubouleus, is a title of Zeus and other deities in Greek cults, and especially of Hades. At Eleusis he appears in inscriptions as a separate person, receiving offerings with ὁ θεός and ἡ θεά.[1] In the Orphic *Hymns* he is also equated with Plouton (18. 12), or made a son of Demeter and Dysaules (41. 6, 8), or Persephone (29. 8), and he appears on gold-leaf inscriptions (Orph. fr. 32 c–e 2, g 2) and the Gurob papyrus (fr. 31 I 18).[2]

This general survey should have shown some of the difficulties involved in reconstructing the Orphic versions of the myth. Several significant variations have been noted, and it is often difficult to assess the antiquity of any single element. What does seem to emerge is the likelihood that many features attributed to Orpheus are reflections of local Eleusinian legend.[3] Although

[1] *IG* i². 76. 39; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 198 f.; *IG* ii. 3 Add. 1620c, d.
[2] Cf. also Orph. fr. 237. 4, *Hy.* 30. 6, 42. 2, 52. 4, 56. 3, 72. 3.
[3] Cf. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 80 f.

the *Homeric Hymn* was taken over and apparently adapted as an Orphic poem it is possible that in some respects the Orphic versions may represent earlier and more genuine traditions than those of the Homeric poet, who adapts to suit the requirements of traditional epic narrative. Orpheus, in the classical period, was regarded as the founder of τελεταί in general and, with Musaeus, as the general author of poetry concerning religion and cults (e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 1032 f., [Eur.] *Rhes.* 943–7). Hence poetry relevant to this subject tended to be ascribed to these two, with whom Eumolpus was associated as the founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and it is hardly surprising if we find a greater degree of emphasis on the ritual elements of Demeter's cults than we do in the Homeric poem (e.g. the pigs swallowed up in the chasm, Eubouleus, Baubo and her indecency, the gift of corn to Triptolemus, associated with the ceremonies of ritual ploughing, sowing, and reaping at Eleusis, etc.).

Wilamowitz and others have warned against the misconceptions which led scholars to postulate an Orphic body of 'doctrine' and an Orphic 'sect'. As far as concerns the myth of Demeter and Persephone, nothing exists which could support such an assumption. The further general question, when such religious poetry began to be attributed to Orpheus and Musaeus, cannot here be answered with any certainty. The *testimonia* quoted above do not antedate the fourth century B.C. Plato, *Rep.* 363 c ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 367 ff.) might perhaps suggest that the *Homeric Hymn* was already used by the purveyors of Orphic poetry in the late fifth century. This could hardly be a firm assumption, but other references of the period (especially Eur. *Hipp.* 953–4) indicate that such poetry was already a controversial matter. Herodotus' reference to Onomacritus' forgery of oracles of Musaeus (7. 6) shows that as early as the mid sixth century B.C. there was a body of poetry attributed to Musaeus, and that this was already being tampered with at this date. This is the period in which Athenian interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries is generally thought to have become dominant, and it may be true that the attribution of poetry about the Rape of Persephone and the Mysteries to Orpheus and Musaeus begins at this time. The rise to prominence of Eumolpus may also belong to the sixth century (cf. ad *Dem.* 154). Although he is not clearly related to Musaeus as his son until the end of the fifth century the association must

have begun at an earlier period. But it would be dangerous to speculate further on a matter where speculation has in the past been so notably misleading.

## XII. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following is a list of the more noteworthy editions of the *Hymn*:

D. Ruhnken, *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem*, Leiden, 1780. This edition was defective, omitting 21 lines of the *Hymn*, and was withdrawn when the error was discovered.

—— *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem*, Leiden, 1782 (actually published 1781). The first complete edition. With introduction, text, and commentary by Ruhnken (assisted by Valckenaer, Wyttenbach, Fontein, Voss, and others), and Latin tr. by Voss. For the history of these two editions see O. von Gebhardt, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 15 (1898), 442 ff. Another edition, with additional notes by Mitscherlich, Leiden, 1808. Another edition, Leipzig, 1827.

C. G. Mitscherlich, *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem*, Leipzig, 1787. With text, commentary, and Latin tr. by Mitscherlich, and the emendations of N. Ignarra.

C. D. Ilgen, *Hymni Homerici cum reliquis carminibus minoribus*, Halle, 1796. Text and commentary.

A. Matthiae, *Homeri Hymni et Batrachomyomachia*, Leipzig, 1805. Text, commentary, and Latin tr. Matthiae had previously published *Animadversiones in hymnos Homericos*, Leipzig, 1800.

G. Hermann, *Homeri Hymni et epigrammata*, Leipzig, 1806. Text and commentary.

C. W. F. A. Wolf, *Homeri et Homeridarum opera et reliquiae*, vol. 5, Leipzig, 1807. Text.

J. H. Voss, *Hymne an Demeter*, Heidelberg, 1826. Text, commentary, and German translation.

F. Franke, *Homeri Hymni Epigrammata Fragmenta et Batrachomyomachia*, Leipzig, 1828. Text and commentary.

F. H. Bothe, *Homeri Carmina . . . Odysseae, Batrachomyomachia, Hymni*, etc., vol. 3, Leipzig, 1835. Text and commentary.

A. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici*, Leipzig, 1860. Text and commentary.

F. Bücheler, *Hymnus Cereris Homericus*, Leipzig, 1869. Text and facsimile.

E. Abel, *Homeri Hymni Epigrammata Batrachomyomachia*, Leipzig and Prague, 1886. Introduction and text.

A. Gemoll, *Die Homerischen Hymnen*, Leipzig, 1886. Text and commentary.

A. Goodwin, *Hymni Homerici*, Oxford, 1893. Introduction, text, very full apparatus criticus, and photographs of torn parts of M.

V. Puntoni, *L'Inno Omerico a Demetra*, Leghorn, 1896. Lengthy introduction, text, and extensive apparatus criticus.

D. B. Monro, *Homeri Opera*, vol. 5, Oxford, 1896. Text.

T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Macmillan, London and New York, 1904. Text and commentary.

T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, vol. 5, Oxford, 1912. Text. Reprinted 1930, 1946 with corrections, etc.

H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, London, 1914, revised 1920, 1936 (Loeb edition). Text and Eng. tr.

T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford, 1936. Second edition of 1904 commentary. This follows in the main the text of 1912, but not invariably (e.g. *Dem.* 1 θεάν, etc.).

J. Humbert, *Homère. Hymnes*, Paris, 1936 (Budé edition). Introduction, text, and French translation.

A. Weiher, *Homerische Hymnen*, second edition, Munich, 1961 (Tusculum Bücherei). Text and German translation.

Of the early editions, those by Ruhnken, with its elegant introduction, Hermann, and Voss are perhaps the most valuable. Franke's introduction is worth reading. Baumeister is based on the unfinished edition of Schneidewin, and summarizes the work of earlier editors. Bücheler is useful for his collection of parallels, and facsimile.

Gemoll's edition was designed to replace that of Baumeister. He gives extensive bibliography, incorporating the work of many other scholars besides those already mentioned, and a detailed commentary.

The fine folio edition of Goodwin gives the fullest information on manuscript readings. Allen and Sikes are still useful, and have some good notes which are omitted from the second edition of Allen and Halliday. The latter have a good introduction, but the commentary is selective and uneven. Allen's text is also too conservative in many places. I find myself in agreement with Allen and Sikes against the second edition in twenty places on the text. Humbert's Budé edition has a good short introduction.

*Translations*

Besides those already mentioned, I have noted the following:

R. H. Hole, *Hymn to Ceres, translated into English verse*, Exeter, 1781 (from the defective 1780 edition of Ruhnken). Reprinted in *A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*, vol. 12, pp. 845 ff., London, 1795.

R. Lucas, *Homer's Hymn to Ceres, translated into English verse*, London, 1781 (also from the 1780 edition). Reprinted in *Poems on Various Subjects*, Tewkesbury, 1810, 219 ff.
J. Edgar, *The Homeric Hymns translated into English prose*, Edinburgh, 1891.
A. Lang, *The Homeric Hymns. A new prose translation*, London, 1899.
R. Borchardt, *Altionische Götterlieder unter dem Namen Homers* (German verse tr.), Munich, 1924 (Bremer Press).
A. S. Way, *The Homeric Hymns, with Hero and Leander, in English verse*, London, 1934.

### B. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

In addition to those works listed under 'Abbreviations', the following selection may be noted:

#### 1. *Text, Epic Technique, Language, and Metre*

Arend, W., *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer*, Problemata, Heft 7, Berlin, 1933.
Bechtel, F., *Lexilogus zu Homer*, Halle, 1914.
Buttmann, P., *Lexilogus*, tr. by J. R. Fishlake, sixth edition, London, 1869.
Cobet, C. G., 'Ad Homericum Hymnum in Cererem', *Mnemosyne* 10 (1861), 309–33.
Dittmar, F., *Prolegomenon ad Hymnum in Cererem Specimen*, Halle, 1882.
Eberhard, E., *Metrische Beobachtungen zu den homerischen Hymnen*, Magdeburg, 1887.
Edwards, G. P., *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context*, Blackwell, 1971.
Fietkau, H., *De carminum Hesiodeorum atque Hymnorum quattuor magnorum vocabulis non Homericis*, Königsberg, 1863.
Francke, K., *De hymni in Cererem Homerici compositione, dictione, aetate*, Kiel, 1881.
Groningen, B. A. van, *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque*, Amsterdam, 1958.
Hainsworth, J. B., *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula*, Oxford, 1968.
Heitsch, E., *Aphroditehymnos, Aeneas und Homer*, Göttingen, 1965.
Hoekstra, A., *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes*, Amsterdam, 1965.
—— *The Sub-epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition*, Amsterdam, 1969.
Kirk, G. S., *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge, 1962 (abbreviated as *Songs*).

—— 'Formular Language and Oral Quality', *Yale Classical Studies* 20 (1966), 155–74.

Leeuwen, J. van, *Enchiridium dictionis epicae*, Leiden, 1892–4.

Lehrs, K., *De Aristarchi studiis homericis*, second edition, Leipzig, 1865; third edition, Leipzig, 1882.

Leumann, M., *Homerische Wörter*, Basel, 1950.

Maas, P., *Greek Metre*, translated by H. Lloyd-Jones, Oxford, 1962.

Meister, K., *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, Leipzig, 1921.

Notopoulos, J. A., 'The Homeric Hymns as Oral Poetry', *Amer. Journ. of Philology* 83 (1962), 337–68.

Page, D. L., *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955.

—— *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley, 1959.

Parry, M., *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. A. Parry, Oxford, 1971.

Porter, H. N., 'Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite', *Amer. Journ. of Philology* 70 (1949), 249–72.

—— 'The Early Greek Hexameter', *Yale Class. Studies* 12 (1951), 1–63.

Porzig, W., *Die Namen für Satzinhalte im Griechischen und im Indogermanischen*, Berlin, 1942 (abbreviated as *Satzinhalte*).

Risch, E., *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1937.

Solmsen, F., *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, Strassburg, 1901.

—— *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung*, vol. i, Strassburg, 1909.

Sterrett, J. R. S., *Qua in re hymni homerici quinque maiores inter se differant antiquitate vel homeritate*, Boston, 1881.

Teske, A., *Die Homer-Mimesis in den homerischen Hymnen*, Greifswalder Beitr. zur Lit.- und Stilforschung, 15, 1936.

Trypanis, C. A., *Περὶ τῆς ῥοπῆς τῶν Ἡσιοδείων ἐπῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕμνον εἰς Δήμητραν*, *Athena* 48 (1938), 199–237.

Wackernagel, J., *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen, 1916.

—— *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* = *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen, 1953, i. 764 ff.

Zumbach, O., *Neuerungen in der Sprache der homerischen Hymnen*, Diss. Zürich, Winterthur, 1955.

2. *Cult, Religion, and Ethics*

Adkins, A. W. H., *Merit and Responsibility, a Study in Greek Values*, Oxford, 1960.

Arbesmann, R., *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern*, Giessen, 1929.

Bleeker, C. J., *Initiation*, Studies in the History of Religions, vol. x, ed. by C. J. Bleeker, Leiden, 1965.

Boyancé, P., 'Sur les Mystères d'Éleusis', *Revue des études grecques* 75 (1962), 460–82.

Burg, N. M. H. van den, *Ἀπόρρητα, Δρώμενα, Ὄργια*, Diss. Utrecht, 1939.

Casel, O., *De philosophorum graecorum silentio mystico*, Giessen, 1919.

Deichgräber, K., 'Eleusinische Frömmigkeit und homerische Vorstellungswelt im homerischen Demeterhymnos', *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Mainz*, 1950, Nr. 6, 501–37.

Delatte, A., *Le Cycéon. Breuvage rituel des Mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1955.

Deubner, L., 'Zum Weihehaus der eleusinischen Mysterien', *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Jahrg. 1945–6, Phil.-hist. Kl., Nr. 2, Berlin, 1948.

Dieterich, A., *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Leipzig, 1893.

Dodds, E. R., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley, 1951.

Dow, S., 'Athenian Decrees of 216–212 B.C.: The Calendar of the Eleusinian Mysteries', *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philology* 48 (1937), 111–20.

Eitrem, S., *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Kristiania, 1915.

—— 'Eleusinia—les mystères et l'agriculture', *Symbolae Osloenses* 20 (1940), 133–41.

—— 'Die eleusinischen Mysterien und das Synthema der Weihe', *Symbolae Osloenses* 37 (1961), 72–81.

Farnell, L. R., *Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1896–1909.

Foucart, P., *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1914.

Harrison, J. E., *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3rd edition, Cambridge, 1922.

Judeich, W., *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1931.

Kerényi, K., *Eleusis*, New York, 1967.

Kern, O., 'Mysterien': *RE*, vol. 16, 1210 ff.

—— *Die Religion der Griechen*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1926–38 (especially vol. ii, pp. 182 ff.).

Keyssner, K., *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnos*, Stuttgart, 1932.

Kourouniotes, K., *Κόρης ἄνοδος*, *Arch. Deltion* 15 (1933–5), 1–15.

Lewis, D. M., review of Mylonas, *Eleusis* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 83 (1963), 206–7.

Lloyd-Jones, H., 'Heracles at Eleusis', *Maia* 19 (1967), 206–29.

Lobeck, C. A., *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829.

Mommsen, A., *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1898.

Mylonas, G. E., *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, Wash. Univ. Studies, new ser. 13, St. Louis, 1942.

—— *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, 1961.
Nilsson, M. P., *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906.
—— *Opuscula Selecta*, 2 vols., Lund, 1951–2; especially pp. 542–623, 'Die eleusinischen Gottheiten', and 624–7, 'Das eleusinische Relief aus der Sammlung Este'.
Noack, F., *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums*, Berlin, 1927.
Nock, A. D., 'Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments', *Mnemosyne* 5 (1952), 177–213 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, Oxford, 1972, ii. 791–820).
Norden, E., *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig, 1913.
—— *Vergilius, Aeneis VI*, ed. E. Norden, 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1926.
Onians, R. B., *The Origins of European Thought about the body, etc.*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1954.
Preller, L., *Demeter und Persephone*, Hamburg, 1837.
Pringsheim, H. G., *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Diss. Bonn, 1895.
Rohde, E., *Psyche*, 9th edition, Tübingen, 1925.
—— *Psyche*, translated from the 8th edition by W. B. Hillis, London, 1925.
Roussel, P., 'L'initiation préalable et le symbole éleusinien', *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 54 (1930), 51–74.
Rubensohn, O., 'Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes', *Jahrb. des Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 70 (1955), 1–49.
Ruhland, M., *Die Eleusinischen Gottheiten*, Strassburg, 1901.
Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*, Paris, 1962.
Töpffer, J., *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin, 1927.
Walton, F. R., 'Athens, Eleusis, and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter', *Harv. Theol. Review* 45 (1952), 105–14.
Wehrli, F., 'Die Mysterien von Eleusis', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31 (1934), 77–104.
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1931–2.
Zijderveld, C., *Τελετή*, Diss. Utrecht, 1934.
Zuntz, G., *Persephone*, Oxford, 1971.

3. *Later Literature and Art*

Bühler, W., *Die Europa des Moschos*, ed. W. Bühler, Hermes Einzelschr. 13, Wiesbaden, 1960.
Förster, R., *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone*, Stuttgart, 1874.

KANNICHT, R., *Euripides, Helena*, ed. R. Kannicht, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1969.

LATTE, K., 'Der Demeterhymnos des Philikos', *Museum Helveticum* 11 (1954), 1–19, = *Kleine Schriften*, Munich, 1968, 539–61.

MAAS, P., *Epidaurische Hymnen* (Schriften der Königsberger gel. Gesellschaft, Jahrg. 9, Heft 5), Halle, 1933.

MALTEN, L., 'Altorphische Demetersage', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 (1909), 417–46.

METZGER, H., *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1951.

—— *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris, 1965.

# SIGLA

| | |
|---|---|
| pap. 1 | P. Berol. 13044, mid 1st c. B.C. (see Kern, Orph. fr. 49, whose line-numbering I follow) |
| pap. 2 | P. Oxy. 2379, 3rd c. A.D. |
| M | ('Mosquensis') — Leidensis BPG 33H, early 15th c. |
| m | second hand in M, 16th c. |

For the system used in listing formulaic parallels see Introduction, p. 30.

# ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ

*Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον σεμνὴν θεὸν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν,*
*αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανίσφυρον ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς*
*ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς,*
*νόσφιν Δήμητρος χρυσαόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου*
*παίζουσαν κούρῃσι σὺν Ὠκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις,* 5
*ἄνθεά τ' αἰνυμένην ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἠδ' ἴα καλὰ*
*λειμῶν' ἄμ μαλακὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἠδ' ὑάκινθον*
*νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρῃ*
*Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτῃ*

1 = *Hy.* 13. 1 : *Δήμητρα* Hes. *Th.* 454 : *Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον** *Dem.* 315 : *ἠΰκομος** *Il.* 24. 602 (alibi apud Homerum *ἠϋκόμοιο* ad fin., *ἠΰκομος* pedibus IV ac V), *Hes. *Th.* 625 etc. : *σεμνὴ θεά** *Hy.* 30. 16 : *ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν** *Hy.* 9. 8 etc. 2a ~ 493a, *Hy.* 13. 2 : *θύγατρα** *Il.* 1. 13 etc. : *τανίσφυροι* (etc.)* Hes. *Th.* 364 : *Ἀϊδωνεύς** *Il.* 20. 61, *Dem.* 84 etc. 2–3 *ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς | ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς* Hes. *Th.* 913 f. 3 *δῶκέν τε** *Od.* 10. 237, 318 : *βαρύκτυπος** Hes. *Th.* 818 : *εὐρύοπα Ζεύς** *Il.* 2. 146 etc. : *βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς** *Dem.* 334, 441, 460 4 *νόσφιν** *Il.* 2. 347 etc. : *Δήμητρος** *Il.* 14. 326, *Dem.* 453 : *χρυσαόρου** *Il.* 5. 509 etc. : *ἀγλαόκαρποι** *Od.* 7. 115 etc. 5 *παιζούσας** *Od.* 7. 291 : *κούρῃσιν** *Od.* 6. 135, 222 : *Ὠκεανῷ** *Od.* 10. 511 : *βαθυκόλπων** *Il.* 18. 122 etc. 6–7 *αἰνύμεναι* (etc.)* *Od.* 22. 500 (etc.) : *κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον** | *πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακὸν . . .** *Il.* 14. 348–9 (~ *Hy.* 19. 25) : *ἠδ' ἴα** (*'una'*) *Il.* 13. 354 : *καλά** *Il.* 3. 328 etc. 7 *λειμῶνι μαλακῷ** *Ap.* 118 : *ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι, τόθι κρόκος ἠδ' ὑάκινθος** *Hy.* 19. 25 : *ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι* Hes. *Th.* 279 (cf. ad *Dem.* 401) ~ *Herm.* 198 : *λειμῶνες μαλακοὶ ἴου ἠδὲ σελίνου Od.* 5. 72 : *κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον** *Il.* 14. 348 (~ *Cypr.* 4. 3) : 7b = 426b 8 *δόλον** *Il.* 18. 526 etc. : *καλυκώπιδος Aph.* 284 : *γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ** *Il.* 24. 26, *Od.* 2. 433 : *ἑλικώπιδα κούρην** *Il.* 1. 98 : 8a ~ 428a 9 *γαῖα** *Il.* 2. 171 etc. : *Διὸς βουλῇσιν** *Il.* 13. 254 : *χαριζομένη** *Il.* 5. 71 etc. : *πολυδέγμων** *Dem.* 17 etc.

---

1 *σεμνὴν | Δημήτραν* Epigr. ap. Paus. 1. 37. 2 (in sepulcro Phytali) : *σεμνὴ Δήμητερ* Orph. *Hy.* 40. 2 8 *καλυκώπιδα κούρην** Orph. *Hy.* 79. 2 8–11 cf. Antim. fr. 32. 5 W. *αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι*, A.R. 2. 1209 *ὃν αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέφυσεν*

---

Titulus. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι εἰς τὴν δήμητραν* M : *Δήμητρα* Cobet, *Mnem.* 1861, 311 f. 1 *Δημήτηρ'* M : corr. Ruhnken *θεὰν* M : *θεὸν* Voss, Ruhnken 2 *τανύσφυρον* M : *τανίσφυρον* scripsi 4 *χρυσαόρου* M : *χρυσοθρόνου* Ruhnken, Cobet : *ὡρηφόρου* Bücheler, Gemoll. Versum reiecit Hermann 7 *λειμῶνα μαλακὸν* M : corr. Hermann 8 *ἔφυσε* Ilgen (cf. *Dem.* 428, *Aph.* 265 ; sed v. West ad Hes. *Th.* 381 *τίκτεν*) *καλικώπιδι* M : corr. Ruhnken 8b–18 cit. pap. 1 (Orph. fr. 49. 63–71)

*θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ἰδέσθαι*
*ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις·*
*τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ῥίζης ἑκατὸν κάρα ἐξεπεφύκει,*
*†κῶδιστ' ὀδμῇ† πᾶς δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε*
*γαῖά τε πᾶς' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἁλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης.*
*ἡ δ' ἄρα θαμβήσας' ὠρέξατο χερσὶν ἄμ' ἄμφω*
*καλὸν ἄθυρμα λαβεῖν· χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρυάγυια*
*Νύσιον ἂμ πεδίον τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ πολυδέγμων*
*ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός.*

10 *θαυμασίην** *Herm.* 443 : *γανόωντες* (etc.) *Il.* 13. 265 (etc.) : *σέβας** *Il.* 18. 178 etc. : *θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι** *Il.* 5. 725 etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 427) 10–11 cf. Hes. *Th.* 588 f. *θαῦμα δ' ἔχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους, | ὡς εἶδον δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισι* (cf. ad *Dem.* 8, 403) 11 *ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι** Hes. *Th.* 373, 415 : *ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις* Hes. fr. 1. 7 : *θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις** *Dem.* 403 (~ Hes. *Th.* 296 etc., init. versus) : *ἀθανάτοις** *Il.* 23. 207 etc. : *θεοῖς** *Il.* 5. 606 etc. : *θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους** *Il.* 14. 199 : *θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν** *Od.* 7. 210 etc. 12 *τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης** *Il.* 1. 249 : *ῥίζης** *Od.* 23. 196 : *ἑκατόν** *Il.* 2. 510 etc. : *τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἑκκαιδεκάδωρα πεφύκει Il.* 4. 109 : *ἐκπεφυυῖαι** *Il.* 11. 40 13–14 *Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε(ν)** *Il.* 15. 36 etc. ; cf. Hes. *Th.* 107–10, 839 ff., 847 etc. 14 *γαῖα** *Dem.* 9 etc. : *ἐγέλασσε(ν)** *Od.* 18. 163, *Herm.* 29 : *γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθών Il.* 19. 362 : *θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ Od.* 12. 236 etc. : *κῦμα θαλάσσης** *Il.* 4. 422 etc. : *οἶδμα θαλάσσης** *Certamen* 131, Simon. fr. 80. 3 D. : *ἁλμυρὸς . . . Πόντος* (*πόντος*)* Hes. *Th.* 107, 964 : *πόντος . . . οἴδματι θυίων Th.* 109 15 *ἡ μὲν θαμβήσασα** *Od.* 1. 360 = 21. 354 (~ 24. 101) : *ὠρέξατο χερσί** *Il.* 23. 99 : *χερσὶν ἄμ' ἄμφω** *Il.* 7. 255 (~ 23. 686) 16 *καλόν** *Il.* 1. 473 etc. : *καλὸν ἄθυρμα Herm.* 32 : *χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών Il.* 4. 182, 8. 150 : *εὐρυάγυια** *Od.* 15. 384, 22. 230 17 *ἂμ πεδίον** *Il.* 5. 87 etc. : *ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων** *Dem.* 430 (~ 31, 404. *ἄναξ* numquam hoc versus loco apud Homerum, Hesiodum) 18 = 32 : *ἵπποις** *Hy.* 31. 9 : *ἵππων ἀθανάτων** *Il.* 17. 476, *Dem.* 382 : *ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι* (ad fin.) *Il.* 16. 154 : *Κρόνου Il.* 2. 285 etc. : *πολυώνυμος** *Ap.* 82 (~ Hes. *Th.* 785) : *υἱός** *Il.* 2. 564

---

13–14 cf. Theogn. 8 ff. *πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίη | ὀδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ Γαῖα πελώρη, | γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἁλὸς πολιῆς* 14 *γαῖα δὲ πᾶσα γέλασσεν** Nonn. *D.* 22. 7 15 *ἄμφω χερσὶν ἔχων* A.R. 1. 1169 17 *οὔρεα καὶ πεδίον Νυσήϊον* A.R. 2. 1214

---

10 *τότε* M : ]*ότε* pap. 1 : *δέ τε* Wyttenbach : *δ' ὅ γε* Matthiae : *τό γε* Goodwin (puncto post *γανόωντα* interposito) 11 *ἠδὲ* correctum (a manu prima) ut videtur ex *ἰδὲ* M 12 *ἀποῤῥίζης* M *ἑκατόν γε κάρηνʼ ἐπεφύκει* Voss : *κάρη* Cobet 13 *κῶδιστ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς δ'* M : *κηώδει δ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς τ'* Ruhnken : *κηώεντ' ὀδμῇ· πᾶς δ'* (vel *κηώδης τ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς τ'*) Ludwich : *κῶζ' ἥδιστ' ὀδμὴ πᾶς δ'* Tyrrell : *κωδείας δ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς τ'* Humbert (Mitscherlich secutus) : fortasse ante hunc versum statuenda est lacuna (cf. Praefationem p. 66) 14 *ἐγέλασε* M : corr. Matthiae 17 *Μύσιον* Malten (*ARW* 12 (1909), 300). Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 699 (*μύσια Πc* : *νύσια* LA) 18 *ἀθανάτα*[*ισι* pap. 1 : versum reiecit Bücheler

ἁρπάξας δ' ἀέκουσαν ἐπὶ χρυσέοισιν ὄχοισιν
ἦγ' ὀλοφυρομένην· ἰάχησε δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ
κεκλομένη πατέρα Κρονίδην ὕπατον καὶ ἄριστον.
οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἤκουσεν φωνῆς, οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρποι ἐλαῖαι,
εἰ μὴ Περσαίου θυγάτηρ ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα
ἄϊεν ἐξ ἄντρου Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,
Ἠέλιός τε ἄναξ Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,
κούρης κεκλομένης πατέρα Κρονίδην· ὁ δὲ νόφιν
ἧστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηῷ
δέγμενος ἱερὰ καλὰ παρὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

19 ἁρπάξας* *Dem.* 81 : ἁρπάζων* *Il.* 22. 310 : ἀέκουσαν* *Od.* 20. 343 : ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσιν* *Il.* 13. 523, *Ap.* 98 : ὑπὸ χρυσέοισιν ὄχεσφιν* *Dem.* 375 : ὄχεσφι(ν)* *Il.* 4. 297 etc. 20 ἦγ'* *Il.* 5. 614 : ὀλοφυρομένην* *Od.* 19. 543 : ἐβόησα δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ* *Dem.* 432 : ἤυε' . . . ὄρθι' *Il.* 11. 10 : φωνῇ* *Il.* 3. 161 21 κεκλόμενος* *Il.* 15. 353, 16. 525 : πατὴρ Κρονίδης *Il.* 21. 508, 22. 60 (~ 8. 31 etc.) : πατέρα Κρονίδην *Dem.* 27 (~ 408) : ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος* (invocatur Iuppiter) *Il.* 19. 258, 23. 43, *Od.* 19. 303 : ὕπατον Κρονίδην *Il.* 5. 756 22 εἰ δέ (etc.) τις ἀθανάτων* *Il.* 6. 128 etc. : οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* *Il.* 18. 404 etc. : ἠέ τις ἀθανάτων ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων *Herm.* 441 (~ 445) 23 φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουε' *Dem.* 57 : ἀγλαόκαρποι . . . (καὶ) ἐλαῖαι . . . *Od.* 7. 115–16 = 11. 589–90 24 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ *Il.* 3. 374 = 5. 312 : θυγάτηρ* *Il.* 1. 538 etc. : ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες* *Il.* 18. 567 25 ἐξ ἄντρου* *Od.* 9. 407 : Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος* *Dem.* 438 : λιπαροκρήδεμνος* *Il.* 18. 382 26 Ἠέλιός θ'* *Il.* 3. 277 (~ *Od.* 8. 302 etc.) : Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ* *Il.* 1. 7 (~ 2. 104) : Ἠελίου . . . Ὑπεριονίδαο ἄνακτος *Od.* 12. 176 : ἀγλαὸς υἱός* *Il.* 2. 736 etc. : Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός* *Hy.* 28. 13 27 κούρης* *Il.* 2. 689, *Od.* 18. 279 : πατέρα* *Il.* 4. 354, *Od.* 6. 36 : Κρονίδην* *Il.* 5. 419 27a ~ *Dem.* 21 27b–8 ~ *Il.* 11. 80–1 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀλέγιζε πατήρ (Iuppiter)· ὁ δὲ νόφι λιασθεὶς | τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε καθέζετο . . . Cf. *Dem.* 302 ff., 355 ff. 28 ἧστο* *Il.* 6. 324 etc. : ἀπάνευθε θεῶν *Il.* 1. 549 : οἰκέομεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ *Od.* 6. 204 : πολύλλιστον* *Od.* 5. 445 : ἀπάνευθε θυωδέος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ | ἥσται* *Dem.* 355 f. : ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ* *Ap.* 253 = 293 28 f. ~ *Ap.* 347 f. ἀλλ' ἤ γ' ἐν νηοῖσι πολυλλίστοισι μένουσα | τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι . . . 29 δέγμενος* *Il.* 2. 794 etc. : ἱερὰ καλά* *Od.* 11. 130 etc. : δέξεαι ἱερὰ καλὰ περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων *Ap.* 274 : θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* *Il.* 1. 339, *Dem.* 22 etc.

---

19 τὰν . . . . ἅρπας', ἔνεγκέ τε χρυσέῳ παρθένον ἀγροτέραν δίφρῳ Pi. *P.* 9. 5–6 (~ Hes. fr. 215) 20 ὄρθια φωνῇ* A.R. 4. 70 23 ἀγλαόκαρπος . . . ἐλαίη* Opp. *H.* 4. 272 25 ἡ δ' ἀΐουσα | κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων δεινὴ θεὸς ἀντεβόλησεν (cf. ad *Dem.* 52) A.R. 3. 1212 f. (de Hecate)

---

19 ὄχεσφιν Voss (cf. *Dem.* 375) 21 κεκλημένη M : corr. Ruhnken 22 οὐδέ . . . οὔτε Hermann 23 ἀγλαόμορφοι Ruhnken ἑταῖραι Ruhnken : Ἔλειαι Ilgen : alii alia 24 οἵη pro εἰ μὴ coni. Wackernagel (*RhM* 44, 531 ; sed cf. ad *Dem.* 22 ff.) Περσαίη West (*Philologus* 110 (1966), 149) 26 τ' ἄναξ ὑπερήονος M : corr. Ruhnken 28 πολυκλίστῳ M : corr. Ruhnken (cf. *Ap.* 347, ubi idem error ; *Od.* 5. 445, 6. 204) 29 δέχμενος Cobet

τὴν δ' ἀεκαζομένην ἦγεν Διὸς ἐννεσίῃσι
πατροκασίγνητος πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων
ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός.
ὄφρα μὲν οὖν γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα
λεῦσσε θεὰ καὶ πόντον ἀγάρροον ἰχθυόεντα
αὐγάς τ' ἠελίου, ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν
ὄψεσθαι καὶ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων,
τόφρα οἱ ἐλπὶς ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον ἀχνυμένης περ.
ἤχησαν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαὶ καὶ βένθεα πόντου
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀθανάτῃ, τῆς ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ.
ὀξὺ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται

30 πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη* *Il.* 6. 458 (~ *Dem.* 433): Διός* *Il.* 1. 395 etc.: ἐννεσίῃσιν* (Iunonis) *Il.* 5. 894 31 πατροκασίγνητον* *Od.* 6. 330: πολυσημάντωρ* . . . αὐτοκασίγνητος* *Dem.* 84 f.: πολυδέγμων* *Dem.* 17 etc. 32 = 18 33 γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος* *Il.* 5. 769 = 8. 46: γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανόν* *Il.* 14. 174 = *Od.* 1. 54: οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα* *Il.* 15. 371 etc.: Γαῖάν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα* Hes. *Th.* 470 33–7 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν . . . τόφρα δὲ . . . *Il.* 9. 550–1: ὄφρα μὲν . . . τόφρα (in tertio versu) *Od.* 20. 328–30 34 λεύσσει* *Il.* 3. 110: θεά* *Il.* 10. 462 etc. (voc.; *Dem.* 145* nom.): πόντον . . . ἰχθυόεντα* *Il.* 9. 4, *Od.* 4. 381 etc.: Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος* *Il.* 2. 485 (~ 12. 30) 35 αὐγάς* *Herm.* 361: ἠελίου ἴδεν αὐγάς *Il.* 16. 188: Ἠελίου τ' αὐγή (init.) *Od.* 12. 176: ἔτι δ' ἔλπετο *Il.* 15. 539 (ἤλπετο vulg.): μητέρι κεδνῇ* *Od.* 10. 8 35–6 ἐπί τ' ἔλπεται* . . . ὄψεσθαι* *Il.* 24. 491–2 36 ὄψεσθαι* *Il.* 14. 343 etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 35): φῦλα θεῶν* *Il.* 15. 54 etc.: θεῶν αἰειγενετάων* *Il.* 2. 400 etc.: φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων* *Dem.* 322 37 ἔθελγε* *Od.* 17. 521: θέλγε νοόν *Il.* 12. 255: μέγαν νόον* Hes. *Th.* 37 (*Th.* 42 ἠχεῖ: cf. ad *Dem.* 38) ~ *Dem.* 82, 171 etc.: ἀχνύμενός (etc.) περ* *Il.* 1. 241 etc. (*Il.* 22. 424: cf. ad *Dem.* 38 ff.) 38 οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα, θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα *Il.* 1. 157: ὀρέων κορυφάς* *Il.* 12. 282 (~ *Od.* 9. 121, *Hy.* 19. 7): βένθεσι λίμνης* *Il.* 13. 21, 32: θαλάσσης . . . βένθεα *Od.* 1. 53 f., 4. 386 f.: ὑπὸ δ' ἤχεεν οὔρεα μακρά Hes. *Th.* 835: βένθεα λίμνης* Hes. *Th.* 365: πόντος* *Il.* 2. 210 etc. (~ 14. 258 etc.) 38–9 ~ *Il.* 1. 357–8 τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ | ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς . . . 39 φωνῇ δὲ βροτέῃ* *Od.* 19. 545: τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε* *Il.* 1. 43 etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–9): πότνια μήτηρ* *Il.* 1. 357 etc., *Dem.* 122, 185 40 ἄχος ὀξύ *Il.* 22. 405: ἄχος ἔλλαβε *Il.* 14. 475: ἐπεί μιν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανεν *Il.* 2. 171 (~ 19. 307, 23. 46 f.): ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται* *Il.* 6. 509 = 15. 266, 22. 401, *Dem.* 177 (cf. ad loc.)

---

32 versum delebat Cobet 33–6 cit. pap. 1 (c. 5. 3–6 = Orph. fr. 49. 71–5) 34 λεῦσε M: corr. Matthiae ἀγά[ρ]ρουν pap. 1 35 ἔτι ἤλπετο pap. 1 37 om. pap. 1 (quod probat Bücheler in commentario ad loc.): prius deleverant Mitscherlich, Franke μέγαν γόον (cf. *Dem.* 82) vel νόον μέγα (cf. *Ap.* 204, app. crit. ad loc.) Mitscherlich ἀχνυμένῃ περ Cobet lacunam post hunc versum statuit Hermann 40 ἔλαβεν M: corr. Matthiae 40–1 χαίτης ἀμβροσίης Hermann

ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλῃσι,
κυάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὤμων,
σεύατο δ' ὥς τ' οἰωνὸς ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν
μαιομένη· τῇ δ' οὔ τις ἐτήτυμα μυθήσασθαι
ἤθελεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
οὔτ' οἰωνῶν τις τῇ ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν.
ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ χθόνα πότνια Δηὼ
στρωφᾶτ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα,
οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἡδυπότοιο
πάσσατ' ἀκηχεμένη, οὐδὲ χρόα βάλλετο λουτροῖς.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινόλις Ἠώς,
ἤντετό οἱ Ἑκάτη σέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα,
καί ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε·

41 ἀμβρόσιαι* . . . χαῖται *Il.* 1. 529: κρήδεμνα *Il.* 16. 100 etc.: χερσὶ φίλῃσιν* *Il.* 23. 99 etc.: φίλῃσι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἤσχυνε δαΐζων *Il.* 18. 27 42 κάλυμμ' ἕλε δῖα θεάων | κυάνεον* *Il.* 24. 93 f.: κυάνεαι* *Il.* 22. 402 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38 ff.): cf. *Dem.* 183 (etc.): ἀμφοτέρους* *Il.* 13. 281: ἀμφοτέροισι βάλωμεν *Il.* 4. 16: περὶ στιβαροῖς βάλετ' ὤμοις* *Od.* 14. 528 (~ 15. 61) 43 σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς *Od.* 5. 52: ὥς τ' οἰωνοί *Dem.* 89: ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρήν* *Il.* 14. 308, *Od.* 20. 98 44 μαιομένη* *Od.* 13. 367 (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.): ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην* Hes. *Op.* 10: μυθήσασθαι* *Il.* 1. 74 etc. 45 ἤθελεν* *Od.* 4. 287, *Dem.* 193 etc.: ἤδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων *Il.* 18. 404 46 οὐ γάρ οἵ τις ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἐλθών* *Il.* 22. 438 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–46): οἰωνὸν . . . ἄγγελον *Il.* 24. 310 47–51 ~ *Il.* 24. 784–5 ἐννῆμαρ μὲν . . . ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἠώς (~ *Il.* 6. 174–5) 47 ἐπὶ χθόνα* *Il.* 3. 265 etc.: κατὰ χθόνα* *Herm.* 517: πολυπότνια Δηώ* *Dem.* 211 (~ 492) 48 στρωφᾶτ'* *Il.* 13. 557: αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες* *Od.* 7. 101 (~ *Dem.* 61) 49 οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἄσσον | βρώσιος Hes. *Th.* 796 f. (798a ~ *Dem.* 285): ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος* *Od.* 9. 359: ἡδυπότοιο* *Od.* 2. 340, 15. 507 50 ἀκηχέμεναι* *Il.* 18. 29: χρόα νίζετο *Od.* 6. 224: χρόα* *Il.* 4. 237 etc. 51 cf. ad *Dem.* 47–51: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη μοι ἐπήλυθε νὺξ ἐρεβεννή *Il.* 9. 474: ἐπερχομένη (sc. Aurora) *Od.* 22. 198 52 ἤντετο* γάρ τοι *Il.* 16. 788: σέλας* *Il.* 15. 600: ἐν χείρεσσι(ν)* *Od.* 24. 410: δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι* *Od.* 4. 300 53 ἀγγελέουσα* *Il.* 19. 120: ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε* *Od.* 4. 370

---

43 Ὀρεία ποτὲ δρομάδι κώλῳ μάτηρ θεῶν ἐσύθη ἀν' ὑλάεντα νάπη ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ' ἅλιον (etc.) E. *Hel.* 1301 ff. 44 μαιομένῳ* A.R. 4. 1275 52 ἡ δ' αἴουσα | κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων δεινὴ θεὸς ἀντεβόλησεν . . . στράπτε δ' ἀπειρέσιον δαΐδων σέλας (de Hecate) A.R. 3. 1212–16 (cf. ad *Dem.* 25)

---

41 χερσὶ φίλῃσι corr. ex χερὶ φίλῃ M (manus prima) 46 οὐδέ οἱ οἰωνῶν τις vel οὔτε τις οἰωνῶν τῇ Hermann: οὐδέ τις οἰωνῶν οἱ Brunck 47 χθονία M: corr. Ruhnken 48 στροφᾶτ' M: corr. Ruhnken 49 ἤ δεπότοιο M: corr. Ruhnken 50 πᾶσατ' M: corr. Ruhnken βάλλετο M: βάπτετο Ignarra: θάλπετο Mitscherlich: ἄταλλε λοετροῖς Ilgen 51 φαινόλη M: corr. Ruhnken 53 ἀγγέλλουσα Ruhnken: ἄγχι θέουσα Matthiae: ἐγκονέουσα Ludwich

Πότνια Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε
τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἥρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἤκαχε θυμόν;
φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουε᾽, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
ὅς τις ἔην· σοὶ δ᾽ ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα.
Ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἔφη Ἑκάτη· τὴν δ᾽ οὐκ ἠμείβετο μύθῳ
Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θυγάτηρ, ἀλλ᾽ ὦκα σὺν αὐτῇ
ἤϊξ᾽ αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα.
Ἥλιον δ᾽ ἵκοντο θεῶν σκοπὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
στὰν δ᾽ ἵππων προπάροιθε καὶ εἴρετο δῖα θεάων·
Ἥλι᾽ αἴδεσσαί με θεὰν θεός, εἴ ποτε δή σευ
ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴηνα.
κούρην τὴν ἔτεκον γλυκερὸν θάλος εἶδεϊ κυδρὴν

54 πότνια* *Dem.* 492, *Hy.* 30. 6 (apud Hom. semper quinto pede) ~ Hes. *Th.* 926 (πότνιαν*): Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος* *Dem.* 192: cf. *Dem.* 492, 4 55 ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* *Herm.* 441: cf. *Dem.* 45, 73 etc. 56 ἥρπασε* *Il.* 13. 528: Περσεφόνην* Hes. *Th.* 913 (~ *Dem.* 360, 387, 405): φίλον ὥλεσε θυμόν* *Il.* 11. 342 = 20. 413: θυμὸν ἀκηχέμεναι *Il.* 18. 29 57 ἤκουεν φωνῆς *Dem.* 23: φωνή* *Il.* 2. 490 etc.: ἤκουσα/ε (etc.)* *Od.* 11. 421 etc.: ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν* *Il.* 3. 169 etc.: ἄταρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν* *Dem.* 68: cf. *Dem.* 67–8 58 αἴψά κ᾽ ἐγὼ νημερτέα πάντ᾽ ἐνέποιμι *Od.* 17. 561: τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἴρω *Od.* 11. 137: ταῦτα . . . ἀληθέα πάντ᾽ ἀγορεύω *Dem.* 433: ἐρέω νημερτέα πάντα* *Dem.* 406 59 ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἔφη* *Il.* 1. 584 etc.: Ἑκάτη* *Dem.* 52: ἠμείβετο μύθῳ* *Od.* 9. 506 etc. 59b–60a = 74b–5a 60 Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θυγάτηρ* *Dem.* 75 (~ 442): ἠϋκομος Ῥείη Hes. *Th.* 625, 634: ἠϋκόμου Hes. *Sc.* 216 (~ frr. 37. 8, 25. 17): θυγάτηρ* *Il.* 1. 538 etc.: ὦκα* *Il.* 13. 671 etc. 61 ἤϊξ᾽* *Dem.* 386 (~ 177, *Il.* 21. 247, *Od.* 15. 183): cf. *Dem.* 48 62 ἠέλιον* *Il.* 18. 239 etc.: δ᾽ ἵκοντο* *Il.* 4. 383 etc.: θεῶν* *Il.* 1. 549 etc.: σκοπὸν (etc.) *Il.* 10. 526 (etc.): ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν* *Il.* 1. 334, 7. 274: Ἥλιος γάρ οἱ σκοπιὴν ἔχεν *Od.* 8. 302 63 στῆ δ᾽ ἵππων προπάροιθεν* *Il.* 24. 286, *Od.* 15. 150: καὶ εἴρετο* *Il.* 1. 513: δῖα θεάων* *Il.* 5. 381 etc. 64 Ἥλι᾽* *Od.* 12. 385: αἴδεσσαι *Il.* 9. 640: θεὰν θεός* *Herm.* 154 64 f. εἴ ποτε δή τι | ἢ ἔπει ὤνησας κραδίην Διὸς ἠὲ καὶ ἔργῳ *Il.* 1. 394 f.: εἴ ποτε δή σε μετ᾽ ἀθανάτοισιν ὄνησα | ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ *Il.* 1. 503 f. 65 cf. ad *Dem.* 64 f., 117, 199: κραδίην καὶ θυμόν* *Il.* 2. 171 etc.: θυμὸν ἰήνῃ* *Il.* 24. 119 etc. (~ 23. 600 etc.): θυμὸν ἴαινον* *Dem.* 435 66 f. κούρην ἣν* . . . τὴν* . . . *Il.* 16. 56 ff., 18. 444 f.: ἔτεκεν (etc.)* *Il.* 24. 562 etc.: φίλον θάλος* ὃν τέκεν αὐτή *Il.* 20. 87 (~ *Dem.* 187): εἶδεϊ* *Od.* 17. 308: εἶδος ἀρίστην* *Il.* 3. 124 etc.

---

54 καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοδώρου* Agallias, in versu post *Il.* 18. 551 addito 66 γλυκερὸν θάλος* Orph. *Hy.* 56. 8

---

54–6 cf. pap. 1 (Orph. fr. 49. 102–5) 54 Δημήτηρ M: Δήμητερ Ilgen ὡρίφόρε M: corr. Ruhnken εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος pap. 1 55 τίς θεὸς οὐράνιος pap. 1 56 Φερσεφ[ό]νην pap. 1 ἥπα]φε θυμόν pap. 1 57 εἶδον M: corr. Ruhnken 58 lacunam post hunc versum statuerunt Hermann, alii 64 θέας ὕπερ M: θεὰν θεός Peerlkamp ap. Cobet (cf. *Herm.* 154): θέης ὕπερ Hermann: θεᾶς ὕπερ Voss, Hermann senex: θεὰν σύ περ Ludwich

τῆς ἀδινὴν ὄπ' ἄκουσα δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο
ὥς τε βιαζομένης, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.
ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον
αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσι,
νημερτέως μοι ἔνισπε φίλον τέκος εἴ που ὄπωπας
ὅς τις νόσφιν ἐμεῖο λαβὼν ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ
οἴχεται ἠὲ θεῶν ἢ καὶ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Ὣς φάτο, τὴν δ' Ὑπεριονίδης ἠμείβετο μύθῳ·
Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θυγάτηρ Δήμητερ ἄνασσα
εἰδήσεις· δὴ γὰρ μέγα ἄζομαι ἠδ' ἐλεαίρω
ἀχνυμένην περὶ παιδὶ τανισφύρῳ· οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
αἴτιος ἀθανάτων εἰ μὴ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς,
ὅς μιν ἔδωκ' Ἀΐδῃ θαλερὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν
αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα

67 *τῆς δ' ἀδινὸν* γόοωσα Od.* 4. 721 : *ὄπ' ἄκουσα* Il.* 7. 53 : *δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο* Il.* 17. 425 (~ *Dem.* 457, Hes. fr. 150. 35). Cf. P. Oxy. 2509. 1 (Hes. *Cat.*?) *ἐκ-cυμένως δ' ἤϊξε* (= *Dem.* 449a) *δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο* (cf. ad *Dem.* 322) 68 *ὅς τέ* μοι ὑβρίζοντες Od.* 1. 227 : *ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν* Dem.* 57 69 *ἐπὶ χθόνα* Il.* 3. 265 etc. : *κατὰ πόντον* Od.* 5. 377 : *χθόνα . . . πόντον Hy.* 30. 3 70 *αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης* Il.* 16. 365 : *καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν* Od.* 11. 16 (*ἐπι-* codd. plerique ; *κατα-* Ar. Byz., Aristarch.) ~ Hes. *Th.* 760 71 *νημερτές μοι ἔνισπε* Od.* 4. 642 : *νημερτέως* . . . ἐνισπήσω Od.* 5. 98 : *φίλον τέκος* Il.* 3. 162 etc. (semper vocative, exc. *Il.* 18. 63 *ὄφρα ἴδωμι φ. τ.*) : *ἐνισπεῖν εἴ που ὄπωπας* Od.* 3. 93 = 4. 323 (cf. ad *Dem.* 64 ff.) 72 *νόσφιν ἐμεῖο* Ap.* 314, *Herm.* 537 : *ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ* Dem.* 124 : *ἀέκουσαν* Od.* 2. 130 etc. : *ἀνάγκῃ* Il.* 14. 128 etc. 73 *οἴχεται* Il.* 15. 223 etc. : *οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων Dem.* 45 (~ 55 etc.) 74 *ὣς φάτο* Il.* 1. 188 etc. : *τὴν δ' . . . ἠμείβετο μύθῳ* Dem.* 59 (60a = 75a) 75 *Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θυγάτηρ* Dem.* 60 : *Δήμητρος . . . ἀνάσσης Il.* 14. 326 : *ἄνασσα* Dem.* 440, 492 76 *εἰδήσεις* Od.* 7. 327 : *μέγαν ἄζετο* Il.* 5. 434 : *μέγα κήδεται ἠδ' ἐλεαίρει* Il.* 2. 27 etc. (~ Hes. fr. 204. 114) 77 *ἀχνυμένῃ* Od.* 11. 388 : *περὶ παιδί* Il.* 16. 568 : *τανίσφυρον* Dem.* 2 77 f. *ἀχνύμεθα* . . . οὐδέ τις ἄλλος | αἴτιος* ἀλλὰ Ζεύς Od.* 11. 558 f. (~ 22. 154 f., 1. 347 f.) 78 *ἀθανάτων* Il.* 5. 186 etc. : *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* Il.* 1. 511 etc. 79 *ἔδωκε* Il.* 22. 285 : *Ἀΐδῃ* Od.* 10. 534 = 11. 47 : *θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν Il.* 3. 53 : *θαλερὴν . . . ἄκοιτιν* Hes. Th.* 921 etc. : *δώσω . . . σὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν* Il.* 14. 268 : *φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις* Il.* 3. 138 80 *αὐτοκασίγνητος* Il.* 2. 706 etc. (*Dem.* 85, 364) : *ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα* Il.* 23. 51, *Dem.* 446, 464 (~ 402, 482)

---

67 *ἀδινῇ ὀπί* A.R. 4. 1422

---

67 *ἀδινὴν* M : *ἀδινὴν* Allen 68 *εἶδον* M : corr. Ruhnken (cf. *Dem.* 57) 70 *καταδέρκεται* M (cf. *Od.* 11. 16) : corr. Ruhnken 71 *ὄπωπεν* M : corr. Ruhnken 72 *ἐμοῖο* M : corr. Matthiae (probante Ruhnken) 75 *θύγατερ* Bücheler 76 *μέγα c'* Ruhnken : *γάρ σε μέγ'* Voss 77 *τανυσφύρῳ* M : *τανισφύρῳ* scripsi (cf. *Dem.* 2) *οὐδέ* M : *οὔ νύ* Gemoll

ἁρπάξας ἵπποισιν ἄγεν μεγάλα ἰάχουσαν.
ἀλλὰ θεὰ κατάπαυε μέγαν γόον· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ
μὰψ αὔτως ἄπληστον ἔχειν χόλον· οὔ τοι ἀεικὴς
γαμβρὸς ἐν ἀθανάτοις πολυσημάντωρ Ἀϊδωνεὺς
αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὴν
ἔλλαχεν ὡς τὰ πρῶτα διάτριχα δασμὸς ἐτύχθη·
τοῖς μεταναιετάει τῶν ἔλλαχε κοίρανος εἶναι.
Ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆς
ῥίμφα φέρον θοὸν ἅρμα τανύπτεροι ὥς τ' οἰωνοί·
τὴν δ' ἄχος αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἵκετο θυμόν.

81 ἁρπάξαca φέρεν *Od.* 10. 48: ἁρπάξας* *Dem.* 18: ἵπποισιν* *Il.* 8. 184 etc.: ἄγεν* *Il.* 2. 557 etc.: μεγάλα ἰάχοντα* *Od.* 9. 392: cf. *Dem.* 18–20, 431–2 82 θεά* *Il.* 10. 462 etc.: κατέπαυca θεῶν χόλον* *Od.* 4. 583: μέγαν νόον* *Dem.* 37 82–3 νῦν δ' ἤτοι μὲν ἐγὼ παύω χόλον· οὐδέ τί με χρὴ | ἀσκελέως αἰεὶ μενεαινέμεν *Il.* 19. 67 f.: ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεῦ δάμαcον θυμὸν μέγαν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ | νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν . . . *Il.* 9. 496 f.; cf. *Il.* 9. 260, 20. 133, *Herm.* 494 f. 83 μὰψ αὔτως ἀτέλεστον* *Od.* 16. 111: ἄπληστον κοτέουcα Hes. *Th.* 315: ἔχει χόλον* *Dem.* 354: οὔ τοι ἀεικές* *Il.* 9. 70, *Dem.* 120 84 γαμβρός* *Il.* 9. 142 etc.: ἀθανάτους πολυσημάντωρ Ἀϊδωνεύς* *Dem.* 376 (cf. *Dem.* 2, 31, 357) 85 αὐτοκασίγνητος* *Il.* 2. 706 etc. (~ *Dem.* 364, 82): αὐτοκασιγνήτην ὁμοπάτριον* Hes. fr. 280. 18: ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆc* *Herm.* 172: ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε* Hes. *Op.* 74 86 ἔλλαβε* *Il.* 5. 83 etc.: ὡς τὰ πρῶτα* *Aph.* 185 (~ *Il.* 1. 276): ἀλλ' ἔχεν ᾗ τὰ πρῶτα* *Il.* 13. 679 (~ 24. 27): ὅccοι . . . τιμὴν ἔλαχον . . . (ὅcc' ἔλαχεν) . . . ἀλλ' ἔχει, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ἀρχῆc ἔπλετο δασμός Hes. *Th.* 421–5: τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδαcται, ἕκαcτος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆc . . . Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα *Il.* 15. 189–91: ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γένοντο, καὶ ὡς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαcτος *Herm.* 428: διὰ τρίχα* *Il.* 2. 655: δαcμός* *Il.* 1. 166: ἐτύχθη* *Il.* 2. 155 etc. 87 ναιετάουcι (etc.)* *Od.* 9. 23 etc.: αἳ περιναιετάουcιν* *Od.* 4. 177: κοίρανος εἶναι* *Od.* 18. 106 88 ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποιcιν ἐκέκλετο* *Il.* 8. 184 = 23. 442 88–9 ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποιcιν ἐνέπνευcεν μένος ἠΰ. | τὼ δ' . . . ῥίμφα φέρον θοὸν ἅρμα* *Il.* 17. 456–8: ὁμοκλῇ (etc.)* *Il.* 6. 137 (etc.): τοὶ ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆc | ῥίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἅρμα* Hes. *Sc.* 341–2 88–90 ὣς φάτο, Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ' . . . *Il.* 1. 188 etc. 89 ῥίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἅρμα* *Il.* 11. 533 (~ 17. 458, cf. ad *Dem.* 88–9): τανύπτερον* Hes. *Th.* 523: οἰωνοῖcι τανοπτερύγεccι *Il.* 12. 237: οἰωνὸν . . . τανυcίπτερον *Herm.* 213 90 ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἱκάνει *Il.* 8. 147 etc.: αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον* *Od.* 11. 427: αἰνότατον . . . καὶ κύντατον* *Dem.* 305 f.: ἵκετο θυμόν* *Il.* 11. 88

---

83 μαίνεται . . . ἄπληστον Semon. fr. 7. 33 f. D.[3] 89 θοὸν ἅρμα, de Solis curru, Mimn. 10. 9 D.[3]: τανύπτερος ὡς ὅκα πορφυρίς Ibycus, *PMG* 317b

---

81 ἵπποις ἄγαγεν Cobet 82–3 γόον . . . ἔχειν reiecerunt Schneidewin, Bücheler: οὐδέ . . . χόλον reiec. Baumeister, Flander: μέγαν χόλον Hermann 83 αὔτως M: corr. Hermann 85 τιμῆc Hermann (apud Franke): τιμῇ Schneidewin 86 lacunam post hunc versum statuerunt Matthiae, Bücheler (e.g. πᾶci καταφθιμένοιcιν ἀναccέμεν εἰν Ἀΐδαο): cf. ad *Dem.* 87 87 μετάναίεται M: μεταναιετάει Voss: μέτα ναιετάει Ilgen: μέτα ναιετάειν ὧν Valckenaer: versum delebat Hermann (apud Ilgen): post 81 ponebat Brunck 89 ῥίμφα φέρον M: ῥίμφ' ἔφερον Ruhnken

χωσαμένη δ᾽ἤπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
νοσφισθεῖσα θεῶν ἀγορὴν καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον
ᾤχετ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων πόλιας καὶ πίονα ἔργα
εἶδος ἀμαλδύνουσα πολὺν χρόνον· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν
εἰσορόων γίνωσκε βαθυζώνων τε γυναικῶν,
πρίν γ᾽ ὅτε δὴ Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἵκετο δῶμα,
ὃς τότ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης κοίρανος ἦεν.
ἕζετο δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ
Παρθενίῳ φρέατι ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται
ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης,
γρηῒ παλαιγενέϊ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥ τε τόκοιο
εἴργηται δώρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης,
οἷαί τε τροφοὶ εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων

91 χωσαμένη* *Il.* 9. 530: κελαινεφέι Κρονίωνϊ* *Il.* 1. 397 etc. (*Dem.* 316 etc.): cf. *Dem.* 468 92 νοσφισθείς* *Od.* 11. 73: θεῶν ἀγορήν* *Il.* 8. 2: καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον* *Il.* 5. 398 93 ᾤχετ'* *Il.* 2. 71 etc.: ἀνθρώπων* *Il.* 4. 84 etc.: πόλιας καὶ πίονας ἀγρούς* *Od.* 8. 560: ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα* *Il.* 12. 283: ᾤχετ᾽ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων *Il.* 14. 361 (de deo) ~ 19. 131 94 εἶδος ἀτιμήσασα* *Dem.* 158: τεῖχος ἀμαλδῦναι* *Il.* 12. 18 (~ 12. 32, 7. 463): πολὺν χρόνον* *Il.* 12. 9: οὔτε τιν᾽ ἀνδρῶν* *Herm.* 444 95 εἰσορόων* *Il.* 8. 52 etc.: γίνωσκε* *Il.* 6. 191: βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας* *Il.* 9. 594, *Od.* 3. 154 96 πρίν γ᾽ ὅτε δή* *Od.* 23. 43, *Dem.* 195, 202, *Ap.* 49: Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος* *Dem.* 233: Ἀλκινόοιο δαΐφρονος ἵκετο δῶμα* *Od.* 8. 13 97 Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης* *Dem.* 419 (~ 318): κοίρανος* *Il.* 2. 204, *Dem.* 87 etc.: κοίρανοι ἦσαν *Il.* 2. 487 etc. 98 ἕζετο* *Il.* 23. 235: ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο* *Od.* 13. 268: φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ* *Od.* 4. 804, *Dem.* 181 (~ 198), Hes. *Th.* 163 99 ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται* *Od.* 7. 131, 17. 206 100 ἐν σκίῃ* ἑζόμενον Hes. *Op.* 593 (~ *Dem.* 98 ἕζετο): αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε* *Od.* 14. 476: πεφύκει* *Od.* 5. 63: θάμνος ἔφυ τανύφυλλος ἐλαίης *Od.* 23. 190 (~ 13. 102, 122, 346, 372) 101 γρηῒ δέ μιν εὖκυῖα παλαιγενέϊ *Il.* 3. 386: ἐναλίγκιος* *Il.* 14. 290: οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο* *Il.* 17. 5 102 δῶρ᾽ Ἀφροδίτης* *Il.* 3. 54 (~ 64): ἐϋστεφάνου τ᾽ Ἀφροδίτης* *Od.* 8. 267 (ἐϋστ. Κυθερείης/ῃ *Od.* 8. 288 etc.) 103 θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων* *Dem.* 215 (~ 473, Hes. frr. 10. 1, 9. 1(?), PSI 6. 722. 1): δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται *Il.* 1. 238–9

92 νοσφισθεῖσα* γέρα προτέρων Orac. ap. Paus. 8. 42. 6 (de Cerere) 94 ἀμαλδύνουσα* A.R. 1. 834: ἀμαλδυνθεῖσα χρόνῳ περικαλλέα μορφήν *AP* 6. 18 (Iulianus). Cobet (*Mnem.* 10 (1861), 317) confert veterem inscriptionem apud Ruhnken γρηῒ δὲ θήκατό μιν πάντ᾽ ἴκελον (cf. *Dem.* 101) . . . κάλλος ἀμαλδύναca καὶ ἀγλαΐην ἐρατεινήν 101 γρηῒ δέ μ᾽ εἰcαμένην (Iunonem) A.R. 3. 72 (cf. ad *Dem.* 93 f.) 102 Κυπρογενοῦc δῶρον ἰοcτεφάνου Theognis 1304, 1332

91 δ᾽ ἤπειτα M: δὴ ἔπειτα Hermann: δἤπειτα scripsi 95 γίνωσκε M: γίγνωσκε Hermann 97 τότε λευσῖνος M: corr. Ruhnken 98 τετιημένος M: corr. Ruhnken 99 lacunam post 98 statuit Hermann (exeunte versu ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ): 99 reiecit Bücheler: πὰρ θείῳ φρέατι Wolf: θείῳ πὰρ φρέατι Hermann: φρείατι Παρθενίῳ Porson, Cobet: πὰρ φρέατ᾽ Ἀνθείῳ Tucker 101 παλαιγενέη M: corr. Ruhnken 103 'fuitne θεμιστοπόλοις βαcιλεῦcι, an 104 ab alio adiectus?' Bücheler

παίδων καὶ ταμίαι κατὰ δώματα ἠχήεντα.
τὴν δὲ ἴδον Κελεοῖο Ἐλευσινίδαο θύγατρες
ἐρχόμεναι μεθ' ὕδωρ εὐήρυτον ὄφρα φέροιεν
κάλπισι χαλκείῃσι φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός,
τέσσαρες ὥς τε θεαὶ κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι,
Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλεισιδίκη Δημώ τ' ἐρόεσσα
Καλλιθόη θ', ἣ τῶν προγενεστάτη ἦεν ἁπασῶν·
οὐδ' ἔγνων· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι.
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱστάμεναι ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδων·
Τίς πόθεν ἐσσὶ γρηῢ παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων;
τίπτε δὲ νόσφι πόληος ἀπέστιχες οὐδὲ δόμοισι
πίλναται; ἔνθα γυναῖκες ἀνὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα

104 *παίδων** *Il.* 15. 663 etc.: *ταμίη** *Il.* 6. 390 etc.: *κατὰ δώματα** *Od.* 7. 102, *Dem.* 156 etc.: *κὰδ δώματα ἠχήεντα** *Od.* 4. 72 (~ Hes. *Th.* 767) 105 *τὴν δὲ ἴδε** *Il.* 18. 382: *Κελεοῖο** *Dem.* 96: *θύγατρες** *Il.* 6. 238 etc. 106 *ἐρχομένη** *Il.* 4. 445 etc.: *ταὶ δὲ μεθ' ὕδωρ | ἔρχεσθε κρήνηνδε Od.* 20. 153–4 (cf. ad *Dem.* 285 ff.): *ὕδωρ προτὶ ἄστυ φέρεσκον** *Od.* 10. 108: *φέροιεν** *Il.* 5. 303 etc. 107 *κάλπιν ἐχούσῃ Od.* 7. 20: *φίλα οἰκία Il.* 12. 221: *πρὸς δώματα πατρός** *Od.* 4. 657, 15. 459, *Dem.* 160: *φίλου πρὸς δώματα πατρός** *Od.* 19. 458: *φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός** *Dem.* 180 108 *τέσσαρες** *ἦτε φῶτες Herm.* 195 (~ *Il.* 11. 698 etc.): *ὥς τε θεῷ** *Od.* 13. 231: *τρεῖς οἷαί τε θεαί, περικαλλέα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι* Hes. fr. 26. 6: *ἔχει ἥβης ἄνθος Il.* 13. 484 (~ *Herm.* 375, *Hy.* 10. 3, Hes. *Th.* 988, fr. 132): *κροκηΐῳ ἄνθει** *Dem.* 178 109 *Ἀλίη τ' ἐρόεσσα** Hes. *Th.* 245 110 *Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων* Hes. *Th.* 79 (~ 361): *ἀνδρῶν προγενέστερος ἦεν Od.* 7. 156: *πάντων προφερέστατος ἦεν* (-*ερος* codd. pauci) *Od.* 8. 128: *πολὺ φιλτάτη ἔσκεν ἁπασέων** *Od.* 8. 284 111 *ῥεῖ' ἔγνων** *Il.* 13. 72 (~ *Od.* 17. 273, 19. 475): *χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ** *φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς Il.* 20. 131: *χαλεπὸν δὲ τάδε ζωοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι** *Od.* 11. 156: *θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν** *Hy.* 31. 19 (~ *Il.* 20. 41, *Od.* 24. 64) 112 *ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα Il.* 4. 92 etc.: *προσηύδων** *Od.* 10. 418 (cf. ad *Dem.* 118) 113 *τίς πόθεν** *εἰς ἀνδρῶν Il.* 21. 150 etc.: *γρηῢ** *παλαιγενές Od.* 22. 395 (cf. ad *Dem.* 144): *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων** *Dem.* 352, *Aph.* 108, Hes. *Th.* 879 114 *τίπτε δέ** *Od.* 2. 363 etc.: *τίπτε . . . ἀφέστατε** *Il.* 4. 340: *νόσφι πόληος Od.* 1. 185 etc. (ad fin. versus): *ἀπέστιχε** *Od.* 12. 143 115 *γυναῖκες** *Il.* 8. 520 etc.: *ἀνὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα** *Od.* 1. 365 etc.

---

107 *χαλκείῃ σὺν κάλπιδι* A.R. 1. 1207 (cf. Theocr. 13. 39, 46, Gow ad loc.) 108 *κούριον ἄνθος* in versu post *Il.* 13. 433 addito (ap. Schol. T), Orph. *Arg.* 1339, fr. 98 (*κούριμον* codd.): *κούριον ἦβην* Orac. ap. Paus. 9. 14. 3

---

107 *κάλπηισι* M: corr. Ruhnken *φίλου* Matthiae (cf. *Od.* 19. 458, *Dem.* 180) 109 *Κλεισιδίκη* nominis posteriorem partem suspectam habuit Ruhnken 110 versum reiecit Preller *προγενεστέρη* Voss *ἁπασέων* Wolf 111 *ἔγνον* Cobet (cf. *Dem.* 327, 437); cf. H. L. Ahrens, *De Graecae Linguae Dialectis*, 2. 317, Schulze, *QE* 426 112 δ' om. M: corr. Ruhnken 113 *χαμαιγενέων* Bücheler, Herwerden, Abel 115 *πιλνᾶς* M: *πίλναται* Voss: *πιλνᾷ* Hermann (cf. *Il.* 14. 199 *δαμνᾷ*): *πιλνᾷς* Allen: *πίλνᾳ*(?) Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 695

τηλίκαι ὡς σύ περ ὧδε καὶ ὁπλότεραι γεγάασιν,
αἵ κέ σε φίλωνται ἠμὲν ἔπει ἠδὲ καὶ ἔργῳ.
Ὣς ἔφαθ', ἡ δ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμείβετο πότνα θεάων·
τέκνα φίλ' αἵ τινές ἐστε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων
χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν μυθήσομαι· οὔ τοι ἀεικὲς
ὑμῖν εἰρομένῃσιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.
Δωσὼ ἐμοί γ' ὄνομ' ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ·
νῦν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
ἦλυθον οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, βίῃ δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ
ἄνδρες ληϊστῆρες ἀπήγαγον. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
νηῒ θοῇ Θορικὸν δὲ κατέσχεθον, ἔνθα γυναῖκες

116 *τηλίκου ὥς** περ ἐγών Il.* 24. 487: *γέρων δὲ δὴ ὡς σύ περ ὧδε Il.* 24. 398: *ὁπλότεροι γεγάασιν Il.* 4. 325 117 *φίλωνται Dem.* 487: *ἐπέων . . . ἠδὲ καὶ ἔργων** *Il.* 11. 703 (~ *Od.* 17. 313): *ἢ ἔπει . . . ἠὲ καὶ ἔργῳ** *Il.* 1. 395: cf. *Dem.* 199 118 *ὣς ἔφαν Od.* 10. 422 (418 ~ *Dem.* 112): *ἡ δ' ἐπέεσσι καθάπτετο** *Il.* 15. 127: *ἐπέεσσιν** *ἀμειβομένω Od.* 11. 81 = 465 (~ 225 etc.): *δῖα θεάων** *Dem.* 63 etc.: *πότνια Δηώ** *Dem.* 47: *πότνα θεά Od.* 5. 215 etc.: *ἀμείβετο δῖα θεάων** *Od.* 4. 398: cf. *Od.* 13. 391–2 *σὺν σοί, πότνα θεά . . . | τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεά . . .* 119 *τέκνα φίλ'** *Od.* 4. 78: *αἵτινές εἰσι** *Herm.* 311 (~ 277): *γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων** *Od.* 11. 386, 23. 166, *Dem.* 167, 222 120 *χαίρετ'** *Il.* 24. 706 etc.: *ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι** *Od.* 4. 240 etc.: *οὔ τοι ἀεικές** *Il.* 9. 70 (cf. *Dem.* 83) 121 *εἰρομένῃ** *Od.* 24. 474: *ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι** *Il.* 6. 382 etc. (cf. *Dem.* 44) 122 *αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ' ὄνομ' ἐστὶν** *Ἐπήριτος Od.* 24. 306: *Ἀρναῖος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ Od.* 18. 5: *Οὔτις ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα** *Od.* 9. 366 123 *νῦν αὖτε Il.* 11. 363 etc.: *Κρήτηθεν Il.* 3. 233: *ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης** *Il.* 2. 159 123–4 cf. *Od.* 13. 256–7 *ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ, | τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου· νῦν δ' εἰλήλουθα . . .* (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.) 124 *ἰλλάσιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίῃ δήσαντες ἄγουσιν Il.* 13. 572: *οὐκ ἐθέλουσα** *Il.* 18. 434: *βίῃ δ' ἀέκοντος Il.* 1. 430: *ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ** *Dem.* 72 125 *ληΐστορες ἄνδρες Od.* 15. 427: *ἄνδρες** *δυσμενέες νηυσὶν λάβον ἠδὲ πέρασαν Od.* 15. 387 (cf. ad *Dem.* 132): *ληϊστῆρες Od.* 3. 73 etc.: *ἀπήγαγον** *Od.* 13. 211 125–7 ~ *Od.* 13. 113–14 *ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα | ἠπείρῳ ἐπέκελσεν . . .* 126 *νηῒ θοῇ** *Il.* 16. 123 etc.: *νῆα** *κατισχέμεναι Od.* 11. 456

---

118 *πότνα* (nominative, de Cerere Thesmophoro) Call. fr. 63. 8

---

117 *φίλονται* M: *φίλωνται* Voss 118 *ἔφαθ'* M: *ἔφαν* Voss *ἡ δὲ ἔπεσσιν* Hermann 'alibi in hoc carmine *πότνια Δηώ* aut *δῖα θεάων*' Bücheler 119 *φίλα· τίνες* M: *φίλ' αἵτινες* Fontein 120 *οὔτι* M: *οὔτοι* Fontein 121 *εἰρομένοισιν* M: corr. Ruhnken 122 *δὼς ἐμοίγ'* M: *Δωρὶς* Ruhnken: *Δωὶς* Hermann (cf. Bechtel, *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1890, 29 ff.) vel *Δωὰς*: *Δμωὶς* Mitscherlich: *Δὼς μὲν* Brunck: *Δωσὼ* Passow: *Δηὼ* Fontein: *Δὼς ὄνομ' ἐστὶν ἐμοί γε* Ludwich 123 δ' *αὖτε* Ruhnken (sed cf. *Od.* 11. 485 etc.) 124 *ἀέκουσαν ἐλόντες* Bücheler 126 versum reiecit Lenz (cf. 133–4): '*νῆα θοὴν* Homericum ut *Od.* 11. 456' Voss 126–7 *γυναῖκας . . . ἀολλέας* dubitanter proposuit Baumeister (qui tamen ipse lacunam post 127 indicavit)

ἠπείρου ἐπέβησαν ἀολλέες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
δεῖπνον ἐπηρτύνοντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός·
ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἤρατο θυμός,
λάθρῃ δ' ὁρμηθεῖσα δι' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης
φεῦγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας, ὄφρα κε μή με
ἀπριάτην περάσαντες ἐμῆς ἀπεναίατο τιμῆς.
οὕτω δεῦρ' ἱκόμην ἀλαλημένη, οὐδέ τι οἶδα
ἦ τις δὴ γαῖ' ἐστὶ καὶ οἵ τινες ἐγγεγάασιν.
ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μὲν πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
δοῖεν κουριδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι

127 ἠπείρου ἐπιβῆναι *Od.* 5. 299 : ἀολλέες* *Il.* 5. 498 : ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοί* *Od.* 19. 429 : cf. ad *Dem.* 125–7 127 ff. cf. *Od.* 9. 85 f. (= 10. 56 f.) ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου βῆμεν . . . | αἶψα δὲ δεῖπνον ἕλοντο θοῇς παρὰ νηυσὶν ἑταίροι : 9. 546 f. (= 12. 5 f. ~ 9. 149 f.) νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν ἐν ψαμάθοισιν | ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης : 14. 345 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 125) ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν κατέδησαν . . . αὐτοὶ δ' ἀποβάντες | ἐκκυμένως παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης δόρπον ἕλοντο· | αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ . . . (deinde aufugit Ulixes) : 15. 499 f. ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, | δεῖπνόν τ' ἐντύνοντο (~ *Il.* 1. 437, *Ap.* 505–11) : 11. 20 f. νῆα μὲν ἔνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν, ἐκ δὲ τὰ μῆλα | εἱλόμεθ'· αὐτοὶ δ' αὖτε . . . Cf. Arend, *Typische Scenen*, 79 ff. 128 δεῖπνόν τ' ἐντύνοντο* *Od.* 15. 500 (cf. ad *Dem.* 127 ff.) : παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός* *Il.* 1. 476, *Od.* 12. 32 129 σίτοιο μελίφρονος* *Od.* 24. 489 : θυμός* *Od.* 8. 202, *Dem.* 290, 324, 436 etc. : οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν | δόρπου μνήστις ἔην . . . | ἀλλ' αὕτως ἀποβάντες ἐκείμεθα νηὸς ἄπαντες *Od.* 13. 279 f. 130 λάθρῃ* *Il.* 7. 243 etc. : ὁρμηθείς* *Il.* 13. 562 etc. : ἠπείροιο μελαίνης* *Od.* 14. 97 etc. 131 φεῦγον* *Il.* 9. 478 : ὑπερφιάλους* *Od.* 3. 315 : σημάντορας *Il.* 4. 431 : ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη* *Il.* 24. 635 132 ἀπριάτην* *Il.* 1. 99 (~ *Od.* 14. 317) : τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος *Od.* 24. 30 (de honore) : κεῖθε δέ μ' ὡς περάσειε καὶ ἄσπετον ὦνον ἕλοιτο *Od.* 14. 297 : cf. *Od.* 15. 387 f., 428 f., 452 f. 133 νῦν αὖ δεῦρ' ἱκόμην* *Od.* 13. 303 : οὐδέ τι οἶδα* *Od.* 3. 184 134 Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι* *Od.* 19. 172 : τίς γῆ; τίς δῆμος; τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν; *Od.* 13. 233 135 ff. ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες . . . παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε *Il.* 1. 18 ff. : πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | δῶρον ἐδώρησαν Hes. *Op.* 81 f. 136 ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου* *Od.* 24. 196 : καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι* *Od.* 22. 324 (in precatione) : ἄνδρ' ὀλέσασα | κουρίδιον, τῷ τέκνα τέκῃ *Od.* 19. 265 f.

---

131 ὄφρα ἑ μή τις A.R. 4. 181 : ὄφρα κε μή μιν Mosch. *Eur.* 127 (cf. ad *Dem.* 176) : cf. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4. 92

---

127–8 aut deesse versum post 127 aut poetam scripsisse δεῖπνον δ' ἠρτύνοντο putabat Hermann (qui etiam senex οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ coniecit) : δεῖπνον δ' ἐντύνοντο Voss : δεῖπνόν τ' ἐντύνοντο Bücheler 132 ἀπονέσθαι M : corr. Ruhnken ed. 134 γαῖ(ε a manu alia) . . . ἐκγεγάασιν M : corr. Ruhnken : ἤτις γαῖ' ἦδ' ἐστὶ Cobet 135 ὑμῖν πάσῃσιν Hermann

ὡς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς· ἐμὲ δ' αὖτ' οἰκτείρατε κοῦραι

προφρονέως φίλα τέκνα τέων πρὸς δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι
ἀνέρος ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐργάζωμαι
πρόφρων οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφήλικος ἔργα τέτυκται·
καί κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα
καλὰ τιθηνοίμην καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι
καί κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῷ θαλάμων ἐϋπήκτων
δεσπόσυνον καί κ' ἔργα διδασκήσαιμι γυναῖκας.
Φῆ ῥα θεά· τὴν δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο παρθένος ἀδμὴς
Καλλιδίκη Κελεοῖο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη·
Μαῖα θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ
τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.

137 *ἐθέλουσι** *Il.* 14. 51 138 *προφρονέως** *Il.* 6. 173 etc., *Dem.* 487 : *φίλα τέκνα** *Il.* 10. 192 : *τέων** *Il.* 24. 387, *Od.* 20. 192 138 f. *πῇ γὰρ ἐγὼ φίλε τέκνον ἴω; τεῦ δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι | ἀνδρῶν . . . Od.* 15. 509 f. : *ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω; Od.* 6. 119 = 13. 200 139 *ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή** *Od.* 6. 184 : *ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες** *Il.* 15. 683, *Od.* 15. 163 : *σφίσιν ἐργάζεσθαι Od.* 14. 272 = 17. 441 : *ἐργάζοντο** *Od.* 24. 210 140 *πρόφρων** *Il.* 1. 543 etc. : *παναφήλικα** *παῖδα Il.* 22. 490 : *ἔργα τέτυκται** *Il.* 22. 400, 24. 354 141–3 *καί κε** . . . *καί κε* (tertio versu) *Od.* 15. 313–15 : *ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν Il.* 14. 213 etc., *Dem.* 264 : *ὧδε νεογνὸς ἐὼν καὶ νήπιος Herm.* 406 142 *καλά** *Ap.* 202, 516, *Herm.* 479 (in Homero semper medio versu) : *δῶμα φυλάσσοις Od.* 5. 208 143 *στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος Il.* 9. 621 etc. : *μυχῷ θαλάμων ἐϋπήκτων** *Od.* 23. 41 144 *δμῳαί· τὰς μέν τ' ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι Od.* 22. 422 (Eurycleia loquitur; *τ'* om. Allen) : *ἔργα διδασκῆσαι* Hes. *Op.* 64 145 *φῆ** (= dixerat) *Il.* 21. 361 : *ἦ ῥα** *Il.* 3. 355 etc. : *φῆ ῥα** Hes. *Th.* 550 (~ *Herm.* 212, 241) : *θεά** *Dem.* 34 (~ *Il.* 10. 462 etc., voc.) : *ἡ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο** *Od.* 4. 382 etc. : *παρθένος ἀδμής** *Od.* 6. 109, 228 145 f. *παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη Aph.* 82 146 *Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην Il.* 3. 124 (~ 6. 252 etc.) 147 *μαῖα** *Od.* 19. 482 etc. : *θεῶν** *Il.* 1. 339 etc. : *θεῶν . . . δῶρα Il.* 3. 65, 20. 265 : *δῶρα θεῶν Od.* 18. 141 : *καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ** *Il.* 12. 178 (~ 15. 133) 147 f. *σὺ δὲ τετλάμεναι καὶ ἀνάγκῃ Od.* 13. 307 : cf. *Dem.* 216–17 148 *τέτλαμεν Od.* 20. 311 (cf. 6. 190) : *πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν** *Il.* 10. 557 etc.

---

137 *οἵ' ἐθέλουσι τοκῆες· ἔμ' αὖτ'* Fontein : *ἐμοὶ δ' αὖτ' εἴπατε κοῦραι* Cobet : *ἐμὲ δ' οἰκτείρατε* Ilgen *τοκῆες* M : *τοκῆς* West lacunam post 137 statuit Allen 138 *πρόστροπον ὦ φίλα* Voss *τέως* Ruhnken 141 *αἴ κεν* Matthiae *ἔχουσα* corr. ex *ἔχουσαν* M 143 *ἐυπήκτων* M : *εὐπήκτων* Wolf 144 'potuisset *κε* omittere' Hermann *διαθήσαιμι γυναικός* M : *διδασκήσαιμι γυναῖκας* Voss : *διαντλήσαιμι γυναικός* Mitscherlich : *διαθλήσαιμι γυναικός* Ignarra : *διαθρήσαιμι γυναικῶν* Bothe : *διασκήσαιμι γυναικός* Sikes : *διαθρήσαιμι γυναικός* Allen (1936) 146 *θυγατεράων* M : corr. Ruhnken 147 *ἠχνύμενοί* M : corr. Ruhnken 147 f. *ἀχνυμένοις περ ἀνάγκη τετλάμεν ἀνθρώποις* Brunck

ταῦτα δέ τοι σαφέως ὑποθήσομαι ἠδ' ὀνομήνω
ἀνέρας οἵσιν ἔπεστι μέγα κράτος ἐνθάδε τιμῆς,
δήμου τε προὔχουσιν, ἰδὲ κρήδεμνα πόληος
εἰρύαται βουλῇσι καὶ ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν.
ἠμὲν Τριπτολέμου πυκιμήδεος ἠδὲ Διόκλου
ἠδὲ Πολυξείνου καὶ ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο
καὶ Δολίχου καὶ πατρὸς ἀγήνορος ἠμετέροιο
τῶν πάντων ἄλοχοι κατὰ δώματα πορσαίνουσι·
τάων οὐκ ἄν τίς σε κατὰ πρώτιστον ὀπωπὴν
εἶδος ἀτιμήσασα δόμων ἀπονοσφίσσειεν,
ἀλλά σε δέξανται· δὴ γὰρ θεοείκελός ἐσσι.
εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἐπίμεινον, ἵνα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς
ἔλθωμεν καὶ μητρὶ βαθυζώνῳ Μετανείρῃ
εἴπωμεν τάδε πάντα διαμπερές, αἴ κέ σ' ἀνώγῃ
ἡμέτερον δ' ἰέναι μηδ' ἄλλων δώματ' ἐρευνᾶν.

149 *σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ πυκινῶς ὑποθήσομαι** *Od.* 1. 279: *μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω** *Il.* 2. 488 150 *μέγα κράτος** *Il.* 13. 486: cf. Theogn. 171 v.l. *οἷς ἐστι μέγα κράτος* 151 *δήμου** *Il.* 17. 577 etc.: *προὔχουσιν** *Od.* 10. 90: *Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα** *Il.* 16. 100, *Od.* 13. 388 151 f. *ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόληα* Hes. *Sc.* 105 152 *εἰρύαται** *Od.* 6. 265: *βουλῇσι(ν)** *Il.* 13. 524, *Dem.* 9: *ὃς Λυκίην εἴρυτο δίκῃσί τε καὶ σθένεϊ ᾧ* *Il.* 16. 542: *ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν* Hes. *Th.* 86 ~ *Op.* 36 (initio versus) 153–5 *ἠμὲν . . . ἠδὲ . . . ἠδὲ . . . καὶ . . .** *Il.* 10. 109 f. 153 *Τριπτολέμῳ** *Dem.* 494: *πυκιμήδεος** *Od.* 1. 438 154 f. *πατρὸς ἀμύμονος** *Od.* 7. 29: *Ἀγήνορος** *Il.* 20. 474, 21. 595 156 *τῶν πάντων** *Il.* 22. 424: *ἄλοχοι** *Il.* 8. 155 etc.: *κατὰ δώματα** *Od.* 7. 102, 20. 122, *Dem.* 104: *πορσαίνουσαι** Hes. fr. 70. 8 (~ 43 (a). 69, 217. 5) 157 *τάων οὔ** *τις Od.* 2. 121: *οὐκ ἄν τίς σε Od.* 19. 107: *πρώτιστον** *Il.* 2. 702, *Herm.* 35: *ὀπωπῆς** *Od.* 4. 327 158 *εἶδος** *ἀμαλδύνουσα Dem.* 94: *εἰ δέ μ' ἀτιμήσουσι δόμον** *κάτα Od.* 16. 274: *δόμων ἄπο** *Od.* 3. 313, 15. 10: *νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα Od.* 21. 77: *ἀπονοσφισθῶσι Herm.* 562 159 *μάλα γὰρ θεοείκελος ἔσται** *Aph.* 279 160 *εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἐπίμεινον, ἐγὼ δ' εἶμι προπάροιθε Od.* 17. 277: *πρὸς δώματα πατρός** *Od.* 4. 657 etc. (*Dem.* 107, 180) 160 f. *ἔνθα καθεζόμενος μεῖναι χρόνον, εἰς ὅ κεν ἡμεῖς | ἄστυδε ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἱκώμεθα δώματα πατρός Od.* 6. 295 f. 161 *ἔλθωμεν** *Od.* 22. 77: *καὶ μητρί** *Il.* 14. 502 etc.: *βαθυζώνους** *Il.* 9. 594, *Od.* 3. 154 (cf. ad *Dem.* 95): *εὐζώνοις (-ον) Μετάνειρα(ν)** *Dem.* 212 etc. 162 *ἧμαι πάντα διαμπερές, εἰ κέ μ'** *Il.* 16. 499: *ἀνώγῃ** *Il.* 9. 101 etc. 163 *ἡμέτερον δ' ἐλθόντες Od.* 8. 39: *ἄλλων** *Il.* 1. 198 etc.: *δώματ'** *Il.* 1. 18 etc.: *ἐρεύνα** *Od.* 22. 180 (~ *Il.* 18. 321).

---

151 *πόληος* corr. ex *πόλιος* M ante 153 vers. 156 collocabat Schneider 153–4 *ἡ μὲν . . . ἡ δὲ . . . ἡ δὲ* M: corr. Matthiae 154 f. *ἀμύμονος . . . ἀγήνορος* M: transposuit Ruhnken: cf. Paus. 1. 38. 2 *'Ομήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὔμολπον* 155 *δολιχοῦ* M: corr. Voss 157 *ὀπωπῆς* Ignarra 158 *ἀπονοσφίσειεν* M: corr. Matthiae 159 versum interpolatum censebat Mitscherlich 160 *δὲ θέλεις* M: *δ' ἐθέλεις* Hermann (cf. *Dem.* 45, 137, 193) *ἕως πρὸς* Brunck 162 *ἀνώγει* M: *ἀνώγῃ* Fontein: *ἀνώγοι* Brunck

τηλύγετος δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐϋπήκτῳ
ὀψίγονος τρέφεται, πολυεύχετος ἀσπάσιός τε.
εἰ τόν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο
ῥεῖά κέ τίς σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων
ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίη.
Ὣς ἔφαθ'· ἡ δ' ἐπένευσε καρήατι, ταὶ δὲ φαεινὰ
πλησάμεναι ὕδατος φέρον ἄγγεα κυδιάουσαι.
ῥίμφα δὲ πατρὸς ἵκοντο μέγαν δόμον, ὦκα δὲ μητρὶ
ἔννεπον ὡς εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔκλυον. ἡ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα
ἐλθούσας ἐκέλευε καλεῖν ἐπ' ἀπείρονι μισθῷ.
αἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἢ ἔλαφοι ἢ πόρτιες ἦαρος ὥρῃ
ἄλλοντ' ἂν λειμῶνα κορεσσάμεναι φρένα φορβῇ,

164 τηλύγετος (etc.) in Hom. semper in secundo pede (*Il.* 3. 175 etc.; cf. *Dem.* 283) 164 f. ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἔνι πολλῇ (~ *Dem.* 248). | τρεῖς δέ μοί εἰσι θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐϋπήκτῳ *Il.* 9. 143 f. ~ 285 f. (cf. Praefationem, p. 32 n. 2) 165 Cf. *Dem.* 219–20 166–8 Cf. *Dem.* 221–3 166 θρέψαιο *Od.* 19. 368: καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο* Hes. *Op.* 132 (~ *Od.* 11. 317, 18. 217 etc.) 167 ἰδοῦσα* *Od.* 5. 78: γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων* *Od.* 11. 386 etc. (*Dem.* 119, 222) 168 ζηλώσει Hes. *Op.* 312: ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν* Hes. *Op.* 188: θρέπτρα . . . ἀπέδωκε *Il.* 4. 478, 17. 302 169 ὣς ἔφαθ'* *Il.* 2. 807 etc.: ἀνένευε καρήατι* *Il.* 22. 205 (~ 19. 405, *Hy.* 1. 16): ἐπένευσα κάρητι *Il.* 15. 75, *Dem.* 466: φαεινός (etc.)* *Il.* 10. 156 (etc.) 170 πλησάμενος* δ' οἶνοιο *Il.* 9. 224 (~ *Od.* 14. 87, 17. 603): ἐμπλήσας ὕδατος *Od.* 9. 209: πέσον ἄγγεα* *Od.* 16. 13: κυδιόωντες* *Il.* 21. 519 171 ῥίμφα* *Il.* 6. 511 = 15. 268 etc.: αἶψα δὲ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο* *Dem.* 184: πατρὸς* *Il.* 2. 662 etc. (*Dem.* 415): ἵκοντο* δόμον *Od.* 16. 335: μέγαν δόμον* *Herm.* 178: αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο* φίλου πρὸς δώματα πατρός *Od.* 19. 458: ὦκα δέ* *Il.* 13. 671 = 16. 606: μητρί* *Od.* 15. 127 172 ἔννεπον* *Hy.* 19. 29: εἶδον* *Od.* 11. 298 etc.: ὡς εἶδον *Il.* 5. 515 etc.: ἰδόμην οὐδ' ἔκλυον* *Il.* 10. 47: αἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα* *Od.* 3. 157, 176 173 ἐλθούσας* *Od.* 10. 411 (cf. ad *Dem.* 174 f.): ἐκέλευε* *Il.* 5. 199 etc.: ἧνωγον καλέειν* *Ap.* 105: ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν* *Il.* 7. 446 etc.: μισθῷ ἐπὶ ῥητῷ *Il.* 21. 445 174 οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἢ ἔλαφον* *Il.* 15. 271: πόρτιος *Il.* 5. 162: ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη* *Il.* 6. 148: ἐν λειμῶνι (~ *Dem.* 175) . . . ὥρῃ* *Il.* 2. 467 f. (simile): ἐν λειμῶνι . . . εἰαρινοῖσιν Hes. *Th.* 279 174–5 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀγραυλοι πόριες περὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας | ἐλθούσας (~ *Dem.* 173) ἐς κόπρον, ἐπὴν βοτανῆς κορέσωνται, | πᾶσαι ἅμα σκαίρουσιν ἐναντίαι . . . *Od.* 10. 410–12 175 ἐν λειμῶνι* *Il.* 2. 461, 467 etc.: ἀν' . . . λειμῶνα *Dem.* 417: ἐπεί τ' ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς* *Il.* 11. 562: κεκορημένον ἦτορ ἐδωδῆς Hes. *Op.* 593

164–5 ὀψιγόνοι τε καὶ ἀσπασί|οι ...]ν ἐν μεγάροισιν Stesich. *PMG* 222. i. 2–3

164 ἐυπήκτῳ M: εὐπήκτῳ Wolf (cf. ad 143) 165 versum eiciebat Matthiae πολύευκτός τ' Bücheler 166 γ' ἐκθρέψαιο M: γε θρέψαιο Gemoll (cf. *Dem.* 221) 167 ῥεῖά M: ἦ ῥά Matthiae (cf. *Dem.* 222) ῥεῖά κέ τίς κεν Brunck 168 ἀποθρεπτήρια M (cf. 223) 170 κυδιόωσαι Ruhnken 171 αἶψα δὲ μητρὶ Mitscherlich 172 ὡς M: ὅσσ' Ruhnken ('epicus poeta dicturus fuisset ὅσσα ἴδον' Hermann) εἶδον τε M: ἔϊδόν τε Hoffmann (*Quaest. Hom.* 2. 191) 173 καλέειν M: καλεῖν Ruhnken 174 ὥς τοι M: ὥς τ' ἢ Brunck ἦαρος M: εἴαρος Ruhnken (cf. *Dem.* 401; *Ap.* 9) 175 ἄλλοντ' M: corr. Ruhnken φορβῇ M: φορβῆς Voss

ὣς αἱ ἐπισχόμεναι ἑανῶν πτύχας ἱμεροέντων
ἦϊξαν κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσοντο κροκηΐῳ ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι.
τέτμον δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ κυδρὴν θεὸν ἔνθα πάρος περ
κάλλιπον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς
ἦγεῦνθ', ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὄπισθε φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ
στεῖχε κατὰ κρῆθεν κεκαλυμμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος
κυάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεᾶς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν.
αἶψα δὲ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο διοτρεφέος Κελεοῖο,
βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης ἔνθα σφίσι πότνια μήτηρ
ἧστο παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο
παῖδ' ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ἔχουσα νέον θάλος· αἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν
ἔδραμον, ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καί ῥα μελάθρου
κῦρε κάρη, πλῆσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θείοιο.

176 *βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἑανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ* *Il.* 3. 411 : *πτύχας** *Il.* 11. 77, *Od.* 19. 432 : *ἱμερόεντος** *Il.* 14. 170 177 *ἦϊξαν** *πεδίονδε* *Od.* 15. 183 : *κατ' ἀμαξιτόν** *Il.* 22. 146 (~ Parm. 1. 21) 177 f. *ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται** *Il.* 6. 509 f. = 15. 266 f. : *χαῖται δ' ἐρρώοντο μετὰ πνοιῇσι ἀνέμοιο* *Il.* 23. 367 178 *ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας** *Od.* 6. 231 = 23. 158 : *κουρῆϊον ἄνθος** *Dem.* 108 179 *τέτμε δέ** *Dem.* 342 : *οὐδ' . . . ἔτετμεν . . . ἔνθα πάρος περ** *Od.* 5. 81 f. : *ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο** *Od.* 13. 268, *Dem.* 98 : *κυδρὴν θεόν** *Dem.* 292, *Hy.* 28. 1 : *κυδρὴ θεός** Hes. *Th.* 442 180 *κάλλιπον** *Od.* 22. 156 : *κάλλιπες, αὐτάρ** *Il.* 21. 414 : *κάλλιπεν** (ante pausam) *Od.* 1. 243 : *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα** *Il.* 3. 335 etc. : *φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός** *Dem.* 107 181 *ἦγεῖτ'* (ante pausam) *Il.* 12. 28, 24. 96 : *ὁ δ' ὄπισθε** *Il.* 9. 332 : *φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ** *Dem.* 98 etc. 182 *κατὰ κρῆθεν* *Il.* 16. 548, *Od.* 11. 588, Hes. fr. 23 (a). 23 : *κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλύπτρην* Hes. *Th.* 574 (cf. ad *Dem.* 197) : *ἀπὸ κρῆθεν** Hes. *Sc.* 7 : *κεκαλυμμένος** *Il.* 16. 360 etc. : *ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλοι** *Il.* 5. 194 183 *κυάνεος** *Il.* 11. 39 (cf. ad *Dem.* 42) : *ῥαδινήν** *Il.* 23. 583 : *θεᾶς** *Il.* 2. 182 etc. : *ἐλελίζετ'** *Hy.* 28. 9 : *ποσσίν** *Il.* 7. 212 etc. 184 *αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο** *Il.* 5. 367, *Od.* 15. 193 : *δώμαθ' ἵκοντο** *Od.* 3. 388 : *διοτρεφέος Κεάδαο** *Il.* 2. 847 185 *βὰν δ'** *ἴμεναι διὰ δῶμα* *Od.* 18. 341 : *βὰν δ'** *ἴμεν ἔνθα* *Il.* 13. 789 : *αἰθούσῃ** *Od.* 4. 297 etc. : *πότνια μήτηρ** *Il.* 1. 357 etc. 186 *ἧστο** *Il.* 6. 234 etc. : *στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο* *Od.* 1. 333 etc. 187 *παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσα** *Il.* 6. 400 : *ὑπὸ κόλπῳ* *Od.* 15. 469 : *φίλον θάλος** *Il.* 22. 87 (cf. *Dem.* 66) 188 *ἔδραμον** *Il.* 18. 30 : *προσέβαν ποσίν** *Ap.* 520 : *ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο** *Od.* 7. 135, 13. 63 : *οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβαώς* *Il.* 9. 582 : *αὖτις ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών* *Od.* 17. 413 188 f. cf. *Aph.* 173 ff. *ἔστη ἄρα κλισίῃ, εὐποιήτοιο μελάθρου | κῦρε κάρη, κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν | ἄμβροτον* 189 *πλῆσεν** *Il.* 17. 696 etc. : *θύρας** *Il.* 6. 89 etc. : *θείοιο** *Il.* 2. 335 etc.

---

177 *τρώχων εὐρεῖαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν** A.R. 3. 874 (cf. ad *Dem.* 176)

---

176 *ἀνασχόμεναι* Brunck (cf. A.R. 4. 940) *ἑανῶν* M : corr. Matthiae 179 *θεὰν* M : *θεὸν* Voss (cf. *Dem.* 1) 180 *φίλου* Matthiae (cf. *Dem.* 107) 182 *κατ' ἄκρηθεν* M : *κατὰ κρῆθεν* Voss 183 *θεῆς* M : *θεᾶς* Hermann (cf. *Dem.* 279) 187 *ὑπὸ* M : *ἐπὶ* Gemoll 188–211 a primo poeta abiudicaverunt Preller, alii : 195–205 reiecit Bergk, 202–5 Matthiae, Hermann, K. Francke 189 *πλῆσε* M : *πλῆσεν* Hermann : *πλῆσθεν δὲ θύραι* Voss (cf. *Dem.* 280)

τὴν δ' αἰδώς τε σέβας τε ἰδὲ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν·
εἶξε δέ οἱ κλισμοῖο καὶ ἑδριάασθαι ἄνωγεν.
ἀλλ' οὐ Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος
ἤθελεν ἑδριάασθαι ἐπὶ κλισμοῖο φαεινοῦ,
ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα ἔμιμνε κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα,
πρίν γ' ὅτε δή οἱ ἔθηκεν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα
πηκτὸν ἕδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφεον βάλε κῶας.
ἔνθα καθεζομένη προκατέσχετο χερσὶ καλύπτρην·
δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος τετιημένη ἧστ' ἐπὶ δίφρου,
οὐδέ τιν' οὔτ' ἔπεϊ προσπτύσσετο οὔτε τι ἔργῳ,
ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος
ἧστο πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός,
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύῃς μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα

190 *τε . . . τε ἰδέ** *Il.* 12. 311 etc.: *τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν** *Od.* 24. 533 (deae voce audita): *σέβας μ' ἔχει Od.* 3. 123 etc.: *ἴσχε γὰρ αἰδὼς | καὶ δέος Il.* 15. 657 f. 191 *εἶσεν δ' ἐν κλισμοῖσι** *Il.* 9. 200: *τῷ δ' ἔδρης ἐπιόντι πατὴρ ὑπόειξεν Ὀδυσσεύς Od.* 16. 42: *εἶξε δ' Ἀθήνη Il.* 24. 100: *καὶ ἑδριάασθαι ἄνωγεν** *Od.* 3. 35 (~ *Il.* 11. 646 = 778) 192 cf. *Dem.* 54 193 *ἤθελεν** *Od.* 4. 287 etc., *Dem.* 45: *ἐπὶ θρόνον ἷζε φαεινοῦ** *Il.* 18. 646 (~ *Od.* 7. 169) 194 *ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα** *κάθησο Il.* 1. 565: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἀνέμιμνε** *Il.* 16. 363: *ὄμματα καλά** *Od.* 1. 208: *κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα** *Aph.* 156 195 *πρίν γ' ὅτε δή** *Od.* 23. 43, *Dem.* 96, 202, *Ap.* 49: *ἔθηκε(ν)** *Il.* 6. 139 etc.: *κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα** *Od.* 1. 428 etc.: *Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα** *Dem.* 202 196 *ὅθ' ἐπὶ μέγα βάλλετο κῶας** *Od.* 19. 58: *ἐπ' αὐτῷ κῶας ἔβαλλεν Od.* 19. 101: *κῶας ὕπερθεν Od.* 16. 47 197 *ἔνθα καθεζόμενοι** *Il.* 10. 202 (~ *Od.* 6. 295): *πρόχνυ καθεζομένη** *Il.* 9. 570: *ἔνθα καθεζομένη** *Dem.* 303: *ἔνθα κάθιζ' Ἑλένη Il.* 3. 426 (419 *κατασχομένη*): *χερσί** *Il.* 3. 352 etc.: *καλύπτρην** *Il.* 22. 406 etc.: *καλύπτρην . . . κατέσχεθε* Hes. *Th.* 574 f.: *ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα Od.* 1. 334 etc. 198 *δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος** *Dem.* 282: *δηρὸν** *Il.* 5. 120 etc.: *ἧστο . . . τετιημένος Od.* 1. 114 (~ *Il.* 9. 13, *Dem.* 98, *Ap.* 456): *δὴν δ' ἀνέῳ ἦσαν τετιηότες Il.* 9. 30 = 695: *ἀλλ' ἀκέων δὴν ἧστο Il.* 1. 512 (~ *Od.* 23. 93): *ἕζετ' . . . ἐπὶ δίφρου** *Od.* 17. 602 199 *ταύτην δ' οὔτ' ἔπεϊ προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργῳ Il.* 5. 879: *ποτιπτυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ Od.* 2. 77 (~ 4. 647) 200 *κεῖτ' ἄρ' ἄσιτος ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος Od.* 4. 788 201 cf. *Dem.* 304: *ἧστο** *Il.* 6. 324 etc.: *ἡνιόχοιο πόθῳ Il.* 17. 439: *μινύθει δέ τοι ἦτορ Od.* 4. 374 (~ 467): *βαθυζώνων** *Dem.* 95 (~ 161): *θυγατρός** *Od.* 7. 290, 11. 421 202 cf. *Dem.* 195

190 *τὴν δὲ μεταῦτις | αἰδώς τε στυγερόν τε δέος λάβε* A.R. 3. 741 f. 198 *ἑζομένη δ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἀκὴν ἔχεν* Mosch. *Eur.* 18 (cf. ad *Dem.* 282) 201 *εἷο πόθῳ μινύθουσα** A.R. 1. 286: *πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποιχομένας ἀρρήτου κόρας* E. *Hel.* 1306 f.: *πόθῳ δὲ μητέρ' ἠφανισμένης κόρης* Carcin. fr. 5. 4 (~ 8 f.) 202 ff. cf. Nic. *Alex.* 128 ff.

*τῷ δὲ σὺ πολλάκι μὲν γληχώ, ποταμηΐσι νύμφαις*
*ἐμπλήδην κυκεῶνα πόροις ἐν κύμβεϊ τεύξας*
*νηστείρης Δηοῦς μορόεν ποτόν, ᾧ ποτε Δηὼ*
*λαυκανίην ἔβρεξεν ἀν' ἄστυρον Ἱπποθόωντος,*
*Θρηΐσσης ἀθύροισιν ὑπὸ ῥήτρῃσιν Ἰάμβης.*

192 *ὡραφόρος* M: corr. Ruhnken 194 *ἀκέους' ἀνέμιμνε* Voss 195 *κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα* Hoffmann (*Quaest. Hom.* 2. 191) 196 *κῶα* M: corr. Ruhnken 199 *οὔτε ἔπει* Hermann 202 *χλεύῃσιν* Hermann *κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα* Hoffmann (cf. 195)

πολλὰ παρὰ σκώπτους᾽ ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν ἀγνὴν
μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·
ἣ δή οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὖαδεν ὀργαῖς.
τῇ δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου
πλήσας᾽, ἡ δ᾽ ἀνένευσ᾽· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκε
πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ
δοῦναι μίξασαν πιέμεν γληχῶνι τερείνῃ.
ἡ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεᾷ πόρεν ὡς ἐκέλευε·
δεξαμένη δ᾽ ὁσίης ἕνεκεν πολυπότνια Δηὼ

τῇσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχεν εὐζωνος Μετάνειρα·

203 ἔτρεψεν ἀδελφείου φρένας *Il.* 6. 61 : κραδίη τέτραπτο νέεσθαι *Od.* 4. 260 : παρέτραπε Hes. *Th.* 103 (a luctu; cf. inf.) : πότνιαν* Hes. *Th.* 11 (cf. West, p. 79 et ad loc.) : πότνια* *Il.* 1. 357 etc. : ἀγνή* *Od.* 5. 123 etc. 204 μειδήσασα* *Il.* 1. 596 etc. : γελάσαι* *Od.* 14. 465 : σὺ δ᾽ ἵλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν* *Il.* 9. 639 (~ 19. 178) : ὥς κέ τοι ἵλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχωσιν Hes. *Op.* 340 (*Op.* 338 ~ *Dem.* 368) 205 αἳ δή οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα* *Od.* 21. 24 : μετέπειτα . . . καὶ ὕστερον* *Il.* 14. 310, 313 (~ *Od.* 12. 126) : ἔπειτα* . . . μετόπισθεν Hes. *Th.* 210 : εὖαδεν* εὐνή *Il.* 14. 340 : τοι εὔαδε* θυμῷ *Od.* 16. 28 : ὀργήν* Hes. *Op.* 304 206 δέπας μελιηδέος οἴνου* (δόσκεν, δός) *Il.* 18. 545, *Od.* 3. 46 : δέπας* *Il.* 11. 631 etc. : δίδου* *Il.* 5. 165 etc. 207 πλησάμενος* δ᾽ οἴνοιο δέπας *Il.* 9. 224 : ἡ δ᾽ ἐπένευσε* *Dem.* 169 : δ᾽ ἀνένευε* *Il.* 22. 205 : τῷ δ᾽ οὐ θέμις ἐστί *Il.* 14. 386 (~ *Od.* 10. 73 etc.) : ἔφασκε* *Od.* 7. 256 208 πίνειν* *Od.* 20. 249 : οἶνον ἐρυθρόν *Od.* 5. 165 etc. (ad fin.) : οἶνον* *Il.* 6. 264 : καὶ ὕδωρ* *Od.* 1. 110 etc. 209 γληχῶνα τέρειναν* Hes. fr. 70. 21 (cf. West, *Glotta* 41 (1963), 284) 210 τεύξει τοι κυκεῶ *Od.* 10. 290 (~ 316) : τοῖσι δὲ τεῦχε κυκειῶ *Il.* 11. 623 : τεύξασα* *Od.* 11. 430 : θεᾷ* *Aph.* 167 : πόρε* *Il.* 1. 72 etc. πόρεν δέ οἱ ὅσσα κέλευσα* *Od.* 4. 745 : ὡς ἐκέλευεν* *Il.* 23. 539 211 δεξαμένη* *Od.* 19. 255 (~ *Il.* 18. 44, nomen proprium) : κἀγὼ τῆς ὁσίης* ἐπιβήσομαι *Herm.* 173 : ἐκ πάσης ὁσίης* *Herm.* 470 : ἕνεκεν* *Od.* 17. 310 : πότνια Δηώ* *Dem.* 4 212 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε* *Il.* 5. 420 etc. : εὐζωνος Μετάνειρα* *Dem.* 234 etc. : εὔζωνος παράκοιτις* *Il.* 9. 590

---

211 πολυπότνια* Orph. *Hy.* 40. 16 (de Cerere)

---

203 παρασκώπτουσα τρέψατο M : παρασκώπτους᾽ ἐτρέψατο Voss : παρὰ σκώπτους᾽ i.e. παρετρέψατο Heyne 204 ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν librario imputavit Franke : ἵ. σχέμεν ἦτορ (cf. Orph. *Hy.* 35. 6) vel ὀργήν Mitscherlich : ἡ δ᾽ ἵλαον ἔνθετο θυμόν Heyne 205 ἤδη . . . ἔβαδεν M : corr. Ruhnken versum damnavit Heyne : μεθύστερον etc. librario adscripsit Franke : καὶ ἔτεια . . . εὔαδ᾽ ἑορταῖς Voss : ἔπειτα μεθίσταται vel μεθίστατο αἰὲν ἑορταῖς Voss iuvenis ὀργή Bücheler : ἐν ὀργίοις Mitscherlich 207 τοι M : γ᾽ οἱ Ruhnken : οἱ Hermann (*Orphica*, p. 780), Matthiae 208 ἀμφὶ M : corr. Ruhnken 209 γλήχωνι M : γληχῶνι scripsi τερίνη M : corr. Ruhnken 211 δ᾽ delevit Slothouwer, non interpungens post ἐκέλευε ἐπέβη Voss : ἔλαχεν Schaefer πίε πότνια Franke : post 211 lacunam statuit Allen (cf. Puntoni), e.g. ἔκπιεν, ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα δέπας θέτο ἔνθ᾽ ἀνάειρε (vel ἔνθεν ἄειρε)

*Χαῖρε γύναι, ἐπεὶ οὔ σε κακῶν ἄπ' ἔολπα τοκήων*
*ἔμμεναι ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν· ἐπί τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδὼς*
*καὶ χάρις, ὡς εἴ πέρ τε θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων.* 215
*ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ*
*τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸς αὐχένι κεῖται.*
*νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἵκεο δεῦρο, παρέσσεται ὅσσα τ' ἐμοί περ.*
*παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄελπτον*
*ὤπασαν ἀθάνατοι, πολυάρητος δέ μοί ἐστιν.* 220
*εἰ τόν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο*
*ἦ ῥά κέ τίς σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων*
*ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίην.*
*Τὴν δ' αὖτε προέειπεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ·*
*καὶ σὺ γύναι μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ἐσθλὰ πόροιεν.* 225
*παῖδα δέ τοι πρόφρων ὑποδέξομαι ὥς με κελεύεις·*

213–15 cf. *Od.* 4. 60 ff. *εἴτου δ' ἄπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον* (cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff.) . . . *οὐ γὰρ σφῶν γε γένος ἀπόλωλε τοκήων,* | *ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἐστὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων* | *σκηπτούχων, ἐπεὶ οὔ κε κακοὶ τοιούσδε τέκοιεν*: cf. *Il.* 14. 472, *Od.* 24. 252 f., *Aph.* 132 (*Hy.* 7. 11 f.) 213 *χαῖρε γύναι** *Od.* 11. 248: *οὔ σε ἔολπα κακὸν καὶ ἄναλκιν ἔσεσθαι Od.* 3. 375: *ἔολπα** *Il.* 20. 186 214 *αἰδοῖ* . . . *μετὰ δὲ πρέπει** *Od.* 8. 172 (= Hes. *Th.* 92): *αἰδώς** *Il.* 15. 129 etc. 214 f. *οὐδέ τί τοι δούλειον ἐπιπρέπει εἰσοράασθαι* | *εἶδος καὶ μέγεθος· βασιλῆι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας Od.* 24. 252 f. 215 *θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων** *Dem.* 103 216–17 cf. *Dem.* 147–8 216 *ἀλλὰ θεοί** *Od.* 20. 195 (cf. ad *Dem.* 213 ff.) 217 *καὶ ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεῖναι* Hes. *Op.* 815: *ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι κεῖται** Theognis 1357 (transl.; cf. 1023) 218 *νῦν δ' ἐπεί* . . . *ἱκάνεις Od.* 6. 191: *νῦν δὲ σεῦ εἵνεκα δεῦρο** . . . *ἱκάνω Il.* 14. 309: *παρέσσεται** *Il.* 1. 213 etc. 219 *παῖδα δ' ἐμοί** *Il.* 1. 20: *παῖδα δέ τοι** . . . *θρέψω Dem.* 226 f.: *παῖδα δὲ ὡς ἀτίταλλε Od.* 18. 323: *ἀέλπτοις** *Ap.* 91 220 *ὤπασαν** *Il.* 6. 157 etc.: *ὤπασαν ἀθάνατοι* Solon, fr. 1. 74: *πολυάρητος δέ τοί ἐστιν** *Od.* 19. 404 (~ *Il.* 24. 620) 221–3 cf. *Dem.* 166–8 224 *τὸν δ' αὖτε προέειπεν ἐϋστέφανος κελαδεινή Il.* 21. 511: *ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ** Hes. *Op.* 300 (v.l. *ἐϋπλόκαμος*), *Dem.* 307 etc. 225 *καὶ σὺ φίλος μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν Od.* 8. 413 (~ 24. 402 = *Ap.* 466, *Od.* 18. 122–3 = 20. 199–200) 226 *παῖδα δέ μοι** *Dem.* 219: *ὁ δέ οἱ πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο Od.* 2. 387 (~ *Il.* 9. 480 etc.): *ᾧ πρόφρων** *γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς* Hes. *Th.* 419: *θεὰ πρόφρων ὑπεδέξατο** Parm. fr. 1. 22: *ὥς με κελεύεις** *Od.* 11. 507

---

213–15 Ruhnken contulit Theocr. 25. 38 ff.: *ἐπεὶ οὔ σέ γέ φημι κακῶν ἔξ* (~ *Il.* 14. 472) | *ἔμμεναι οὐδὲ κακοῖσιν ἐοικότα φύμεναι αὐτόν,* | *οἷόν τοι μέγα εἶδος ἐπιπρέπει* (~ *Od.* 24. 252 f.). *ἦ ῥά νυ παῖδες* | *ἀθανάτων τοιοίδε μετὰ θνητοῖσιν ἔασι*

---

214 *ἐπεί τοι* M: corr. Ruhnken *εἶδος* Mitscherlich (cf. ad *Dem.* 213 ff., Theocr. 25. 40) 215 *χάρις* corr. ut vid. ex *χάρος* M 220 *πολυήρατος* M: corr. Ruhnken 221 *γε θρέψαιο* M: *γ' ἐκθρέψαιο* Hermann (cf. *Dem.* 166) 222 *ῥεῖά κε* Hermann: *ῥεῖά σέ τίς κεν* Brunck (cf. *Dem.* 167) 223 *ἀποθρεπτήρια* M (cf. *Dem.* 168) *δοίη* Matthiae (cf. 168)

θρέψω, κοὔ μιν ἔολπα κακοφραδίῃσι τιθήνης
οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποταμνόν·
οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὕλοτόμοιο,
οἶδα δ' ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν.
Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα θυώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ
χερσίν τ' ἀθανάτῃσι· γεγήθει δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.
ὣς ἡ μὲν Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν
Δημοφόωνθ', ὃν ἔτικτεν ἐΰζωνος Μετάνειρα,
ἔτρεφεν ἐν μεγάροις· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονι ἶσος
οὔτ' οὖν σῖτον ἔδων, οὐ θησάμενος

Δημήτηρ

227 *θρέψε μέν, οὐδ'* Od.* 17. 293: *οὔ σε ἔολπα* Od.* 3. 375 (cf. ad *Dem.* 213): *κακορραφίῃσι* Od.* 2. 236 (v.l. *κακοφραδίῃσι*): *τιθήνης* (etc.)* *Il.* 6. 467 228 *ἔνθα κε σὴ βουλὴ δηλήσεται* Il.* 14. 102 229 *οἶδα γάρ* Il.* 4. 360 etc.: *φέρτερος* Il.* 19. 217 etc. 230 *ἦ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος* ἔσσεαι ἔχμα Herm.* 37 231 *ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα* Il.* 8. 432 etc.: *κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ* Il.* 6. 483: *θυώδεα* Od.* 5. 264 etc. 231–5 cf. *Hy.* 26. 3–5 (de Baccho) *ὃν τρέφον ἡΰκομοι νύμφαι παρὰ πατρὸς ἄνακτος | δεξάμεναι κόλποισι, καὶ ἐνδυκέως ἀτίταλλον | . . . ὁ δ' ἀέξατο πατρὸς ἔκητι* 232 *χείρεσ' ἀθανάτῃσι(ν)* Il.* 16. 704, *Dem.* 253: *ἀθανάτῃσιν χερσίν* Ap.* 125 (*ἀθανάτοισι* v.l.); cf. ad *Dem.* 236 ff.: *γεγήθει δὲ φρένα* Il.* 11. 682: *μήτηρ* Il.* 1. 280 etc. 233 *Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος* Dem.* 96: *Πολύβοιο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν* Od.* 15. 519 234 *τὸν ἔτικτε* Il.* 16. 180: *ἐΰζωνος Μετάνειρα* Dem.* 212 etc.: cf. *Dem.* 252 235 *οὔς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι* Il.* 22. 69: *Τηλέμαχος δὲ νέον μὲν ἀέξετο* Od.* 22. 426: *ὁ δ' ἀέξετο* Hy.* 26. 5 (de Baccho nympharum alumno; cf. *Dem.* 231, 235a): *δαίμονι ἶσος* Il.* 5. 438 etc.: *ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴσῃ Dem.* 300 236 *οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ* πίνουσ' . . . Il.* 5. 341: *γάλα θῆσθαι Od.* 4. 89: *θήσατο μαζόν Il.* 24. 58: *γάλα λευκόν* Il.* 4. 434: *ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός* Herm.* 267 236 f. cf. *Ap.* 123 ff.

οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα θήσατο μήτηρ,
ἀλλὰ Θέμις νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν
ἀθανάτῃσιν χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο . . .(~ *Dem.* 232)

---

231 *θυώδεϊ κάτθετο μίτρῃ* A.R.* 3. 867 (867a ~ *Dem.* 254; 874 ~ *Dem.* 176 f.); *ᾧ ἐνὶ κόλπῳ | δέξατο* (de nutrice Bacchi, ab igne abrepti) A.R. 4 1135 f.: Ov. *F.* 4. 550 f.

gremio sustulit illa suo,
terque manu permulsit eum, ter carmina dixit . . .

---

227 *θρέψαι· κοὔ* aut *οὐδέ τί που* Hermann: *θρέψω τ'· οὔ* aut *θρέψασθ'· οὔ* Voss: lacunam post 226 statuit Bücheler 228 *ἐπηλσίῃσι* M: corr. Ruhnken (cf. *Dem.* 230; *-ιησι* ex 227) *ὑποταμνὸν* M: *οὔτε τομαῖον* Voss: *οὔθ' ὑποτάμνων* Ignarra: *ὑπόθαμνον, ὀρόδαμνος* alii 229 *οὐλοτόμοιο* Voss, quod ipse interpretatur 'ad perniciem succisum', Hermann 'penitus excisum' 232 *χέρσι* M: *χερσίν* Ruhnken: *χείρεσιν* Ilgen: *χείρεσ'* Cobet *ἀθανάτοισι* M: *ἀθανάτῃσι* Ilgen 234 *δημοφόονθ'* M· corr. Ruhnken 235 *ἔτρεφ' ἐνὶ* Voss 236 duos versus in unum coaluisse vidit Mitscherlich: *θησάμενος γάλα μητρός* Hermann (cf. *Herm.* 267) 236A *ἠματίῃ μὲν γὰρ καλλιστέφανος* Voss: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤματα μέν μιν ἐυστέφανος* Baumeister: *ἀλλά μιν ἠματίῃ μὲν ἐυστέφανος* Stoll (*Fleckeisens Jahrb.* 79, 231)

χρίεσκ' ἀμβροσίῃ ὡς εἰ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶτα,
ἡδὺ καταπνείουσα καὶ ἐν κόλποισιν ἔχουσα·
νύκτας δὲ κρύπτεσκε πυρὸς μένει ἠΰτε δαλὸν
λάθρα φίλων γονέων· τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο
ὡς προθαλὴς τελέθεσκε, θεοῖσι δὲ ἄντα ἐῴκει.
καί κέν μιν ποίησεν ἀγήρων τ' ἀθάνατόν τε
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἀφραδίῃσιν ἐΰζωνος Μετάνειρα
νύκτ' ἐπιτηρήσασα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο
σκέψατο· κώκυσεν δὲ καὶ ἄμφω πλήξατο μηρὼ
δείσας' ᾧ περὶ παιδὶ καὶ ἀάσθη μέγα θυμῷ,
καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Τέκνον Δημοφόων ξείνη σε πυρὶ ἔνι πολλῷ
κρύπτει, ἐμοὶ δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ τίθησιν.
Ὣς φάτ' ὀδυρομένη· τῆς δ' ἄϊε δῖα θεάων.

237 *χρῖσέν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ** *Il.* 16. 680 (~ 670) : *ποτάμοιό περ ἐκγεγαῶτι** *Il.* 21. 185 238 *ἡδὺ μάλα πνείουσαν** *Od.* 4. 446 (de ambrosia) 239 *νύκτας δ' ἀλλύεσκεν** *Od.* 2. 105 : *πυρὸς μένος** *Il.* 23. 238 : *δαλὸν . . . ἐνέκρυψε Od.* 5. 488 : *πυρὸς μένε*[*ι* pap. 12 Hes. *Th.* 867 (*σέλαι πυρός* codd.) 240 *κρύβδα** *Il.* 18. 168 : *φίλων τοκέων Il.* 21. 587 : *θαῦμα τέτυκτο** *Il.* 18. 549 (*ἐτέτυκτο* v.l.) 241 *τελέθουσι** *Il.* 12. 347 etc. : *θεοῖσι γὰρ ἄντα ἐῴκει** *Il.* 24. 630 242 *ποίησεν** *Il.* 1. 608 etc. : *ἀγήρων ἀθανάτην τε** *Il.* 2. 447 (~ 12. 323, 17. 444) 243 *ἀφραδίῃσιν** *Il.* 5. 649, *Dem.* 258 : *ἐΰζωνος Μετάνειρα** *Dem.* 212 etc. 244 *νύκτα** *Il.* 10. 41 etc. : *θαλάμοιο θυώδεος** *Od.* 4. 121 : *θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο** *Dem.* 288 (~ 331, 355, 385) 245–7 ~ *Il.* 15. 397–8 = *Od.* 13. 198–9 :

*ὤμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὧ πεπλήγετο μηρὼ*
*χερσὶ καταπρηνέσσ', ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ηὔδα*

246 *δείσας** *Il.* 3. 37 etc. : *φίλῳ περὶ παιδί** *Il.* 16. 568 : *καὶ μέγ' ἀάσθη Il.* 16. 685 etc. : *ἄᾶσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ** *Il.* 11. 340 : *ἄᾶσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ** *Il.* 9. 537 (538 ~ *Dem.* 251) : *ἄᾶσατ*]*ο μέγα θυμῷ** Hes. fr. 25. 20 247 = *Il.* 18. 72 etc. 248 *τέκνον** *Il.* 1. 362 etc. : *ξεῖνοι* (etc.)* *Il.* 6. 224 (etc.) : *ἐν πυρὶ πολλῷ** *Od.* 12. 237 : *θαλίῃ ἔνι πολλῇ** *Il.* 9. 143 (~ 285 ; 143a ~ *Dem.* 164 f., 144b ~ *Dem.* 164b) 249 *κρύψαι** (etc.) *Il.* 18. 397 (etc.) : *πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρά Il.* 5. 156 : *πόνον καὶ κήδεα θῆκεν Il.* 21. 525 (~ 23. 306) : *τίθησι** *Il.* 4. 83 etc. 250 *λίσσετ' ὀδυρομένη** *Il.* 9. 591 : *ἄϊε** *Il.* 10. 532 : *δῖα θεάων** *Dem.* 63 etc.

---

237 *ἤματα δ' αὖτε* | *ἀμβροσίῃ χρίεσκε* A.R. 4. 870 f.

---

240–1 uncis inclusit Bücheler ('adscripti olim fortasse ad 235') : '*κρύβδα φίλων τοκέων* Homerus dixisset' Voss : *λάθρα ἑῶν* Spitzner *θαῦμα τέτυκτο* Hermann (cf. *Il.* 18. 549) 241 *γὰρ ἄντα* Voss : *δέ τ' ἄ.* Gemoll 242 *ἀγήρων τ'* M : *ἀγήραον* Voss, qui tamen *καί κεν ἀγήρων μιν ποιήσατο ἀθάνατόν τε* maluit 248–9 cit. pap. 1 (Orph. fr. 49. 92–4) 248 *πυρῇ ἔνι πο*]*λλῇ* pap. 1 ('nescio an recte' Allen) : cf. Bücheler (ap. *Berl. Klass. Texte*, V. 1) '𝔭 lehrt erst die richtige Verbesserung' : *σε μὲν ἐν πυρὶ* Voss : *σ' ἦδ' ἐν πυρὶ* Hermann : *σε πυρὸς μένει οὔλῳ* Schneidewin (cf. *Dem.* 239)

τῇ δὲ χολωσαμένη καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ
παῖδα φίλον, τὸν ἄελπτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτε,
χείρεσσ' ἀθανάτῃσιν ἀπὸ ἕο θῆκε πέδον δὲ
ἐξανελοῦσα πυρὸς θυμῷ κοτέσασα μάλ' αἰνῶς,
καί ῥ' ἄμυδις προσέειπεν ἐΰζωνον Μετάνειραν·
Νήϊδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀφράδμονες οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖο
αἶσαν ἐπερχομένου προγνώμεναι οὔτε κακοῖο·
καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἀφραδίῃσι τεῇς νήκεστον ἀάσθης.
ἴστω γὰρ θεῶν ὅρκος ἀμείλικτον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ
ἀθάνατόν κέν τοι καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα
παῖδα φίλον ποίησα καὶ ἄφθιτον ὦπασα τιμήν·
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὥς κεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι.

251 *τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη** *Il.* 3. 413 etc.: *ἡ δὲ χολωσαμένη** *Il.* 9. 538 (cf. ad *Dem.* 246): *καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ** *Dem.* 295 252 *παῖδα φίλον** *Il.* 16. 460, *Od.* 24. 103, *Dem.* 261; *ἄελπτον Dem.* 219 (etc.): *ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι** *Il.* 24. 417 253 *χείρεσσ' ἀθανάτῃσι** *Il.* 16. 704, *Dem.* 232: *ἀπὸ ἕο θῆκε χαμᾶζε** *Od.* 21. 136: *ἀπὸ ἕθεν ἧκε χαμᾶζε Il.* 12. 205: *εἶσι πέδον δέ** *Il.* 13. 796 254 *κεκοτηότι θυμῷ Il.* 21. 456: *κοτέουσα** *Il.* 23. 391: *μάλ' αἰνῶς** *Il.* 10. 38: *κοτεσσαμένη . . . θυμῷ Il.* 14. 191 255 *ἡ δ' ἄμυδις** *Il.* 20. 114: *ἐΰζωνος Μετάνειρα** *Dem.* 212, 243 256 *νήπιοι** *ἀγροιῶται ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες Od.* 21. 85: *νήπιοι ἄνθρωποι δυστλήμονες** *Ap.* 532: *σχέτλιοί ἐστε θεοί, δηλήμονες** *Il.* 24. 33 (~ *Od.* 5. 118): cf. ad *Dem.* 256 ff. 257 *αἶσαν** *Dem.* 482: *ἐπερχόμενον** *Il.* 1. 535 etc.: *γνώμεναι** *Il.* 21. 266, 609; *κακοῖο** *Il.* 1. 284, *Od.* 3. 152 258 *ἀφραδίῃσιν** *Dem.* 243: *νήκεστον ἀάσθη** Hes. *Op.* 283 259 *ἴστω** *Il.* 10. 329 etc.: *θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον Od.* 2. 377 etc.: *ὅρκον** *Il.* 19. 113 etc.: *ἄγρει νῦν μοι ὅμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ** *Il.* 14. 271 (~ *Il.* 15. 37 f. etc.): *ἀμείλικτον** *Il.* 11. 137, 21. 98 260 *θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα Od.* 5. 136 etc. (~ Hes. *Th.* 305, fr. 23(a). 12, 24): cf. *Dem.* 242 261 *παῖδα φίλον** *Dem.* 252: *ὦπασα** *Il.* 13. 416: *τιμήν** *Il.* 24. 57, *Dem.* 311: *τιμὴ δ' ἄφθιτος Dem.* 263: *ἄφθιτος** (etc.) *Il.* 5. 724 etc. 262 *νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις* (*ὅς κεν* Eust.) *θάνατον** *φύγῃ* (*φύγοι* al.) *Il.* 21. 103: *οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι Il.* 21. 565 (~ *Od.* 17. 547 etc.)

---

252 *παῖδα φίλον** A.R. 4. 874 (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.) 258 *ἀφραδίῃσιν, | εἴ τί περ ἀασάμην* A.R. 1. 1332 f. (~ 2. 313) 262 *γῆρας ἀλάλκοι* A.R. 4. 872

---

251 *τὸν δὲ* Bücheler (cf. ad 252): 251 post 252 Ludwich (250 *τῆς . . . θεάων* in parenthesi, punctum post 252) 252 seclusit Bücheler 253 *ἄπω ἕο* M: corr. Matthiae: *ἀπὸ ἕο γ' ἧκε* Mitscherlich: *ἀπὸ ἕθεν* Cobet 254 spurium iudicavit Matthiae, seclusit Bücheler: 'magis Homericum fortasse esset *κοτέουσα*' Hermann 256–62 cit. pap. 1 (Orph. fr. 49. 95–100) 256–7 *ἄφρονε[c] ἄνθ[ρω]ποι δυστλήμονες [οὔτε κακοῖο ἐπ]ερ[χομένου πρ]ογνώμενες οὔτ' ἀ[γ]α[θοῖο* pap. 1 256 *καὶ* deleri voluit Hermann 257 *προγνώμενοι* M: *πρ]ογνωμενες* pap. 1: *προγνώμεναι* Matthiae 258 *γ]αρ ἀβραδι[ῃς ]μος πολυπειρατι νυκτος* pap. 1 *μήκιστον* M: *νήκεστον* Voss 261 *ποιήσασα* M: corr. Ruhnken *καὶ* M: *τῷ* Ludwich (cf. ad *Dem.* 263) 262 *ἔσθ' ὅππως* vel *ἔστ' ἔθ' ὅπως*, et *ἀλύξει* Cobet *γῆρας* Huschke *ἀλύξοι* Ruhnken: *ἀλύξῃ* Bücheler

τιμὴ δ' ἄφθιτος αἰὲν ἐπέσσεται οὔνεκα γούνων
ἡμετέρων ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἴαυσεν.
ὥρῃσιν δ' ἄρα τῷ γε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
παῖδες Ἐλευσινίων πόλεμον καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν
αἰὲν ἐν ἀλλήλοισι συνάξουσ' ἤματα πάντα.
εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος, ἥ τε μέγιστον
ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖσί τ' ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται.
ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ
τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος
Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ·

263 τιμή* *Il.* 2. 197: ἄφθιτον αἰεί *Il.* 2. 46 etc.: ἐπέσσεται* *Od.* 4. 756: γούνων* *Il.* 1. 407 etc. 264 ἡμετέρων* *Od.* 21. 292: ἐπέβη* *Dem.* 377: ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαύεις* *Il.* 14. 213 (~ *Od.* 11. 261, *Dem.* 141) 265 ὥρῃσιν πάσῃσι *Aph.* 102 (de sacrificiis): περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* *Od.* 1. 16 266 παῖδες* δὲ Τρώων *Od.* 11. 547: παῖδες* Ἁλῳῆος *Il.* 5. 586: Ἐλευσινίης* Agallias post *Il.* 18. 551 (cf. ad *Dem.* 54): πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν* *Il.* 4. 15 etc. 267 αἰὲν . . . ἤματα πάντα *Od.* 5. 210 (~ *Od.* 8. 468, *Ap.* 485): σύναγον κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην *Il.* 14. 448 (= 16. 764) 268 εἰμὶ δέ* *Od.* 6. 196, *Ap.* 480, *Hy.* 7. 56 (~ *Od.* 9. 19, 11. 252): Δημήτηρ* *Dem.* 54 etc.: τιμάοχος* *Aph.* 31: μέγιστον* *Il.* 1. 525 etc. 268 f. ~ *Aph.* 31 f. πᾶσιν δ' ἐν νηοῖσι θεῶν τιμάοχός ἐστι, | καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖσι θεῶν πρέσβειρα τέτυκται 269 ἀθάνατοι θνητοῖσιν* *Od.* 19. 593: πᾶσί τ' ὄνειαρ *Il.* 22. 433: θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ Hes. *Th.* 871 (~ *Op.* 822): χάρμα* βροτοῖσιν *Il.* 14. 325 (de Baccho), *Ap.* 25: μοῖρα τέτυκται* *Il.* 3. 101 270 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι *Il.* 10. 321 etc.: νηόν τε* *Ap.* 221, 245: νηόν τε μέγαν *Ap.* 226 271 πᾶς δῆμος* *Il.* 20. 166: ὑπὸ πτόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος* *Il.* 11. 181 272 καθύπερθεν* *Il.* 2. 754 etc.: ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ *Dem.* 298: ἐπὶ προὔχοντι μελάθρῳ *Od.* 19. 544: αἰπεῖα κολώνη* *Il.* 2. 811, 11. 711: ἱεροὺς ναίουσα κολωνούς* Hes. fr. 59. 2

---

269 χάρμα τέτυκται* A.R. 4. 936: χαῖρε πάτερ μέγα θαῦμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ Arat. *Phaen.* 15: χαῖρε, βροτοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ . . . Maced. *Paean* (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* p. 139) 23: μᾶζαν, ἣν φερέσβιος | Δηὼ βροτοῖσι χάρμα δωρεῖται φίλον Antiphan. fr. 1. 2 f. 272 σκοπιῆς προὔχοντα κολωνόν* Orph. *Arg.* 379

---

263 ἄφθιτον M (cf. *Dem.* 261, *Il.* 2. 46 etc.): corr. Ruhnken parum haec convenire cum 261 animadvertit Mitscherlich: 263–4 post 267 Ludwich (cf. Weber, *Klio* 21 (1927), 249) 265–7 seclusit Ilgen: lacunam ante 265 et post 267 statuit Bücheler 265 ὥρῃ· σὺν δ' ἄρα τῷγε Ludwich: ὥρῃσιν West τοῦγε (ut esset 'matura eius aetate') Fontein περιπλωμένων M: corr. Ruhnken 267 αἰὲν Ἀθηναίοισι Matthiae συναυξήσουσ' M: συνάξουσ' Ignarra: συναύξουσ' Ruhnken: ἀέξουσ' Voss: ἀλύξουσ' Goettling post 267 lacunam statuit Hermann 268 εἰμὶ δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὡρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος pap. 1 (Orph. fr. 49. 102–3) 269 θνητοῖσιν M: θνητοῖσί τ' Ruhnken: ἀθανάτων θνητοῖσιν Stoll ὄνειαρ M: ὄνεαρ Ilgen: ὄνειαρ χάρμα τ' ἐτύχθην vel ἐτύχθη Ruhnken: θνητοῖσί τ' ὄναρ Hermann: θνητοῖς τ' ὄνειαρ (correpta media syllaba) vel ὄνιαρ καὶ χάρμα Buttmann, Voss τέτυγμαι commemoravit Voss: 'ὄνειαρ πᾶσι τέτυγμαι decebat poetam' Bücheler 270 ἄγ' ἐμοὶ Voss: ἄγε μὴν Matthiae 271 ὑπὸ πτόλιν Voss

ὄργια δ' αὐτὴ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἱλάσκοισθε.
Ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ἄμειψε
γῆρας ἀπωσαμένη, περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο·
ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυηέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων
σκίδνατο, τῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο
λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους,
αὐγῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος ἀστεροπῆς ὥς.
βῆ δὲ διὲκ μεγάρων, τῆς δ' αὐτίκα γούνατ' ἔλυντο,
δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος γένετο χρόνον, οὐδέ τι παιδὸς

273 ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι αὐτός *Od.* 2. 194: ὑποθήσομαι . . . | ὥς κε . . . *Od.* 5. 143 f. 274 εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες* *Dem.* 369: τεὸν μένος ἱλάσκωνται *Dem.* 368: εὐφραδέως *Od.* 19. 352: ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται Hes. *Th.* 417 275 ὣς εἰποῦσα θεά* *Il.* 3. 139 etc.: μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος* (τε καὶ v.l.) *Aph.* 82: εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε *Il.* 2. 58 etc.: ἄμειβον (etc.) *Il.* 14. 381 (etc.) 276 νεῖκος ἀπωσαμένους* *Il.* 12. 276: γῆρας ἀποξύσας* *Il.* 9. 466: περί τ' ἀμφί τε *Il.* 17. 760, Hes. *Th.* 848*, fr. 150. 28: θυμὸς ἄητο* *Il.* 21. 386: χάριτ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο pap. 13 Hes. *Th.* 583 (cf. West ad loc.) 276–9 cf. Hes. fr. 43(a). 73 f. τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ χρ]οϊῆς ἠδ' εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο | λάμφ' οἷόν τε] θεοῦ χαρίεν τ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο 277 θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν* Hes. *Th.* 557 277–8 ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα* . . . κίδνατο* *Herm.* 231 f. (228b ~ *Dem.* 386b) 278 σκίδναται* *Il.* 11. 308, *Od.* 7. 130 (~ *Il.* 17. 375): κίδνατο* *Herm.* 232: ἀπὸ χροός* *Il.* 4. 130 etc.: χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο* *Il.* 17. 571: ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροός Hes. *Th.* 191: ἐκ κράατος ἀθανάτοιο* (de Iunonis capillis) *Il.* 14. 177 278 ff. ὀξέα· τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς ἀπ' αὐτόφιν οὐρανὸν εἴσω | λάμπ' *Il.* 11. 44 f.: τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς | λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπή *Il.* 10. 153 f. (~ 11. 65 f.) 279 ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης* *Il.* 1. 197: ἐπενήνοθε* *Il.* 2. 219 etc.: κατενήνοθεν ὤμους* Hes. *Sc.* 269 280 αὐγή* *Il.* 13. 341 (~ *Dem.* 35, *Herm.* 361): ἐπλήσθη* *Il.* 20. 15: πυκινὸν δόμον* *Od.* 7. 81 etc.: ἀστεροπῆ ἐναλίγκιος *Il.* 13. 242 (~ 14. 386) 281 βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης* *Dem.* 185: διὲκ μεγάρων* *Dem.* 379: διὲκ μεγάροιο βεβήκει *Od.* 17. 61 (~ 10. 388 etc.): γούνατ' ἔλυσεν* *Il.* 5. 176 etc.: γυῖα λέλυντο* *Il.* 13. 85: λύντο δὲ γυῖα* *Il.* 7. 16 etc. 281 ff. ~ *Od.* 4. 703 ff. ὣς φάτο, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ (~ *Od.* 21. 114 etc.), | δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε . . . (etc.) 282 δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος* *Dem.* 198: δηρὸν χρόνον *Il.* 14. 206, 305

---

274 εὐαγέως* A.R. 2. 699, 3. 1204 279 ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη ὤμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα Archil. fr. 31 West ~ Anacr. *PMG* 347 281 βῆ δὲ διὲκ μεγάλοιο* . . . A.R. 3. 158 (μεγάροιο codd.; cf. ad *Dem.* 383) 282 ἔσχετο δ' ἀμφασίῃ δηρὸν χρόνον* A.R. 3. 811 (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.): ἑζομένη δ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἀκὴν ἔχεν Mosch. *Eur.* 18 (cf. Bühler, pp. 60 ff., 64 f.)

---

273 et 274 postea inlatos iudicavit Preller 'fuit qui οἷς mallet' Bücheler 274 ἔρδοντες M: ἔρδοντες Wolf (cf. 369) νηόν M: corr. Ruhnken: 'melius μένος 368' Bücheler ἱλάσκοισθε M (priore sigma eraso): ἱλάσκησθε Schaefer 275 μέγεθός τε καὶ Ruhnken 279 θεῆς M: θεᾶς Hermann (cf. 183): θεᾷ Voss ξανθὴ δὲ κόμη Ruhnken 280 αὐτῆς M: corr. Ruhnken 281 δι' ἐκ M: διὲκ Baumeister γοῦνα λέλυντο tentavit Voss

μνήσατο τηλυγέτοιο ἀπὸ δαπέδου ἀνελέσθαι.
τοῦ δὲ κασίγνηται φωνὴν ἐσάκουσαν ἐλεινήν,
καὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' εὐστρώτων λεχέων θόρον· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα
παῖδ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἑλοῦσα ἑῷ ἐγκάθετο κόλπῳ,
ἡ δ' ἄρα πῦρ ἀνέκαι', ἡ δ' ἔσσυτο πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσι
μητέρ' ἀναστήσουσα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο.
ἀγρόμεναι δέ μιν ἀμφὶς ἐλούεον ἀσπαίροντα
ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι· τοῦ δ' οὐ μειλίσσετο θυμός·
χειρότεραι γὰρ δή μιν ἔχὸν τροφοὶ ἠδὲ τιθῆναι.
Αἱ μὲν παννύχιαι κυδρὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο
δείματι παλλόμεναι· ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφιν
εὐρυβίῃ Κελεῷ νημερτέα μυθήσαντο,

283 *μνήσατο** *Od.* 1. 29 (~ 4. 187) : *τηλυγέτην* (etc.)* *Il.* 3. 175 (etc.) : *ἀνελέσθαι** *Il.* 23. 823, *Od.* 21. 117 : *ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ χθονός Od.* 3. 453 284 *κασίγνηται** *Il.* 18. 52 : *τὸν δὲ κασιγνήτη** *Il.* 21. 470 : *φωνήν** *Od.* 4. 279 : *οὐδ' ἐσάκουσε Il.* 8. 97 : *ἐλεεινόν** *Il.* 24. 309 etc. 285 *καὶ δ' ἄρ'* ἄρ'* *ἐπ' ἀκτῆς Il.* 23. 125 : *ἀπὸ λέκτροιο θοροῦσα Od.* 23. 32 : *ἐς λέχος εὔστρωτον Aph.* 157 : *στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι* Hes. *Th.* 798 286 *παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ'** *Il.* 6. 400 (~ *Dem.* 187) : *χερσίν** *Il.* 9. 171 etc. : *ἑλοῦσα** *Il.* 3. 424 etc. : *ἑῷ ἐγκάθετο κόλπῳ** *Il.* 14. 223 287 *ἣ οἱ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε** *Od.* 7. 13 (~ 9. 251) : *πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν** Hes. *Th.* 3 (~ *Il.* 19. 92) 287–9 ~ *Od.* 20. 123 *ἀγρόμεναι ἀνέκαιον ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἀκάματον πῦρ* (cf. ad *Dem.* 289 f.; *Od.* 20. 124 *εὐνῆθεν ἀνίστατο* ~ *Dem.* 285) 288 *μητέρ'** *Il.* 9. 451 : *ἀναστήσας** *Od.* 8. 7 etc. : *θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο** *Dem.* 244 289 *ἀγρόμεναι** *Il.* 7. 194 etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 287–9) : *κασίγνητοι δέ μιν ἀμφὶς | ἵσταντ' Od.* 7. 4 : *ἀσπαίροντας** *Il.* 3. 293 (~ *Ap.* 128) 290 *ἀμφαγαπαζόμενος** *Il.* 16. 192 : *μειλισσέμεν** *Il.* 7. 410 : *θυμός** *Il.* 8. 202 etc. : *ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι . . . θυμός** *Dem.* 436 291 *χειρότερος Il.* 20. 436 (~ 15. 513) : *τροφός* (etc.)* *Il.* 2. 361 etc. : *τιθήνας* (etc.)* *Il.* 6. 132 292 *παννύχιοι** *Il.* 8. 508 etc. : *κυδρὴν θεόν** *Dem.* 179 : *δεινὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται** *Il.* 6. 380 : *πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο** *Il.* 1. 472 293 *δεῖμα** *Il.* 5. 682 : *παλλομένη κραδίην· ἅμα δ'** . . . *Il.* 22. 461 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38 ff.) : *παλλόμενος** *Il.* 24. 400 : *ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι(ν)** *Il.* 9. 618 etc. 294 *Τρίτων εὐρυβίης* Hes. *Th.* 931 : *Εὐρυβίην** Hes. *Th.* 239 : *νημερτέα μυθήσασθε** *Il.* 6. 376

---

285 *εὔστρωτον λέχος* Alc. 283. 8 : *ἡ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν στρωτῶν λεχέων θόρε δειμαίνουσα, παλλομένη κραδίην* Mosch. *Eur.* 16 f. (~ *Dem.* 293) 289 *παῖδα φίλον σπαίροντα* A.R. 4. 874 291 *τροφὸς ἠδὲ τιθήνη** Orph. *Hy.* 10. 18 293 *δείματι παλλόμενοι** Orac. ap. Hdt. 7. 140. 3 : *δείματι παλλομένην** A.R. 4. 572 (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.) : *δείματι παλλομένη** Nonn. *D.* 1. 56 : cf. Mosch. *Eur.* 161 f. (ad *Dem.* 285)

---

284 *κασίγνηται* M : corr. Ruhnken *ἐλεεινήν* M : *ἐλεινήν* Ruhnken *κασιγνήτη φωνὴν ἐσάκουσ' ἐλεεινήν* Hermann 287 *πυρὰν ἔκαι'* M (cf. *Od.* 7. 13, 9. 251, Hdt. 2. 39, *Vit. Hom. Suda* 111, n. ad *Dem.* 248) : corr. Ruhnken 289 *ἐλούεον* suspectum habuit Ruhnken

ὡς ἐπέτελλε θεὰ καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας πολυπείρονα λαὸν
ἤνωγ' ἠϋκόμῳ Δημήτερι πίονα νηὸν
ποιῆσαι καὶ βωμὸν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ.
οἱ δὲ μάλ' αἶψ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος,
τεῦχον δ' ὡς ἐπέτελλ'· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴσῃ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τέλεσαν καὶ ἐρώησαν καμάτοιο,
βάν ῥ' ἴμεν οἶκαδ' ἕκαστος· ἀτὰρ ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ
ἔνθα καθεζομένη μακάρων ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἁπάντων
μίμνε πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός.
αἰνότατον δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν
ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ κύντατον, οὐδέ τι γαῖα
σπέρμ' ἀνίει· κρύπτεν γὰρ ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ.

295 ὡς ἐπέτελλεν *Il.* 11. 768, *Od.* 17. 186 (~ *Dem.* 300): θεά* *Il.* 1. 1 etc.: καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ* *Dem.* 251 296 ἀλλὰ σύγ' εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας* *Il.* 19. 34 (~ *Od.* 1. 272): δῆμος ἀπείρων *Il.* 24. 776: ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν* *Il.* 7. 446 etc.: πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν* *Il.* 2. 115: λαὸς ἀπείρων Hes. *Sc.* 472 297 ἤνωγον* *Od.* 6. 216: Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον* *Dem.* 1: πίονα νηόν* *Od.* 12. 346 298 ποιῆσαι* *Od.* 1. 250 etc.: βωμόν* *Il.* 1. 440 etc.: ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ* *Dem.* 272 299 οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο* *Il.* 23. 249: τὸν δὲ μάλ' αἶψ' ἐνόησε* *Il.* 17. 116: οὐδ' ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος* *Il.* 10. 47 (~ 16. 76 etc.) 300 ὡς ἐπέτελλεν* *Od.* 17. 186 (~ *Dem.* 295): ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονι ἶσος* *Dem.* 235 (~ *Hy.* 26. 5): Διὸς αἴσῃ* *Il.* 9. 608 (~ 17. 321), *Ap.* 433: δαίμονος αἶσα *Od.* 11. 61: θεῶν . . . αἴσῃ* *Aph.* 166 301 αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ'* ἐτέλεσσε *Od.* 11. 246: ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο* *Il.* 13. 776, 19. 170 (~ 17. 422) 301 f. ~ *Od.* 7. 325 f. ἄτερ καμάτοιο τέλεσσαν | . . . καὶ ἀπήνυσαν οἶκαδ' ὀπίσσω 302 βάν ῥ' ἴμεν* *Il.* 10. 297, *Dem.* 484 etc.: οἶκαδ'* *Il.* 7. 79 etc.: ἕκαστος* *Il.* 9. 652 etc.: ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος *Il.* 1. 606 etc.: ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ* *Il.* 5. 500 303 ἔνθα καθεζομένη* *Dem.* 197: μακάρων* *Il.* 24. 377 etc.: ἀπονόσφιν* *Il.* 1. 541 etc.: θεῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων* Hes. *Th.* 813 (~ *Th.* 277): ὁ δὲ νόσφι λιασθεὶς | τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε καθέζετο *Il.* 11. 80 f. 304 cf. *Dem.* 201 305 αἰνότατε* *Il.* 1. 552 etc.: ἐνιαυτόν* *Od.* 4. 595, 11. 356: ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν* *Il.* 3. 265 etc. 305 f. ~ *Dem.* 90 αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον* 306 ποίης'* *Od.* 14. 274, 19. 57: ἀνθρώποις* *Dem.* 489, *Ap.* 259, Hes. *Th.* 296, 564 etc.: κύντερον* *Od.* 11. 427 etc.: γαῖα* *Il.* 2. 95 etc. 307 σπέρμ'* ὑπὸ γῆς κρύπτουσα *Dem.* 353: σπέρμα* *Od.* 5. 490: ἀνίεις* *Il.* 5. 880: ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ* *Dem.* 224 etc.

---

296 πολυπείρονας οἴμους* Orph. *Arg.* 33 300 δαίμονος αἴσῃ Stesichorus, P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 4 ii 8 f.: δαίμονος αἴσῃ* Orph. *Arg.* 1195 (de Proserpina a Plutone rapta)

---

295 ὅσσ' Fontein (cf. 172) 296 πολυπείρονα 'vix sanum' Bücheler: πολυπάμονα Gemoll (cf. Orph. *Arg.* 1063, ex coni. Gesner) 297 ἠνώγει . . . δημήτορι . . . ναὸν M: corr. Ruhnken 299 αἶψ' ἐπίθοντο corr. ex αἶψα πίθοντο M 301 ἐτέλεσσαν M: corr. Valckenaer 302 βὰν δ' M: corr. Wyttenbach 304 θυγατρός ex γυναικός corr. M 306 ἀνθρώποισι M: corr. Ruhnken: ἀνθρώποις ἰδὲ Voss

πολλὰ δὲ καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μάτην βόες εἵλκον ἀρούραις,
πολλὸν δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἐτώσιον ἔμπεσε γαίῃ.
καί νύ κε πάμπαν ὄλεσσε γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
λιμοῦ ὑπ' ἀργαλέης, γεράων τ' ἐρικυδέα τιμὴν
καὶ θυσιῶν ἤμερσεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντας,
εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς ἐνόησεν ἑῷ τ' ἐφράσσατο θυμῷ.
Ἶριν δὲ πρῶτον χρυσόπτερον ὧρσε καλέσσαι
Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν.
ὣς ἔφαθ'· ἡ δὲ Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
πείθετο καὶ μεσσηγὺ διέδραμεν ὦκα πόδεσσιν.
ἵκετο δὲ πτολίεθρον Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης,
εὗρεν δ' ἐν νηῷ Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον,
καί μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Δήμητερ καλέει σε πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδὼς

308 *καμπύλα** *Od.* 9. 156, 21. 362: *ἄροτρα** Hes. *Op.* 432: *καμπύλ' ἄροτρα* Sol. 1. 48: *βόες** *Od.* 12. 355, 22. 299: *εἵλκε** *Herm.* 116: *ἄρουρα* (etc.)* *Il.* 3. 115 etc.: *ἑλκέμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον Il.* 10. 353 (~ 13. 32) 309 *κρῖ λευκόν** *Il.* 5. 196 etc.: *ἐτώσιον** *Il.* 3. 368 etc.: *ἔμπεσε** *Il.* 4. 108 etc.: *ἐτώσια πίπτει ἕραζε** *Il.* 17. 633 310 *καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' . . . ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν Il.* 8. 90: *οὐδέ τι πάμπαν | ἤθελε λαὸν ὀλέσθαι Il.* 13. 348–9: *βίοτον δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν ὀλέσσει Od.* 2. 49: *Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* Hes. *Op.* 180: *γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων** *Il.* 1. 250: *μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν Hy.* 31. 18 311 *λιμῷ** *Od.* 12. 342: *μνηστύος ἀργαλέης** *Od.* 2. 199: *νούσῳ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ** *Il.* 13. 667: *νούσου ὑπ' ἀργαλέης** Hes. *Sc.* 43: *γεράων** *τιμὴν δέ* Hes. *Th.* 393: *θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα** *Il.* 3. 65, 20. 265: *τιμήν** *Il.* 24. 57, *Dem.* 261 312 *ἄμερσε** *Od.* 8. 64: *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες** *Il.* 1. 18 etc. 313 *Ζεύς** *Il.* 11. 752 etc.: *Ζεὺς . . . ἐνόησε Il.* 19. 112: *ἐνόησε(ν)** *Il.* 3. 396: *ἐφράσσατο** *Il.* 24. 352, *Od.* 4. 529: *θυμῷ** *Il.* 1. 24 etc. 314 *Ἶριν . . . χρυσόπτερον** *Il.* 8. 398, 11. 185: *ὦρσε** *Il.* 13. 794 etc.: *καλέσσαι Il.* 3. 117 etc. 315 *Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον** *Dem.* 1: *πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα** Hes. *Th.* 908: *πολυήρατον** *Od.* 15. 366, 23. 354 316 *Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ** *Il.* 21. 520: *κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι Il.* 1. 397* etc.: *Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέι Κρονίδῃ Od.* 9. 552, 13. 25 317 *πείθετο Il.* 22. 224: *πείθεο** *Herm.* 378: *καὶ μεσσηγύ** *Il.* 11. 573, 15. 316: *διέδραμεν** *Hy.* 19. 2: *ὦκα** *Il.* 13. 671 etc.: *πόδεσσι** *Il.* 11. 476 etc.: *βῆ ῥα θέειν, ταχέως δὲ διήνυσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ* (de Iride) *Ap.* 108: cf. *Il.* 24. 78 *μεσσηγύς* (cf. ad *Dem.* 321) 318 *ἵκετο δ'** *Il.* 15. 84 etc.: *πτολίεθρον** *Il.* 18. 512 etc.: *Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης Dem.* 97, 490: *Ἐλευσῖνος . . . πτολίεθρον Dem.* 356 319 *εὗρεν δ'** *Il.* 1. 498 (~ 24. 83 etc.): *Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον** *Dem.* 442 (ex coni.), cf. 360, 374 320 = *Il.* 15. 35 etc. 321 *καλέει σε** *Od.* 17. 553, *Dem.* 460: *πατὴρ Ζεύς** *Il.* 4. 235 etc.: *καλέει Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς** *Il.* 24. 88 (Iris loquitur) 321 f. ~ *Dem.* 460 f.

---

308 *εἵλκον* M: *ἕλκον* Allen 309 *γαῖα* M: corr. Ruhnken 312 *θυσιῶν* M: *θυέων* Hermann (cf. *Dem.* 368) 313 *ἑῷ δ' ἐφράσατο* M: corr. Ruhnken, Ilgen 314 *ἤρην* M: corr. Ruhnken (cf. *Ἥρην* pro *Ἶριν*, Bentley ad Ar. *Av.* 575) 315 *δημήτηρ'* M: corr. Ruhnken (cf. *Dem.* 1) 317 *μεσσηγὺ* M: *τὸ μεσηγὺ* Ilgen

ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.
ἀλλ' ἴθι, μηδ' ἀτέλεστον ἐμὸν ἔπος ἐκ Διὸς ἔστω.
Ὣς φάτο λισσομένη· τῆς δ' οὐκ ἐπεπείθετο θυμός.
αὖτις ἔπειτα ⟨πατὴρ⟩ μάκαρας θεοὺς αἰὲν ἐόντας
πάντας ἐπιπροΐαλλεν· ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ κιόντες
κίκλησκον καὶ πολλὰ δίδον περικαλλέα δῶρα,
τιμάς θ' ἅς κεν ἕλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·
ἀλλ' οὔ τις πεῖσαι δύνατο φρένας οὐδὲ νόημα
θυμῷ χωομένης, στερεῶς δ' ἠναίνετο μύθους.
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἔφασκε θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο
πρίν γ' ἐπιβήσεσθαι, οὐ πρὶν γῆς καρπὸν ἀνήσειν,
πρὶν ἴδοι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἑὴν εὐώπιδα κούρην.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
εἰς Ἔρεβος πέμψε χρυσόρραπιν Ἀργειφόντην,
ὄφρ' Ἀΐδην μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν

322 ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν* *Dem.* 461: φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων* *Dem.* 36: μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων* P. Oxy. 2509. 10, 16 (cf. ad *Dem.* 67, 449) 323 ἀλλ' ἴθι* *Il.* 1. 32: ἀτέλεστον* *Od.* 16. 111: ἐμὸν ἔπος* *Il.* 8. 8, *Od.* 24. 262: ἐκ Διός* *Il.* 14. 19 etc. 324 ὣς φάτο λισσόμενος* *Il.* 16. 46: ἐπεπείθετο θυμός *Od.* 2. 103 etc. 325 ἔπειτα πατήρ *Il.* 1. 544, *Od.* 24. 280: πατήρ* *Il.* 1. 579 (de Iove): μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες* *Il.* 24. 99 etc. 326 ἐπιπροΐηλε *Il.* 11. 628: ἀμοιβηδὶς δέ* *Il.* 18. 506, *Od.* 18. 310: κιόντες* *Il.* 19. 50 etc. 327 κίκλησκεν* *Il.* 2. 404: περικαλλέα δῶρα* *Od.* 8. 420 328 τιμή* *Il.* 2. 197 etc.: τιμάς* *Dem.* 366: ἅς κεν ἕλοιτο* *Dem.* 444: μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι* ibid., *Il.* 21. 500 etc. 329 ἀλλ' οὔτις δύνατο* *Il.* 3. 451: οὔτις δύνατο* *Il.* 11. 120: φρένας* *Il.* 1. 115 etc.: φρένας, οὐδέ* *Aph.* 207 (~ *Il.* 1. 115 etc.): φρένες . . . οὐδὲ νόημα* *Od.* 18. 215, 220 (~ *Il.* 24. 40) 330 θυμῷ* *Il.* 10. 205 etc.: χωόμενοι (etc.)* *Il.* 21. 457 etc.: αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἠρνεῖτο στερεῶς* *Il.* 23. 42: ἠναίνετο *Il.* 18. 450: μύθους* *Il.* 1. 545: ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται, καί τε στερεῶς ἀποείπῃ *Il.* 9. 510 331 ἔφασκε* *Od.* 8. 565 etc.: θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο* *Herm.* 322 332 πρίν γ' ἀποπαύσεσθαι*, πρίν γ' . . . *Il.* 5. 288: καρπόν* *Il.* 3. 246: ἀνῆκεν* *Il.* 2. 71 etc.: καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν *Dem.* 471 333 πρίν γ' . . . ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδηαι *Il.* 18. 135: οὐ . . . πρίν γ' εἶα . . . | πρίν γ'* . . . ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι *Il.* 18. 189 f. (~ *Od.* 10. 383 ff.): ἴδοι τ' εὐώπιδα κούρην* *Od.* 6. 113 334 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε* *Il.* 20. 318 etc.: βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς* *Dem.* 3 etc. 334–5 εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς | εἰς Ἔρεβος κατέπεμψε Hes. *Th.* 514–15 335 εἰς Ἔρεβος* *Od.* 10. 528: πέμψης (etc.)* *Il.* 16. 445 etc.: χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης* *Od.* 10. 331, *Aph.* 117 336 Ἀΐδης* *Il.* 5. 395: μαλακοῖσι καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσιν* *Od.* 10. 70: ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενος* *Il.* 24. 771: μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν* Hes. *Th.* 90: τὴν δὴ παρφάμεναι κοῦραι μαλακοῖσι λόγοισιν | πεῖσαν Parm. fr. 1. 15 f. (cf. ad *Dem.* 337 f., 379, 177, 226, Burkert, *Phronesis* 14 (1969), 1 ff.)

---

325 πατὴρ om. M: add. Valckenaer (cf. 345) 328 θ' del. West (*Philologus* 110 (1966) 149), cf. Hes. *Th.* 412–13 κ' ἐθέλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἑλέσθαι M: κεν ἕλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Hermann (cf. 444): κε βόλοιτο Allen (cf. *Il.* 11. 319) 329 ἠδὲ νόημα Brunck 331 ποτε φάσκε M: corr. Hermann 332 ἐπιβήσεσθ' M: corr Voss οὐ M: ἢ Voss 333 πρὶν corr. ex πρίν M

ἀγνὴν Περσεφόνειαν ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος
ἐς φάος ἐξαγάγοι μετὰ δαίμονας, ὄφρα ἑ μήτηρ
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα μεταλλήξειε χόλοιο.
Ἑρμῆς δ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν, ἄφαρ δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης
ἐσσυμένως κατόρουσε λιπὼν ἕδος Οὐλύμποιο.
τέτμε δὲ τόν γε ἄνακτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ἐόντα
ἥμενον ἐν λεχέεσσι σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένῃ μητρὸς πόθῳ †ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀτλήτων
ἔργοις θεῶν μακάρων μητίσετο βουλῇ†
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱστάμενος προσέφη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης·
Ἄιδη κυανοχαῖτα καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων
Ζεύς με πατὴρ ἤνωγεν ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν
ἐξαγαγεῖν Ἐρέβευσφι μετὰ σφέας, ὄφρα ἑ μήτηρ

337 *ἀγνὴ Περσεφόνεια** *Od.* 11. 386: *ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος** *Dem.* 402: *ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος** *Il.* 21. 56, Hes. *Th.* 653 (~ *Il.* 23. 51, *Od.* 11. 57 etc.) 338 *ἐξάγαγε πρὸ φόωσδε* *Il.* 16. 188: *ἐξαγάγοις** *Il.* 19. 332: *ἀνήγαγον ἐς φάος* Hes. *Th.* 626: *μετὰ δαίμονας* *Il.* 1. 222: *δαίμονας ἄλλους* *Herm.* 381 ~ *Ap.* 11: *ὄφρ' ἐπὶ μήτηρ** *Od.* 11. 152 (~ 17. 6) 338b–9 ~ 349b–50 ~ 409b–10 339 *ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδών** *Il.* 3. 28 (~ 19. 174 etc.), cf. *Dem.* 333: *μεταλλήξαντι χόλοιο** *Il.* 9. 157 etc. 340 *Ἑρμῆς** *Herm.* 25 etc.: *οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν** *Il.* 2. 166 etc.: *ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης** *Dem.* 415 (~ *Il.* 22. 482, *Od.* 24. 204): cf. *Il.* 24. 339 = *Od.* 5. 43 341 *ἐσσυμένως** *Il.* 3. 85 etc., *Dem.* 359: *ἐσσυμένως ὦρουσεν** *Hy.* 28. 8: *λιποῦσ' ἕδος Οὐλύμποιο** *Il.* 24. 144: cf. *Dem.* 449 342 *τέτμον δ'** *Dem.* 179: *εὗρε δὲ τόν γε ἄνακτα** *Il.* 5. 794: *δόμων ἔντοσθεν** *Od.* 1. 380 = 2. 145 (~ 23. 148): *ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσιν** *Od.* 14. 194 342 f. *τὸν δ' εὗρον . . . | ἥμενον* *Il.* 1. 329 f. (~ *Il.* 5. 355 f. etc.) 343 *ἥμενον** *Il.* 1. 330 etc.: *ἐν λεχέεσσι** *Il.* 18. 233 etc.: *ἥμενον ἐν** *λέχῃ* Hes. *Op.* 501: *αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι** *Od.* 3. 381 344 *πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη** *Il.* 6. 458 (~ *Od.* 13. 277, *Dem.* 432): *μητρός** *Od.* 6. 310 etc.: *πόθος** *Od.* 4. 596: *ἀποτηλοῦ** *Od.* 9. 117 345 *ἔργοισιν** *Od.* 7. 52: *θεῶν μακάρων** *Il.* 1. 339 etc. (semper hoc versus loco): *βουλῇ** *Il.* 2. 202 etc.: *βουλὴν ἣ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφήνδανε μητιόωσι* *Il.* 7. 45 346 *ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱστάμενος προσέφη** *Il.* 13. 768 etc.: *κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης** *Il.* 16. 181 etc. 347 *κυανοχαῖτα* *Il.* 13. 563: *καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν** *Od.* 11. 491: *Ἄϊδης ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων** Hes. *Th.* 850 (~ *Il.* 15. 188) 348 *Ζεύς με πατὴρ** *προέηκε* *Il.* 11. 201: *ἄνωγεν** *Il.* 6. 444 etc.: *ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια** *Od.* 11. 213, 226, 635: *Ζεὺς ἐμέ γ' ἠνώγει* *Od.* 5. 99 349 *ἐξάγαγε** *Il.* 16. 188: *Ἐρέβε(υ)σφιν** *Il.* 9. 572, Hes. *Th.* 669 349b–50a = 338b–9a

---

337 *ἀπὸ* M: *ὑπὸ* Voss 339 *μεταλήξειε* M: *μεταλλήξειε* Matthiae 343 *παρακοίτῃ* M 344 f. *ἡ δ'* Voss: *ἀποτηλοῦ* Ilgen (quod probat Allen): *ἐπ' ἀτλήτοις* Humbert: in 345 'excidisse videtur anapaestus' Allen: *ὀργισθεῖσα* Ignarra: *ἠδ' ἔτ' ἀτλήτοις ἔργοις ⟨οἷα⟩ θεῶν μακάρων μητίσατο βουλή* Ludwich (*B. ph. Woch.* 39 (1919), 552): varie tentaverunt alii 346 *κρατερὸς* M: *κρατὺς* Ruhnken 347 *ἄδη* M: *Ἄιδη* Ruhnken 348 *σε* M: *με* Wyttenbach *ἄνωγεν* M: corr. Ruhnken 349 *ἐρέβευσφι* M: *ἐρέβεσφι* Franke (cf. *Il.* 9. 572, ubi nonnulli codices *ἐρέβεσφι* habent)

ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς
ἀθανάτοις παύσειεν· ἐπεὶ μέγα μήδεται ἔργον
φθῖσαι φῦλ' ἀμενηνὰ χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων
σπέρμ' ὑπὸ γῆς κρύπτουσα, καταφθινύθουσα δὲ τιμὰς
ἀθανάτων. ἡ δ' αἰνὸν ἔχει χόλον, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι
μίσγεται, ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε θυώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ
ἧσται, Ἐλευσῖνος κραναὸν πτολίεθρον ἔχουσα.
Ὣς φάτο· μείδησεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεὺς
ὀφρύσιν, οὐδ' ἀπίθησε Διὸς βασιλῆος ἐφετμῆς.
ἐσσυμένως δ' ἐκέλευσε δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ·
ἔρχεο Περσεφόνη παρὰ μητέρα κυανόπεπλον
ἤπιον ἐν στήθεσσι μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσα,

350 = 409b+410b: *οἰζύος αἰνῆς** *Od.* 15. 342: *χόλος αἰνός* *Il.* 22. 94 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–46) ~ *Dem.* 354: *χόλος καὶ μῆνις** *Il.* 15. 122 351 *ἀθανάτοις** *Il.* 23. 207 etc.: *χόλον παύσειεν** *Il.* 1. 192: *παύθη χόλου* Hes. *Th.* 533: *παύε', ἔα δὲ χόλον* *Il.* 9. 260 (261b ~ *Dem.* 339) ~ *Il.* 15. 72, 19. 67 (ubi 67 f. ~ *Dem.* 82 f.): *μάλα γὰρ μέγα μήσατο ἔργον** *Od.* 3. 261 (cf. *Il.* 2. 38 etc.) 352 *φθίσειν* (etc.)* *Il.* 16. 461 (etc.): *ἀμενηνά* *Od.* 10. 521 etc.: *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων** Hes. *Th.* 879, *Aph.* 108 (~ Theognis 870): *φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων** *Od.* 3. 282 etc. 353 *σπέρμ'** ... *κρύπτεν γὰρ** ... *Dem.* 307: *κρύπτεσκε** *Dem.* 239: *φθινύθουσα** *Od.* 1. 250 = 16. 127: *τιμάς** *Dem.* 443, 461, Hes. *Th.* 74, 885, *Op.* 138 354 *ἀθανάτων** *Il.* 5. 828 etc.: *χόλος αἰνός** *Il.* 22. 94 (~ *Dem.* 350): *ἔχειν χόλον** *Dem.* 83: *οὐδὲ θεοῖσι** *Herm.* 167 354 f. *οὐδέ τις αὐτῇ | μίσγεται οὔτε θεῶν ... Od.* 7. 246 f. 355 *ἀπάνευθε** *Il.* 1. 48, *Dem.* 28 etc.: *θυώδεος** *Od.* 4. 121, *Dem.* 244 etc.: *νηοῖο ... θυώδεος** *Dem.* 385: *θυώδεα νηόν* *Aph.* 58: *ἔνδοθι** *Il.* 6. 498 etc. 356 *ἧσται** *Il.* 19. 345 etc.: *πτολίεθρον** *Il.* 2. 228 etc.: *ἔχουσα** *Il.* 9. 559 etc.: *Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι** *Dem.* 490 (~ 97): *πτολίεθρον Ἐλευσῖνος Dem.* 318 357 *ὣς φάτο· μείδησεν δέ** *Il.* 1. 595 etc.: *ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς** *Il.* 20. 61 358 *ὀφρύσι** *νευστάζων* *Od.* 12. 194: *οὐδ' ἀπίθησε** *Il.* 2. 166, *Dem.* 448 etc.: *Διὸς ... ἐφετμάς** *Il.* 15. 593, 24. 570, 586: *Διὶ βασιλῆι Theb.* fr. 3. 3: *θεῶν βασιλῆι** *καὶ ἀνδρῶν* Hes. *Th.* 923 359 *ἐσσυμένως** *Dem.* 341 etc.: *ἐκέλευσεν** *Il.* 8. 318 etc.: *δαΐφρονι Βελλεροφόντῃ** *Il.* 6. 196 (*δαΐφρων* in Homero semper de viris, excepto *Od.* 15. 356): *περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ** *Od.* 15. 41 etc. (~ *Dem.* 370) 360 *ἔρχεο** *Il.* 9. 43 etc.: *Περσεφόνη** (nom.) *Dem.* 405: *μητέρα κυανόπεπλον** *Dem.* 442 (~ 319) 360–1 *Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον ... | ἤπιον** Hes. *Th.* 406–7 361 *ἤπιον** *Od.* 14. 139, 20. 327: *ἐν στήθεσσι μένος** *Il.* 5. 513: *μένος καὶ θυμόν** *Il.* 5. 470 etc.: *ἄγριον ἐν στήθεσσι θέτο μεγαλήτορα θυμόν Il.* 9. 629: *(ἀπηνέα/εὔφρονα) θυμὸν ἔχουσα** *Od.* 23. 97, *Aph.* 102

---

355 *ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος* A.R. 1. 307: *θυώδεας εἵσατο ναούς** Theocr. 17. 123: *νηοῖο θυώδεος** *ἔνδον ἐόντα* Epigr. *App. Anth.* 4. 18 (Epidaurio templo inscriptum)

---

351 *παύσειεν* M: *λήξειεν* C. Burney, Hermann (cf. 410) 357 *ἀνέρων* M: corr. Ruhnken 358 *ἐφετμῆς* M: *ἐφετμῆς* Allen

μηδέ τι δυσθύμαινε λίην περιώσιον ἄλλων.
οὔ τοι ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικὴς ἔσσομ' ἀκοίτης
αὐτοκασίγνητος πατρὸς Διός· ἔνθα δ' ἑοῦσα
δεσπόσσεις πάντων ὁπόσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει,
τιμὰς δὲ σχήσεσθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας,
τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα
οἵ κεν μὴ θυσίαισι τεὸν μένος ἱλάσκωνται
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες.
Ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνεια,
καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' αὐτὸς
ῥοιῆς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ
ἀμφὶ ἕ νωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἤματα πάντα
αὖθι παρ' αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι κυανοπέπλῳ.

362 μή μοί τι λίην* ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ *Il.* 6. 486: περιώσια* *Hy.* 19. 41: περὶ* . . . ἄλλων* *Il.* 13. 728 etc.: cf. *Dem.* 82 f., 467 f. 363 f. cf. *Dem.* 83–5 363 οὗτοι ἀεικής (ad fin.) *Dem.* 83 (~ 120): ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν* *Il.* 1. 398, *Dem.* 84, *Ap.* 325: ἀκοίτης* *Il.* 15. 91 364 αὐτοκασίγνητος* *Dem.* 85, *Il.* 2. 706 etc.: πατρὸς Διός* *Il.* 2. 146 etc.: ἐνθάδ' ἑοῦσα* *Od.* 6. 179 365 πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει *Il.* 17. 447 = *Od.* 18. 131: ζώει τε καὶ ἔστιν* *Od.* 24. 263 366 τιμάς* *Dem.* 328 etc.: μετ' ἀθανάτοισι* *Dem.* 328 etc.: μέγισται* *Il.* 14. 371 367 τίσις ἔσσεται* *Od.* 1. 40: ἤματα πάντα* *Il.* 8. 539 etc. 368 θυέεσσι(ν)* *Il.* 9. 499 (θυσίαισι Pl. *Rep.* 364 d 7), *Il.* 6. 270: θυέεσσί τε ἱλάσκεσθαι Hes. *Op.* 338: ἐμὸν νόον ἱλάσκοιντο* *Dem.* 274 (~ 292) 369 εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες* *Dem.* 274: ἐναίσιμα δῶρα διδοῦναι* *Il.* 24. 425 370 ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δέ* *Il.* 6. 212 etc.: περίφρων Πηνελόπεια* *Od.* 1. 329 etc. (~ *Dem.* 359) 371 καρπαλίμως δ'* *Il.* 1. 359: ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος* *Dem.* 411: ἀνόρουσε* *Il.* 1. 248 etc.: περὶ χάρματι* *Dem.* 429 371–2 cf. *Dem.* 411–12 372 ῥοιῆς κόκκον, μελιηδέ' ἐδωδήν *Dem.* 412: ἔδωκε* *Il.* 13. 730 etc.: μελιηδέα* *Il.* 10. 579 etc.: λάθρῃ* *Il.* 2. 515 373 ἀμφὶ ἕ παπτήνας* *Il.* 4. 497 = 15. 574: ἤματα πάντα* *Il.* 8. 539, *Dem.* 260 etc. 374 μητρὶ παρ' αἰδοίῃ* *Od.* 8. 420: Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον* *Dem.* 319: εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ | αἰδοίη Hes. *Op.* 300–1 (cf. *Dem.* 224 etc.)

---

362 περιώσιον ἄλλων* A.R. 1. 466 372 ῥοιᾶς ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ φαγεῖν κόκκον Apollod. 1. 5. 3

---

362 θύσθυμαινε M: corr. Ruhnken λίην M: φίλη Wyttenbach 363 ἔσομ' ἄκοιτις M: corr. Ruhnken 364 ἐνθάδ' ἑοῦσα M: ἔνθα δ' ἑοῦσα Ruhnken: ἐνθάδ' ἑούσῃ Preller (cf. ad 365–9) 365–9 interpolatos esse censebant Preller, Stoll, 367–9 Bücheler 365 δεσπόσεις M: δεσπόσσεις Voss: δεσπόζῃς Ruhnken: δεσπόσσῃς Wolf 366 σχήσεσθα M: σχήσῃσθα Ruhnken: σχήσεισθα Boissonade: σχήσεσθα Bergk (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.* 3. 96): σχήσεις θάμ' ἐν Voss: ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὰς ἔχῃσθα Ruhnken: τιμὰς δ' αἰὲν ἔχῃσθα Hermann 368 θυσίαισι M: θυσίῃσι Ruhnken: θυέεσσι Hermann (cf. *Dem.* 312) ἱλάσκονται M: ἱλάσκωνται Valckenaer 371 ἀνόρουσεν M: corr. Ruhnken 371–2 αὐτὸς . . . λάθρῃ M: αὐτῇ Voss: Ἄϊδης Schneidewin: αὖτως Agar: αὖτις(?) West: ὁ λάθρῃ . . . μελιηδέ' ἐδωδὴν Jacques (cf. *Dem.* 411–12): μελιηδέα δαῖτα Ruhnken 373 ἀμφὶ ἕ M: ἀμφί ἑ Ruhnken: ἀμφὶς Santen

ἵππους δὲ προπάροιθεν ὑπὸ χρυσέοισιν ὄχεσφιν
ἔντυεν ἀθανάτους πολυσημάντωρ Ἀϊδωνεύς.
ἡ δ' ὀχέων ἐπέβη, παρὰ δὲ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης
ἡνία καὶ μάστιγα λαβὼν μετὰ χερσὶ φίλῃσι
σεῦε διὲκ μεγάρων· τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην.
ῥίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, οὐδὲ θάλασσα
οὔθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὔτ' ἄγκεα ποιήεντα
ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὔτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεθον ὁρμήν,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτάων βαθὺν ἠέρα τέμνον ἰόντες.
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ὅθι μίμνεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ
νηοῖο προπάροιθε θυώδεος· ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα
ἤϊξ' ἠΰτε μαινὰς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλῃ.
Περσεφόνη δ' ἑτέρ[ωθεν

375 *ἵππους δέ** *Il.* 24. 279: *προπάροιθεν** *Il.* 3. 22 etc.: *ἐπὶ χρυσέοισιν ὄχοισιν** *Dem.* 19 376 *ἔντυεν* (*ἵππους*) *Il.* 5. 720, 8. 382: *ἀθανάτους** *Il.* 14. 199 etc.: *πολυσημάντωρ Ἀϊδωνεύς** *Dem.* 84 377 *αὐτίκα δ' ὧν ὀχέων ἐπεβήσετο Il.* 11. 517 (~ 5. 221 etc.): *ἐπέβη** *Dem.* 264: *κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης** *Il.* 16. 181, *Dem.* 346 etc. 378 *ἡνία** *Il.* 5. 583 etc.: *μάστιγα** *Il.* 5. 226 etc.: *λαβών** *Il.* 4. 122 etc.: *μάστιγα** *καὶ ἡνία λάζετο χερσίν Il.* 17. 482 = 24. 441 (~ 5. 840, *Od.* 6. 81): *χερσὶ φίλῃσιν** *Il.* 23. 99, *Dem.* 41 etc. 379 *σεῦε** *Il.* 6. 133: *διὲκ μεγάρων** *Dem.* 281: *τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην** *Il.* 5. 366 etc. 380 *ῥίμφα δέ** *Il.* 24. 799, *Dem.* 171: *ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα διέδραμον** *Od.* 3. 177: *διήνυσε(ν)** *Od.* 17. 517, *Ap.* 108: *ἠδὲ θάλασσα** *Od.* 12. 404 = 14. 302 381 *ποταμῶν** *Il.* 20. 9 etc.: *ἄγκεα ποιήεντα** *Od.* 4. 337 = 17. 128 382 *ἵππων ἀθανάτων** *Il.* 17. 476: *ἄκριας** *Od.* 9. 400 etc.: *ἔσχεθον** *Il.* 15. 653, 19. 418: *ὁρμήν** *Il.* 9. 355 etc. 383 *ἠέρα** . . . *βαθεῖαν Il.* 20. 446: *ἰόντες** *Il.* 3. 15 etc. 384 *στῆσε δ' ἄγων** *ἵν' . . ἵσταντο Il.* 2. 558: *μίμνε** *Ap.* 5: *ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ** *Dem.* 244 etc. 385 *προπάροιθε** *Il.* 2. 92 etc.: *θυώδεος . . . νηοῦ Dem.* 355: *οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες** *Il.* 8. 76 etc.: *ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα** *Ap.* 255 (Hermann: *ἐσιδοῦσα* codd.), 341 (M: *ἐσιδοῦσα* cett.) 386 *ἤϊξ'** *Dem.* 61: *μαινάδι ἴση Il.* 22. 460 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–46): *μαινομένῃ ἐικυῖα Il.* 6. 389: *ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλῃ** *Od.* 13. 351, *Herm.* 228 (231–2 ~ *Dem.* 277–8), *Aph.* 285 (284 ~ *Dem.* 8): *δάσκιος ὕλη** *Il.* 15. 273, *Hy.* 27. 7 (~ *Od.* 5. 470) 387 *Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν, ἔκθορε δίφρου Il.* 16. 427: { *Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀφ' ἵππων ἅλτο χαμᾶζε* / *Ἕκτωρ δ' αὖθ'*
*Il.* 16. 733, 755 (cf. ad *Dem.* 389): *ὡς δὲ ἴδεν . . . ὄμματα κάλ' . . . Aph.* 181

---

383 *ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐς [. . . .]αν βαθ|ὺν ἀ]έρα τάμνων* Ibycus(?), P. Oxy. 2637 fr. 5 ii 5–7 (~ Bacch. 5. 16 f.): cf. Archil. fr. 181. 10 West [? *τάμνων κέ*]*λ̣ευθον ὠκέως δι' αἰθέρος*

---

381 *οὔτ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ* Hermann: *οὔτε ὕδωρ* Suhle 383 *ὑπὲρ ἀκράων* Agar (*CR* 31 (1917), 120): *τάμνον*? West (cf. Gemoll) 384 *ἀγῶν'* M: *ἄγων* Ruhnken (cf. *Il.* 2. 558) 386 *μαινὰς* M: *κεμμὰς* Ruhnken *κατὰ* M: corr. Matthiae *ὕλης* M: *ὕλῃ* Ruhnken: *ὄρεος κατὰ δασκίου ὕλην* Voss: *ὕλῃς* Allen 387 *ἑτέρ* M: *τέρω* m: *ἑτέρωθεν* Ilgen *ἀφ' ἅρματος ἀΐξασα* Hermann: *ἐπεὶ ἴδε καλὰ πρόσωπα* Voss: *ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ὄμματα καλὰ* Goodwin

μητρὸϲ ἑῆϲ κατ[
ἆλτο θέει[ν
τῇ δε[
ἀ[
πα⟨υ⟩ομε[ν-
Τέκνον μή ῥά τί μοι ϲ[
βρώμηϲ; ἐξαύδα [
ὣϲ μὲν γάρ κ' ἀνιοῦϲα π[
καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὶ κελ[αινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι]
ναιετάοιϲ πάντεϲϲι τετιμ[ένη ἀθανάτοι]ϲιν.
†εἰ δὲ πτᾶϲα πάλιν ἰοῦϲ' ὑπ[ὸ

388 ἡ δ' ἐν γούναϲι πῖπτε . . . | μητρὸϲ ἑῆϲ*· ἡ δ' ἀγκὰϲ ἐλάζετο θυγατέρα ἥν *Il.* 5. 370–1 (363–9 ~ *Dem.* 375–85): μητρὸϲ ἑῆϲ* *Od.* 19. 395 (402 ~ *Dem.* 392) 389 ἆλτο* *Herm.* 65 392 παυομένῳ* δόρποιο· ἔποϲ τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν *Od.* 19. 402 (395 ~ *Dem.* 388): παύομαι (a luctu)* *Od.* 4. 103 (~ *Il.* 8. 295) 393 τέκνον, μή τοι* . . . *Il.* 19. 29: τέκνον, τί κλαίειϲ; τί δέ ϲε φρέναϲ ἵκετο πένθοϲ; *Il.* 1. 362 = 18. 73 (1. 363 ~ 18. 74 ~ *Dem.* 394) 394 βρώμηϲ *Od.* 10. 177, 379: ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόῳ, ἵνα εἴδομεν ἄμφω *Il.* 1. 363 = 16. 19 (~ 18. 74) 396 Διὶ πατρί* *Il.* 4. 23 etc.: κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι* *Il.* 1. 397 etc. 397 ναιετάω* *Od.* 9. 21: πάντεϲϲι τετιμένοϲ ἀθανάτοιϲι* *Aph.* 205 (cf. ad *Dem.* 403): πολλοῖϲι τετιμένον ἀνθρώποιϲιν* *Ap.* 479 ~ 522 (~ *Dem.* 399): ἀθανάτοιϲ τε θεοῖϲι τετιμένη* Hes. *Th.* 415 (~ *Il.* 24. 533): πᾶϲι μετ' ἀθανάτοιϲι τετίμηται γεράεϲϲι Hes. *Th.* 449 398 ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίηϲ* *Dem.* 340, 415 398–400 cf. *Dem.* 445–7, 463–5

---

388 μρϲ' ἑῆϲ κατ M: κατ m κατόρουϲ' ὀχέων ἀπὸ παμφανοώντων Voss: κατ' ἄρ' ἥ γ' ὄχεα προλιποῦϲα καὶ ἵππουϲ Goodwin 389 ἆλτο θέει M: θείν m: ἆλτο θέειν κύϲε δ' οἱ κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρε λαβοῦϲα Ilgen: ἆλτο θέειν, δείρῃ δέ οἱ ἔμπεϲεν ἀμφιχυθεῖϲα Goodwin 390 τῆδε M: ἥδε m: τῇ δὲ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδιϲ θερμὸν ῥέε δάκρυ Ilgen: τῇ δὲ φίλην ἔτι παῖδα ἑῇϲ μετὰ χερϲὶν ἐχούϲῃ Goodwin 391 ἀ M et m: ἀμφαγαπαζομένῃ· θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔϲχετο φωνή Ilgen: ἀμφοτέρῃϲι δὲ τῇϲιν ὑφ' ἵμεροϲ ὦρτο γόοιο Hermann: αἶψα δόλον θυμόϲ τιν' ὀίϲατο, τρέϲϲε δ' ἄρ' αἰνῶϲ Goodwin 392 παομε M (E. M. Thompson ap. Goodwin): παυομένη φιλότητοϲ, ἄφαρ δ' ἐρεείνετο μύθῳ· Goodwin 393 τέκνον· μή ῥ' ἀτίμοιϲ M: μή ῥά τί μοι ἐπάϲω τῆϲ εἰν ἀίδαο Voss: μή ῥά τί μοι πάϲϲῃ ἐνέρων παρ' ἄνακτι Ilgen: ϲύ γε πάϲϲαο νέρθεν ἐοῦϲα Goodwin 394 βρώμῃϲ ἐξαύδα M: βρώμηϲ Voss μὴ κεῦθ' ἵν' ἴδωμαι ἀληθέϲ Ilgen: μ. κ. ἵνα εἴδομεν ἄμφω Hermann 395 ὣϲ μὲν γάρ κε νέουϲα π M (versa scheda vestigium ex codicis M scriptura impressum dispicitur: fortasse α post π legitur: cf. Goodwin ad *Dem.* 402): κεν ἐοῦϲα παρ' ἄλλοιϲ ἀθανάτοιϲι Bücheler: κ' ἀνιοῦϲα plerique: κ' ἀνιοῦϲα μένοιϲ τέκοϲ (ἄνω Bothe) ἤματα πάντα Voss: κ' ἀνιοῦϲ' ἐκ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντοϲ Ilgen: παρὰ στυγεροῦ Ἀίδαο Goodwin 396 κελ M: κελενεφέι κρονίωνι m 397 ναιετάειϲ (οι) πάντεϲϲι τετιμ[ ]ϲιν M: τιμημένη ἀθανάτοιϲι m (~ *Ap.* 522, Hes. *Th.* 415, *PMG* 880) 398 εἰ δὲ πτᾶϲα πάλιν ἰοῦϲ' ὑπ M: ὑπὸ κεύθεϲι γαίηϲ m: εἰ δ' ἐπάϲω Wyttenbach: εἰ δέ τι πάϲϲαο πάμπαν Goodwin: εἰ δ' ἐπάϲω, πάλιν αὖτιϲ Ruhnken: εἰ δ' ἐπάϲω τι πάλιν μὲν ἰοῦϲ' ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίηϲ Bücheler: εἰ δέ, πτᾶϲα πάλιν ⟨ϲύ γ'⟩ ἰοῦϲ' ὑπ[ὸ κεύθεϲι γαίηϲ Allen (*CR* 15 (1901), 27): εἰ δ' ἐπάϲω, ἄψορρον ἰοῦϲ', ὑπὸ κεύθεϲι γαίηϲ West

οἰκήσεις ὠρέων τρίτατον μέρ[ος
τὰς δὲ δύω παρ' ἐμοί τε καὶ [ἄλλοις ἀθανά]τοισιν.
ὁππότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖ' εὐώδε[σιν] ἠαρινο[ῖσι]
παντοδαποῖς θάλλει, τότ' ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος
αὖτις ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις.
καὶ τίνι σ' ἐξαπάτησε δόλῳ κρατερ[ὸς πολυδ]έγμων;
Τὴν δ' αὖ Περσεφόνη περικαλλὴς ἀντίον ηὔδα·
τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι μῆτερ ἐρέω νημερτέα πάντα·
εὖτέ μοι ἄγγελος ἦλθ' ἐριούνιος Ἀργειφόντης
πὰρ πατέρος Κρονίδαο καὶ ἄλλων οὐρανιώνων

399 *οἰκήσειν** *Ap.* 522 (~ *Dem.* 397): *τριτάτην . . . μοῖραν Od.* 4. 97 (~ *Dem.* 446, 464): *τριτάτη** . . . *μοῖρα Il.* 10. 253: *τρὶς . . . εἰς ἐνιαυτόν** *Od.* 4. 86: *εἰν Ἄϊδαο** *Il.* 22. 389 (~ 22. 52 etc.) 400 *τὼ δὲ δύω** *Il.* 19. 47: *καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν** *Il.* 2. 49 etc. 401 *ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν** *Il.* 2. 89, Hes. *Th.* 279 (~ *Dem.* 7), *Op.* 75, *Cypr.* 4. 2: *γαῖα** *Il.* 3. 278 etc.: *εὐώδεϊ** *Il.* 3. 382 402 *θάλλοντα** Hes. *Op.* 173: *ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος** *Dem.* 337 403 *μέγα θαῦμα** *Il.* 13. 99 etc.: *θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν Od.* 11. 287: *μέγα θαῦμα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι Herm.* 270: *θαῦμα ἰδεῖν Aph.* 205 (cf. ad *Dem.* 397): *θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν* Hes. *Th.* 500: *θαῦμα δ' ἐχ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους* Hes. *Th.* 588 (589 ~ *Dem.* 404; cf. *Dem.* 8–11): *θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις** *Dem.* 11 404 *ἐξαπάτησεν** *Od.* 9. 414: *δόλῳ** *Il.* 7. 412 etc.: *κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων** *Dem.* 430 (~ *Dem.* 17) 405 *Περσεφόνη** *Dem.* 360: *περικαλλὴς** *Περσεφόνεια Dem.* 493: *περικαλλής** *Il.* 5. 389: *ἀντίον ηὔδα** *Il.* 3. 203 etc. 406 *τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι μῆτερ ἀληθείην καταλέξω Od.* 17. 108: *λέγω νημερτέα πάντα** *Dem.* 58 407 *ἐριούνιον** *Il.* 24. 679 etc.: *ἄγγελον . . . ἐριούνιον Herm.* 3 = *Hy.* 18. 3: *Ἀργειφόντης** *Il.* 16. 181 etc. 407–8 *Τρωσὶν δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις | πὰρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο** *Il.* 2. 786–7 408 *πατέρα Κρονίδην Dem.* 21, 27: *πατὴρ Κρονίδης Il.* 21. 508, 22. 60: *πάτερ . . . Κρονίδη Il.* 8. 31 etc.: *Κρονίδῃ . . . πατρί* Hes. *Th.* 53: *οὐρανιώνων** *Il.* 5. 373 etc.

---

399 *οἰκήσεις ὀρέων τρίτατον μέρ* M: *ὀρέων τριτάτην μοῖραν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν* (cf. 446) m: *ὠρέων* Ilgen: *ὠρῶν* Ruhnken: *μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν* Hermann: *τριτάτην μοῖραν παρ' ἀκοίτῃ* Fontein: *τρίτατον μέρος εἰν ἀίδαο* Bücheler 400 *καὶ[ ]τοι* M: *ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι* m 401 *γαῖα εὐῷ* M: *δεσιν ἠαριν* in scheda et *οισι* ad finem appinxit m: versa scheda litterae *δε ηαρινο* a prisca codicis M scriptura impressae (e contrario se offerentes) apparent (cf. Goodwin) *εἰαρινοῖσι* Matthiae 402–7 habet pap. 2 402 *παντοδ]αμ[οις* pap. 2 *θάλλῃ* Voss 403 *ἀνεῖ* M: corr. Wyttenbach: *]ανει με[* pap. 2 post hunc versum lacunam posuit Ruhnken, sed nulla in papyro invenitur 404 *καί τιν' ἐξαπάτησε* M: corr. Ruhnken: *τι]νι σ' εξαπα[τησε* pap. 2 litteras *ὸς πολυδ* refecit m 405 *]αυ φερσεφον[η* pap. 2 406 *]εγω τοι μητ[* pap. 2: *σοι* M (*τοι* coni. Hermann) *ἐρέω* M: *ἐρῶ* m 407 *εὖτέ μοι ἑρμῆς ἦ[ ] ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκὺς* M: *μοι ἑρμὴς ἐρ[ι] . . .* m: *ἦλθ'* Mitscherlich: super vocem *ὠκὺς* et ad dextram versus ductae sunt a manu recentiore lineae: *εὖτέ μ]οι ἄγγελος ἦλ[θ' ἐριούνιος Ἀργειφόντης* pap. 2 (restituit Merkelbach): varie tentaverant edd. priores (cf. Bücheler)

ἐλθεῖν ἐξ Ἐρέβευς, ἵνα μ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοῦσα
λήξαις ἀθανάτοισι χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀνόρους' ὑπὸ χάρματος, αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρῃ
ἔμβαλέ μοι ῥοιῆς κόκκον, μελιηδέ' ἐδωδήν,
ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασσε πάσασθαι.
ὡς δέ μ' ἀναρπάξας Κρονίδεω πυκινὴν διὰ μῆτιν
ᾤχετο πατρὸς ἐμοῖο φέρων ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης
ἐξερέω καὶ πάντα διίξομαι ὡς ἐρεείνεις.
ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἵμερτὸν λειμῶνα,
Λευκίππη Φαινώ τε καὶ Ἠλέκτρη καὶ Ἰάνθη
καὶ Μελίτη Ἰάχη τε Ῥόδειά τε Καλλιρόη τε
Μηλόβοσίς τε Τύχη τε καὶ Ὠκυρόη καλυκῶπις
Χρυσηΐς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστη τ' Ἀδμήτη τε

409 *ἐλθεῖν** *Il.* 4. 65 etc.: *ὑπὲξ Ἐρέβευς** *Od.* 11. 37: *ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι* (etc.)* *Il.* 1. 587 etc. 409–10 cf. *Dem.* 349–11, 338–9 410 *ἀθανάτοισι** *Il.* 2. 306 etc.: *χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς** *Dem.* 350 411 *αὐτὰρ ἐγών** *Il.* 9. 103 etc.: *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπόρουσα** *Il.* 11. 747 (~ 3. 379, 21. 33): *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι** *Dem.* 429 411–12 cf. *Dem.* 371–2 (*λάθρῃ* 372) 412 *ἐμβαλέειν** *Od.* 9. 489 = 10. 129: *μελιηδέα** *Il.* 10. 579 etc.: *ἐδωδήν** *Il.* 8. 504 etc.: *μενοεικέ' ἐδωδήν** *Od.* 6. 76: *ἡδεῖαν ἐδωδήν** *Herm.* 562 413 *βίῃ** *Il.* 7. 197 etc.: *πάσασθαι** *Il.* 9. 483, *Od.* 9. 93 414 *ἀναρπάξας** *Il.* 16. 437: *μῆτιν** *Il.* 7. 324 etc.: *πυκινὴν . . . βουλήν Il.* 2. 55 = 10. 302: *Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς* Hes. *Th.* 572 = *Op.* 71 415 *ᾤχετ'** *ἀποπτάμενος* (etc.) *Il.* 2. 71 (etc.): *ᾤχετ' ἐλαύνων Herm.* 340: *λαβὼν . . . | οἴχεται** *Dem.* 72–3: *πατρὸς ἐμοῖο** *Od.* 6. 308, 15. 417: *ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης** *Dem.* 340 (~ 398) 416 *ἐξείπω, καὶ πάντα διίξομαι** *Il.* 9. 61: *οὔς ἐρεείνεις** *Il.* 10. 558 417 *ἱμερτόν** *Hy.* 10. 3: *λειμῶνα** *Od.* 11. 539 etc.: *λειμῶνας . . . ἐρατεινούς Herm.* 72 418–23 cf. Hes. *Th.* 349 ff. 418 *Λευκοθέη** *Od.* 5. 334: *Ἰάνθη τ' Ἠλέκτρη τε** Hes. *Th.* 349 419 *καὶ Μελίτη** *Il.* 18. 42, Hes. *Th.* 247: *Ἰαχῆ** *Od.* 11. 43: *Ῥόδειά τε Καλλιρόη τε** Hes. *Th.* 351 420 *Μηλόβοσίς τε** Hes. *Th.* 354: *Τύχη τε** . . . *Ὠκυρόη τε* Hes. *Th.* 360: *καλυκώπιδι Dem.* 8 (~ *Aph.* 284) 421 *Χρυσηΐς τ'* Hes. *Th.* 359: *Περσηΐς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστη τε** *Th.* 356: *Ἀδμήτη τε Th.* 349

---

411 *αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρῃ* Opp. *H.* 2. 413

---

409 *ἐλθ*⏌ M: refecit m: *ἐλθεῖν μ'* Ilgen 411 *αὐτὰρ* (1) M: *εἶθαρ* Ruhnken: *αὐτίκ'* Ilgen: *ἄντ' ἄρ'* Mitscherlich: *αἶψ' ἄρ'* Hermann: *'ἦτοι* sensum redderet' Allen *ἀτὰρ ὁ* M: corr. Ruhnken *λάθρῃ* M (*λάθρῃ* m): *ὅ γ' αὐτὸς* Ruhnken: *ὅ γ' Ἄιδης* Schneidewin 413 *προσηνάγκασε* M: corr. Matthiae versum suspectum habuerunt Mitscherlich, Bücheler 416 *ὡς* M: *ὅσσ'* Fontein 417–20 cit. Paus. 4. 30. 4, om. 419: 418–23 cit. pap. 1 (= Orph. fr. 49. 21 ff.), om. 419 418 *Φαινώ* M, Pausanias: *φανερη* pap. 1 419 om. pap. 1, Paus. *ῥόεια τε καλλιρρόη τε* M: corr. Ruhnken 420 *μηλοβόστη τε* (*μηλοβοειη* vel *μηλοβοτη τε* correctum) . . . *ὠκύρθη καλλικῶπις* M: corr. Ruhnken: *Μηλόβοσί[ς τε T]ύχη τε Ὠκυρόη καλυκῶπ*[ις pap. 1 421 *ἀκατάστη* M: corr. Ruhnken: *Ἀκάστη* pap. 1

καὶ Ῥοδόπη Πλουτώ τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψὼ
καὶ Στὺξ Οὐρανίη τε Γαλαξαύρη τ' ἐρατεινὴ
Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
παίζομεν ἠδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χείρεσσ' ἐρόεντα,
μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
νάρκισσόν θ' ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥς περ κρόκον εὐρεῖα χθών.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι, γαῖα δ' ἔνερθε
χώρησεν, τῇ δ' ἔκθορ' ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων.
βῆ δὲ φέρων ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἐν ἅρμασι χρυσείοισι
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένην, ἐβόησα δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ.
ταῦτά τοι ἀχνυμένη περ ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω.
Ὣς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι
πολλὰ μάλ' ἀλλήλων κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴαινον

422 *Πλουτώ τε** Hes. *Th.* 355: *καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψώ** *Th.* 359 423 *καὶ Στύξ** Hes. *Th.* 361: *Οὐρανίη Th.* 350: *Γαλαξαύρη τ' ἐρατή τε Διώνη Th.* 353: *ἐρατεινήν** *Il.* 2. 571 etc. 424 *Παλλάς** *Il.* 10. 475 etc.: *ἐγρεκύδοιμον** Hes. *Th.* 925 (de Minerva): *Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα** *Il.* 5. 53 etc. 425 *παίζομεν** *Aph.* 120: *φύλλα δρεψάμενοι Od.* 12. 357: *δρεπόμην Dem.* 429: *χείρεσσι** *Il.* 3. 271 etc.: *ἐρόεσσα** *Dem.* 109, Hes. *Th.* 245 (~ *Aph.* 263, *Hy.* 32. 20) 426 *μίγδα** *Od.* 24. 77: *καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἠδ' ὑάκινθον** *Dem.* 7 427 *θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι** *Il.* 5. 725 etc. 428 *νάρκισσόν θ' ὃν φῦσε** *Dem.* 8: *κρόκον** *Il.* 14. 348, *Dem.* 6: *εὐρεῖα χθών** *Il.* 4. 182 etc. 429 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀνόρους' ὑπὸ χάρματος** *Dem.* 411 (~ 371): *γαῖα** *Il.* 2. 699 etc.: *ἔνερθε** *Il.* 11. 234 etc. 430 *χώρησεν** *Il.* 12. 406: *ἄναξ πολυδέγμων** *Dem.* 17: *κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων** *Dem.* 404 431 *βῆ δὲ φέρων** *Il.* 11. 247, *Od.* 22. 112, Hes. fr. 26. 23 (de raptu puellae): *γαῖαν** *Il.* 17. 447 etc.: *ἅρμασι κολλητοῖσι* (etc.)** *Il.* 4. 366 etc. 432 *πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη** *Il.* 6. 458 ~ *Dem.* 344 (~ 30): *ἰάχησε δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ** *Dem.* 20. 433 *ταῦτά τοι ἀχνύμενός περ ἀληθείην κατέλεξα Od.* 7. 297: *ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω** *Od.* 3. 254 etc. 434 *ὣς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ** *Il.* 1. 601 etc.: *ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσι** *Od.* 22. 263 (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–46) ~ *Herm.* 391, Theognis 81, 765 435 *πολλὰ μάλ' Il.* 9. 148 etc.: *ἀλλήλων** *Il.* 3. 115 etc.: *κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴηνα** *Dem.* 65

---

424 *Παλλάδι τ' ἐγρεμάχῃ** Oraculum (Parke–Wormell, no. 71) ap. D.S. 8. 29 (Batto Cyrenae fundatori datum): *Παλλάδι μ' ἐγρεμάχαι** *IG* i². 573 (~ 576): cf. *Phoronis*, P. Oxy. 2260, col. i. 3–7 431 *σὺν ἅρμασι χρυσεοτεύκτοις** Orph. *Hy.* 55. 18

---

423 ταλαξαύρη M: corr. Ruhnken: *Γαλαξ[αύρη* pap. 1 424 versum interpolatum credebant Hermann, alii 426 *κροκόεντα γανὸν* M: corr. Voss 427 *ῥόδα ἐc* M: corr. Heyne: *ῥόδα ἐκ κάλυκος* Valckenaer 428 *ἔφυς' ὥσπερ κρόκον* M: *ἔφυσεν ἐμοὶ δόλον* vel *περίπλοκον* Mitscherlich: *ἐύχροον* Ilgen: *ὥσπερ κόνιν* vel *αἰπὺν δόλον* Hermann: *ὑπερήφανον* vel *ὑπείροχον* Voss: *ὑπέρτατον* Spitzen: varie tentaverunt alii 429 *δρεπομένη* M: corr. Ruhnken: *αὐτὰρ δρεπτομένῃ* Matthiae 430 *τῇ* M: *τῆς* Brunck, Fontein

ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι, ἀχέων δ' ἀπεπαύετο θυμός.
γηθοσύνας δὲ δέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων ἔδιδ[όν τε.]
τῇσιν δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθ' Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,
πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε κόρην Δημήτερος ἁγνῆς·
ἐκ τοῦ οἱ πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων ἔπλετ' ἄνασσα.
ταῖς δὲ μετάγγελον ἦκε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ῥείην ἠΰκομον Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον
ἀξέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμὰς
δωσέμεν, ἅς κεν ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι·
νεῦσε δέ οἱ κούρην ἔτεος περιτελλομένοιο
τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα,
τὰς δὲ δύω παρὰ μητρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν.
ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ Διὸς ἀγγελιάων.
ἐσσυμένως δ' ἴξε κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων,

436 *ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι, τοῦ δ' οὐ μειλίσσετο θυμός** *Dem.* 290: *ἀχέων** *Il.* 20. 298: *ἀποπαύεο** *Il.* 1. 422 437 *γηθοσύνη* (etc.)* *Il.* 13. 29 (etc.): *ἀλλήλων** *Il.* 13. 613 etc.: *ἔδιδον* Hes. *Op.* 139 (ex coni. Rzach) ~ *Dem.* 327: *ἀλλήλῃσι γέλω τε καὶ εὐφροσύνην παρέχουσι Od.* 20. 8: *δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο Herm.* 312 438 *ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε** *Il.* 7. 219 etc.: *Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος** *Dem.* 25 439 *Δημήτερος** *Il.* 13. 322, 21. 76: *ἁγνή** *Od.* 5. 123 etc. (~ *Dem.* 203): *Δημήτερί θ' ἁγνῇ** Hes. *Op.* 465: *Δημήτερος ἁγνῆς** *IG* 12. 1. 780 440 *ἐκ τοῦ δ'** Hes. *Th.* 556: *ὀπάων** *Il.* 7. 165 etc.: *ἄνασσα** *Dem.* 75, 492 441 *τὸν δὲ μετ'** (etc.) *Il.* 8. 261 etc.: *ἄγγελον ἦκαν** *Od.* 15. 458: *βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς** *Dem.* 3 etc. 442 *Ῥείην ἠϋκόμου** *Dem.* 60, 75: *Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον** *Dem.* 319 443 *ἀξέμεναι** *Od.* 23. 221: *μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν** *Il.* 15. 54 etc. (cf. *Dem.* 322, 36): *τιμάς** *Dem.* 353 443–7 cf. *Dem.* 461–5: 443b–4 ~ 327–8 444 *δωσέμεν** *Il.* 10. 323 etc.: *ἕλοιεν** *Il.* 15. 71: *μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν** *Il.* 21. 500 etc. 445 *νεῦσε δέ οἱ** *Il.* 8. 246: *κούρην** *Hy.* 13. 2: *περιτελλομένου ἔτεος Od.* 11. 295 etc. 446 *τριτάτην . . . μοῖραν Od.* 4. 97: *τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ Il.* 15. 195: *τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται Il.* 10. 253: *ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα** *Il.* 23. 51, *Dem.* 80 etc. 447 *τὰς δὲ δύω παρ' ἐμοί τε καὶ* [*ἄλλοις ἀθανά*]*τοισιν Dem.* 400: *μητρί** *Il.* 5. 555 etc. 448 *ὣς ἔφατ'· οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεά** *Il.* 2. 166 etc.: *Ζηνὸς . . . ἀγγελιάων** *Od.* 5. 150, *Aph.* 215 (cf. *Dem.* 357–8, 470) 449 *ἐσσυμένως δ' ἴξεν** *Herm.* 215, P. Oxy. 2509. 1 (cf. ad *Dem.* 67): *βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἆΐξασα Il.* 2. 167 etc. (cf. *Dem.* 341)

---

437 *γηθόσυναι δὲ δέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐδίδ* M: post quae priorem scripturam in quod solum apparet *ον* corrupit m et addidit in scheda *το*: *γηθοσύνας . . . ἔδιδόν τε* Ruhnken 438–40 interpolatos credebant Mitscherlich, alii 440 *λέγουσι δέ τινες . . . καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην ὀπαδὸν Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι, Δήμητρος δὲ λάτριν Εὐριπίδης, Ὅμηρος δὲ ἐν* [*τοῖς ὕμ*]*νοις πρόπ*[*ολον*] *καὶ* [*ὀπ*]*άονα* Philod. *de pietate* 40. 5 441 *ταῖς δὲ μετ' ἄγγελον* M: *τῇς δὲ μέτ'* Hermann: *τὰς δὲ μέτ'*, vel potius *τῇς δὲ κατ'* Voss: *μετάγγελον* Allen 442 *ἣν ῥ̃ά* M: *Δημήτερα* Fontein 446 post hunc versum lacunam statuerunt Hermann, Bücheler 448 *ἀπίθησε* M: *ἀμέλησε* Hermann *ἀγγελιάων* M: *ἀγγελίῃσιν* Ruhnken

εἰς δ' ἄρα Ῥάριον ἷξε, φερέσβιον οὖθαρ ἀρούρης
τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' οὔ τι φερέσβιον, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλον
εἵστήκει πανάφυλλον· ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα κρῖ λευκὸν
μήδεσι Δήμητρος καλλισφύρου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
μέλλεν ἄφαρ ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἀσταχύεσσιν
ἦρος ἀεξομένοιο, πέδῳ δ' ἄρα πίονες ὄγμοι
βριαζόμενοι ἀσταχύων, τὰ δ' ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δεδέσθαι.
ἔνθ' ἐπέβη πρώτιστον ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο·
ἀσπασίως δ' ἴδον ἀλλήλας, κεχάρηντο δὲ θυμῷ.
τὴν δ' ὧδε προσέειπε Ῥέη λιπαροκρήδεμνος·
Δεῦρο τέκος, καλέει σε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμὰς
[δωσέμεν, ἅς κεν ἕλοιο] μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.
[νεῦσε δέ σοι κούρην ἔτεος π]εριτελλομένοιο
[τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠ]ερόεντα,

450 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἷξεν* *Il.* 2. 667: φερέσβιον* *Dem.* 451, 469 (cf. *Ap.* 341, *Hy.* 30. 9, Hes. *Th.* 693): οὖθαρ ἀρούρης* *Il.* 9. 141 = 283 (cf. ad *Dem.* 164 etc.) 451 τὸ πρίν* *Il.* 9. 403 etc.: ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος* *Il.* 9. 376 452 ἑστήκει* *Il.* 11. 599 etc. (*Il.* 18. 563 ~ 557: cf. ad *Dem.* 454–6): κρῖ λευκόν* *Od.* 4. 604 453 Δήμητρος* *Il.* 14. 326, *Dem.* 4, Hes. *Th.* 912: καλλισφύρου* *Il.* 9. 557 etc. 454 μέλλεν* *Od.* 1. 232: ἀσταχύεσσιν* *Il.* 2. 148: κόμην ταναυφύλλου ἐλαίης *Od.* 23. 195 455 ἀέξουσιν* *Od.* 15. 372: πίονες ἀγροί* *Il.* 23. 832: ὄγμους* *Il.* 18. 546 456 βριθόμενα σταχύων* Hes. *Sc.* 290: ἄλλα δ' . . . ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δέοντο* *Il.* 18. 553 (~ *Sc.* 291) 457 ἐπέβην* *Od.* 3. 482, 11. 167: πρώτιστον* *Il.* 14. 295 etc.: ἀπ' αἰθέρος* *Il.* 18. 258, 15. 610: δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο* *Il.* 17. 425, *Dem.* 67 458 ἀσπασίως* *Il.* 11. 327 etc.: ἴδον* *Il.* 15. 279, *Od.* 3. 221: κεχάριστο δὲ θυμῷ* *Od.* 6. 23 (~ *Il.* 1. 256, 5. 243 etc.) 459 τὸν (etc.) δ' αὖτε προσέειπε* *Il.* 1. 206 etc.: Ῥέην* Hes. *Th.* 467: λιπαροκρήδεμνος *Il.* 18. 382, *Dem.* 25, 438 460 δεῦρο φίλη* *Od.* 8. 292 (~ 424): χαῖρε, τέκος* *Hy.* 7. 58: καλέει σε* *Dem.* 321: βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς* *Dem.* 3 etc. 461–5 cf. *Dem.* 443–7 461 ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν* *Dem.* 322: ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμάς* *Dem.* 443 462 ἐθέλησθα* *Od.* 18. 270, 24. 511

---

459 Ῥέη λιπαροκρήδεμνος* Orph. *Arg.* 625

---

450 ῥίον M: Ῥάριον Ruhnken: ἐς δ' ἄρα Ῥάριον Hermann 451 ἀλλ' ἀπέτηλον Ruhnken, alii 452 εἱστήκει (i.e. ἱστήκει ex εἱστήκει) correctum videtur a manu prima (Goodwin): ἑστήκει Hermann 454 ἀσταχύεσσιν M: ἀνθερίκεσσιν Ruhnken 456 βρυσέμεν M: corr. Ruhnken δίδεσθαι Voss, Cobet (*Mnem.* 10 (1861), 325 ff.) 462 δωσέμεν ἅς κε θέλησθα m: ἅς κ' ἐθέλησθα, vel potius ἅς κεν ἕλοιο Ilgen 463 νεῦσε δέ σοι κούρην ἔτεος πε m 464 τὴν . . . ζόφον ἠ m: ἠρόεντᾶ M (correctio a prima manu videtur facta esse)

[τὰς δὲ δύω παρὰ σοί τε καὶ ἄλλοις] ἀθανάτοισιν.
]εσθαι· ἑῷ δ' ἐπένευσε κάρητι.
[ἀλλ' ἴθι τέκνον] ἐμὸν καὶ πείθεο, μηδέ τι λίην
ἀ[ζηχὲς μεν]έαινε κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι·
α[ἶψα δὲ κα]ρπὸν ἄεξε φερέσβιον ἀνθρώποισιν.
Ὣ[ς ἔφατ', οὐ]δ' ἀπίθησεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ,
αἶψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβώλων.
πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισίν τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν εὐρεῖα χθὼν
ἔβρις'· ἡ δὲ κιοῦσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι
δ[είξε,] Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ,
Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῷ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,
δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι,

466 *ὣς οἱ ὑπέστην πρῶτον, ἐμῷ δ' ἐπένευσα κάρητι Il.* 15. 75: *ἡ δ' ἐπένευσε καρήατι Dem.* 169: *ἔσεσθαι* Od.* 4. 108, 494, *Ap.* 54 467 *ἀλλ' ἴθι* Il.* 1. 32, *Dem.* 323 etc.: *τέκνον ἐμόν* Il.* 1. 414 etc.: *οὐδέ τι λίην* (etc.)* *Od.* 13. 238 (etc.) 468 *ἀζηχὲς μεμακυῖαι* Il.* 4. 435: *μενέαινε* Il.* 16. 491: *κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι* Il.* 1. 397 etc. 469 *αἶψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν* Dem.* 471: *φερέσβιον* Dem.* 450, 451: *ἀνθρώποισιν* Il.* 4. 320 etc. 470 *ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν* Il.* 2. 441 etc. (cf. *Dem.* 448): *ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ* Dem.* 224 etc. 471 *ἐρίβωλον ἄρουραν Il.* 21. 232: *ἐρίβωλον* Il.* 9. 329 etc.: *ἀρούρης καρπόν Il.* 21. 465: cf. *Dem.* 469 472 *ἄνθεσιν* Il.* 2. 89: *εὐρεῖα χθών* Dem.* 428 etc. 473 *βρισέμεν* Dem.* 456: *βρίθει* . . . ἄρουρα φερέσβιος Hy.* 30. 9: *βεβρίθει* Od.* 16. 474, *Ap.* 136: *θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων* Dem.* 103, 215 474 *δεῖξε* Od.* 3. 174 etc.: *Τριπτολέμου* Dem.* 153: *Μενεσθῆα πλήξιππον* Il.* 4. 327 (~ 11. 93): *Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ* Il.* 2. 104 475 *Κύκλωπός τε βίης* Od.* 10. 200: *βίῃ* Il.* 7. 197 etc.: *πολέων ἡγήτορι λαῶν* Il.* 20. 383 476 *δρησμοσύνῃ* Od.* 15. 321: *ἱερῶν* Dem.* 481: *ἐπέφραδε* Il.* 11. 794 etc.: *ὑπέσχετο ἱερὰ καλά Il.* 23. 195 (~ 209, 11. 726 etc.)

---

465 *ἀθανάτοισιν* M qui post hunc versum 448–52 repetivit: hos versus expunxit m, qui etiam *ἀθανάτοισιν* abolere voluit: de erroribus scribarum codicis M et m vide Goodwin ad loc. (466 in editione sua Goodwin): cetera restituit Ruhnken 466 *δύο δέ πὰρ σοὶ ἔς* m: *εσθαι· ἐῷ δ' ἐπένευσε κάρητι* M: *ὣς τοι ὑπέστη ἔσεσθαι* Hermann: *ὣς μὲν ὑπέσχετ' ἔσεσθαι* post Voss Gemoll: *καὶ ἑοῖ αὐτῷ* (vel *ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ*) *ἔσεσθαι* Bücheler: *ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη τελέεσθαι* Goodwin 467 *ἀλλ' ἴθι τέκνον* m 468 *ἀ[.....]αινε κελενεφέι κρονίωνι* M: *ἀζηχὲς μαινε* m: *μενέαινε κελαινεφέϊ* Ruhnken 469 *αἶψα δὲ κ* m: *ἀ[.....]αρπὸν* etc. M 470 *ὣς ἔφατ' οὐ* m: *ω[.....]δ'* etc. M 471 *αἶψα δὲ καρ* refecit m 474–6 cit. Paus. 2. 14. 3 474 *δ^ς....ιπτολεμω τε* M: *εἶπε τρ* m: *δεῖξεν* Pausanias: *δεῖξε* ex Paus. 2. 14, idque ipsum in M a manu prima fuisse credebat Schneidewin (cf. Baumeister) 476 *χρησμοσύνην θ'* (repictis ab m litteris *νθ*) . . . *ὄργια καλὰ* M: *δρησμοσύνην . . . ὄργια πᾶσιν* Pausanias (omissa voce *θ'*), quem Ruhnken secutus est 477 *Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ, ἐπὶ σοῖς δὲ Διοκλεῖ* M: post *Πολυξείνῳ* addidit *τ'* Ruhnken, qui lacunam hic subesse, amissis versibus in quibus poeta Celei filias memoraret, suspicatur (cf. Paus. 1. 38. 3): versum interpolatum credebant Mitscherlich, alii quos secutus sum

σεμνά, τά γ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξ[ίμ]εν οὔ[τε] πυθέσθαι, 478
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.
ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· 480
ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων
αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάνθ' ὑπεθήκατο δῖα θεάων,
βάν ῥ' ἴμεν Οὔλυμπον δὲ θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων.
ἔνθα δὲ ναιετάουσι παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ 485
σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε· μέγ' ὄλβιος ὅν τιν' ἐκεῖναι
προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·

478 σοὶ δ' οὔπω φίλον ἐστὶ δαημέναι οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι *Od.* 13. 335 (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.):
ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὔπως ἔστι Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
οὔτε παρεξελθεῖν ἄλλον θεὸν οὔθ' ἁλιῶσαι
*Od.* 5. 103–4 (~ 137–8)

479 μέγα γάρ ῥα θεῶν* ὤτρυνεν ἐφετμή *Il.* 21. 299: δέος ἰσχάνει* *Il.* 14. 387: σέβας μ' ἔχει *Od.* 3. 123 etc.: Ἐρινύες ἔσχεθον αὐδήν* *Il.* 19. 418 480 ὄλβιος·* ἦ γὰρ . . . *Od.* 11. 450: ὄλβιος, ὅς* Hes. *Th.* 954: ὄπωπα* *Il.* 6. 124 etc.: ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* *Il.* 4. 45 etc.: μέγ' ὄλβιος, ὄντιν' . . . ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* *Dem.* 486–7 481 ἱερῶν* *Dem.* 476: ἄμμορον* *Il.* 6. 408, 24. 773; οὔποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς *Il.* 1. 278: οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον* *Il.* 10. 216: οὐκέθ' ὁμοῖος* *Od.* 16. 182 482 αἶσαν* *Dem.* 257: φθιμένοιο* *Od.* 11. 558: ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα* *Il.* 23. 51, *Dem.* 80 etc.: Ἄϊδεω . . . δόμον εὐρώεντα* *Od.* 10. 512 (~ 23. 322): ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι* . . . χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι Hes. *Th.* 729–31 483 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα* *Od.* 6. 227: αὐτὰρ . . . ὑποθησόμεθ'* *Il.* 21. 293 (~ *Od.* 5. 143): δῖα θεάων* *Il.* 5. 381 etc. 484 βάν ῥ' ἴμεν* *Il.* 10. 297 etc.: ἆψ ἴμεν Οὔλυμπον δέ, θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων *Il.* 20. 142 (~ *Ap.* 187) 485 ἐνθάδε ναιετάων* *Od.* 6. 245, 15. 360: ναιετάουσι(ν)* *Od.* 9. 23, *Herm.* 555 etc.: παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ* *Ap.* 5 (cf. ad *Dem.* 483–9) ~ *Il.* 1. 419 etc. 486 αἰδοίη τε φίλη τε* *Il.* 18. 386=425: δεινός τ' αἰδοῖός τε* *Od.* 8. 22, 14. 237: κυδρή τ' αἰδοίη τε* θεοῖς (v.l. θεῶν) Hes. *Op.* 257 (de Iustitia): ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὄντινα Μοῦσαι | φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή Hes. *Th.* 96 f. (= *Hy.* 25. 4 f.): ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ | πρόφρων τιμήσῃς *Hy.* 30. 7 f. (12 ~ *Dem.* 489, 18 ~ 494) 487 προφρονέως* *Il.* 6. 173, *Dem.* 138 etc.: φίλωνται* *Dem.* 117: ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* *Il.* 4. 45, *Dem.* 480 etc.

---

480–2 cf. Pi. fr. 137a Sn., S. fr. 753 N. (v. commentarium ad loc.) 486 cf. Theocr. 17. 73 ff.
Διὶ Κρονίωνι μέλοντι
αἰδοῖοι βασιλῆες, ὁ δ' ἕξοχος ὅν κε φιλήσῃ
γεινόμενον τὰ πρῶτα· πολὺς δέ οἱ ὄλβος ὀπαδεῖ . . .

---

478 γ' M: τ' Ilgen παρεξέμεν Ruhnken: παρεξίμεν Matthiae οὔ[τε] πυθέσθαι in M stetisse ex vestigiis collegit Goodwin 479 οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν (ῶν repinxit m) σέ[βα]c (quod in ἄχος effecit m) ἰσχάνει (iteravit ἰσχ supra lineam m) αὐδὴν M οὔτε χανεῖν Mitscherlich: χέειν Bothe: ἠχέειν Gemoll: forsitan ἰαχεῖν scribendum sit in codice σέβ$^{ac}$ stetisse putat Goodwin: σέβας coniecerat Cobet: ἄγος Valckenaer 481 ὁμοίην Fontein 484 θέων M: corr. Ruhnken

αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα
Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν.
Ἀλλ' ἄγ' Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι
καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἄντρωνά τε πετρήεντα,
πότνια ἀγλαόδωρ' ὡρηφόρε Δηοῖ ἄνασσα
αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια
πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὠδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὀπάζειν.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

488 *πέμπουσιν** *Il.* 1. 390 etc.: *ἐφέστιον** *Od.* 7. 248: *ἐς μέγα δῶμα** *Od.* 8. 56 etc. 488–9 *αἶψά τέ οἱ δῶ | ἀφνειὸν πέλεται* *Od.* 1. 392 f. 489 *ἀνθρώποις** *Dem.* 306 etc.: *ἄφενος** *Il.* 1. 171: *θνητοῖσι** *Il.* 17. 547 etc.: *ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσιν** *Od.* 17. 287 (~ 474): *τὸν δὴ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ οἱ ὤπασεν ὄλβον* (sc. Plutus) Hes. *Th.* 974 490 *ἀλλ' ἄγ'* *Il.* 4. 100 etc.: *Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης** *Dem.* 97: *δῆμον ἔχοντες** *Il.* 5. 710, 15. 738 491 *ἀμφιρύτῃ** *Od.* 1. 50 etc.: *Πυθῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν** *Il.* 2. 519 etc.: *πετρήεντα* *Hy.* 19. 7 492 *πότνια Δημήτηρ ὡρηφόρε, ἀγλαόδωρε* *Dem.* 54: *πότνια Δηώ* *Dem.* 47: *ἄνασσα** *Dem.* 75, 440 493 *αὐτὴν καὶ κούρην, περικαλλέα Περσεφόνειαν* *Hy.* 13. 2: *αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα** *Dem.* 2: *Περσεφόνη περικαλλής** *Dem.* 405: *περικαλλὴς Ἠερίβοια** *Il.* 5. 389 494 *πρόφρονι** *Il.* 8. 40 = 22. 184: *βίοτον** *Od.* 1. 160 etc.: *θυμαρές** *Od.* 17. 199: *πρόφρων δ' ἀντ' ὠδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὄπαζε* *Hy.* 30. 18 (~ 31. 17): *ὄλβον δὲ θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὀπάζειν** *Od.* 18. 19: *ὦ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς, | καί τέ οἱ ὄλβον ὀπάζει* Hes. *Th.* 419–20 (cf. ad *Dem.* 487) 495 = *Ap.* 546, *Herm.* 580, *Hy.* 6. 21, 10. 6, 19. 49, 28. 18, 30. 19 (18 ~ *Dem* 494)

494 *τέλος θυμηδὲς ὄπαζε** A.R. 4. 1600 ~ 1. 249 (in precationibus): *θυμαρὴν ὄλβον* *IG* 14. 433. 6

488 *μέγα* (ex *μέγαν* a prima manu correctum) *δόμον* M: corr. Ruhnken 490 *ἀλλὰ θελευσῖνος* M: corr. Ruhnken *ἔχουσα* Ruhnken (cf. ad *Dem.* 494) 492 *πότνι'* M: corr. Ruhnken 494 *πρόφρονες . . . ὄπαζε* M: *πρόφρων δ' . . . ὄπαζε* Ruhnken (cf. *Hy.* 30. 18): *ὀπάζειν* Voss

# COMMENTARY

**Title.** The plural ὕμνοι in M does not indicate that there was more than one hymn to Demeter, as Bücheler thought. A stop should be placed after ὕμνοι. Similar titles precede the hymns to Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite, and are also found at the beginning of the hymns of Callimachus, Orpheus, and Proclus.

The late Greek form Δημήτραν often occurs in manuscripts.

**1–18.** The poet sings of Demeter and Persephone, whom Hades carried off with the permission of Zeus, when she was playing with the Oceanids. She was picking flowers in a meadow, and one of these was a narcissus which Earth caused to grow to deceive her, a miraculous flower. When she picked it, the earth opened and Hades sprang forth with his immortal horses.

**1–3. Proem**

The poet states the subject of the hymn, and gives a brief summary of the story. The first word of an epic poem often formed a kind of title, giving the main subject: cf. *Il.* 1. 1, *Od.* 1. 1, *Theb.* fr. 1, *Il. parva* fr. 1, *Herm.* 1, *Hy.* 9. 1 etc., Hes. *Th.* 1 (West ad loc.). This is followed here by attributes of the deity (cf. *Herm.* 1–3, *Hy.* 6. 1, 9. 1–2, etc.), and then the traditional formula ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν (cf. Hes. *Th.* 1, *Hy.* 9. 8, 11. 1, 13. 1, 16. 1, 22. 1, 26. 1, 28. 1). With the accusative this would be most naturally taken as 'I begin *to* sing of . . .' (so Wünsch, *RE* 9. 149 f.). But cf. *Hy.* 9. 8 f., where it must mean 'I begin *by* singing of you', and the poet announces his intention of going on to another poem. This is also the case where the genitive is used, as in Hes. *Th.* 1, where the opening hymn to the Muses is followed by the main subject of the poem, the *Theogony*. The genitive means 'I begin from': cf. the other examples in West ad loc., and also *Th.* 36, *Aph.* 293, *Hy.* 9. 8 f., 18. 11, 25. 1, 31. 18, 32. 18, Theocr. 22. 25. The hymns were, at least originally, intended as preludes to epic recitation (cf. Introduction, pp. 3 f.), and we should probably treat the formula in the same way here also (cf. R. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnos* (Stuttgart, 1932), 9 ff.).

In the second line the poet recapitulates his subject, since it is in fact a double one, Demeter and Persephone. He hesitates, as it were, in a similar way at the end of the poem (492–3 ~ 1–2), and returns to the single subject in the traditional closing line (495).

He then passes immediately to the narrative, which is introduced by a relative, once again a traditional epic device: cf. *Il.* 1. 2, *Od.* 1. 1, Hes. *Th.* 2, West ad loc., also Hes. *Sc.* 57, fr. 1. 3. This is also a feature

of prayers and hymns, where the relative introduces the cult-places, powers, birth-legend, etc. of the deity (cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 168 ff.).

Here lines 2b–3 also introduce the other two main personalities of the hymn, Hades and Zeus (cf. ad *Dem.* 9). The lines are probably traditional, as they occur in almost identical form in Hes. *Th.* 913 f. This part of the *Theogony* (which is possibly post-Hesiodic: cf. West, pp. 397 ff.) contains a series of balanced pieces referring to the wives and children of Zeus (and other deities). These show parallels with some of the other hymns: 918 ~ *Ap.* 14 f., 924 ~ *Hy.* 28. 4 f., 940 f. ~ *Hy.* 7. 56–7 (also 926 ~ *Aph.* 10 f.). This suggests that they are traditional genealogical summaries, and there is no reason to suppose that the hymn is echoing Hesiod here.

Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1415$^{a}$12 ff. (quoting *Il.* 1. 1, *Od.* 1. 1, Choerilus fr. 1a), and especially 22: *τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον τοῦ προοιμίου καὶ ἴδιον τοῦτο, δηλῶσαι τί ἐστιν τὸ τέλος οὗ ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος*. Cf. also B. A. van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaïque*, 106 f., and *The Proems of the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Amsterdam, 1946) (*Meded. der Kon. Nederl. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 9, No. 8); R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion* (Baden, 1937).

**1. ἠΰκομον:** this is used of Demeter at *Dem.* 297, 315, Hes. fr. 280. 20, Archestr. fr. 4. 1. Cf. ad *Dem.* 60.

**σεμνήν:** the word occurs first here in epic. Cf. Solon, fr. 3. 14 D.$^{3}$, etc. (Hom. *σέβας, σέβομαι*). It is used particularly in relation to Demeter and Persephone: cf. *Dem.* 478, 486, and notes ad locc.

**θεόν:** M has *θεάν* in this place in the verse also at *Dem.* 179 and *Hy.* 13. 1, but *θεόν* at 292, *Hy.* 28. 1. Other manuscripts read *θεόν* also at *Hy.* 13. 1. Cf. in Homer *δεινὴ(ν) θεός (-όν)* 10 times (8 times in this place in the verse), Hes. *Th.* 442 *κυδρὴ θεός** (cf. *Dem.* 179, 292). West ad loc. argues that Hesiod uses *θεός* here, although he has *θεά* elsewhere in the *Theogony*, because *θεός* is regular in this formula. But cf. *σεμνὴ θεά** in *Hy.* 30. 16 (*without* synizesis).

Synizesis of the masculine *θεοί* occurs in epic (cf. ad *Dem.* 55), but the long monosyllable in the fourth-foot thesis, not linked closely to the following word, is metrically unusual. Cf. *Dem.* 325 *μάκαρας θεούς*, where, however, the following *αἰὲν ἐόντας* goes closely with *θεούς*. Synizesis of fem. *θεά* occurs in Attic tragedy: cf. E. *El.* 1270, *Andr.* 978, *Tr.* 969. For synizesis of other words in *-εᾱ, -εᾰ* in early epic cf. K–B 1. 227.

M's reading is partly supported by *Hy.* 30. 16, and the metrical awkwardness may be regarded as the result of a (grammatical) formula-variation. But the testimony of the other manuscripts at *Hy.* 13. 1 is against M, which is also inconsistent at *Dem.* 179, 292.

**ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν:** cf. also Anon. *Hy. Cer.* 1 (Page, *GLP* 1, No. 91, p. 408) *ὕ]μνον Δήμη[τρ]ος πολυωνύμου ἄρχομαι ἱστ[ᾶν*.

**2. τανίσφυρον:** the iota is regularly attested in papyri (cf. West ad *Th.* 364). Cf. (of Persephone) Bacch. 5. 59 (~ 3. 60).

**Ἀϊδωνεύς:** only twice in Homer (*Il.* 5. 190, 20. 61). Hades himself (as opposed to his 'house') rarely appears in Homer: cf. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 326 n. 8 (add *Il.* 9. 158 f., 13. 415, also 5. 654 = 11. 445 = 16. 625, *Od.* 10. 534 = 11. 47). Persephone, however, is often mentioned in *Od.* 10 and 11. It has been suggested (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 454 ff.) that the proper form of the name was **Ἄϊς*, and that this denoted the underworld rather than its lord. But 'the house of Hades' (*Il.* 3. 322 etc.) suggests a person. For the etymology, which is uncertain, cf. Nilsson l.c., Frisk s.v.

**3.** Note the chiastic order: 'whom Aidoneus carried off, but the gift was that of Zeus'.

**βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς:** the formula first occurs here, and again three times in the *Hymn*. It is a 'combination formula' (cf. Introduction, pp. 46 ff.), fusing Homeric *εὐρύοπα Ζεύς* and Hesiodic *βαρύκτυπος*, which is used of Zeus only in oblique cases at *Th.* 388, *Op.* 79, *Sc.* 318 (but cf. *βαρύκτυπος* Ἐννοσίγαιος Th.* 818). It is also a doublet of Homeric *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (and of *πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδώς, Dem.* 321), and *Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω* (cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 56, and Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 70). Cf. also Homeric *Ὀλύμπιος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς* (*Od.* 4. 173), and (for the nominative *Ζεὺς . . . βαρύκτυπος*) Sem. fr. 1. 1.

**εὐρύοπα:** originally accusative from **εὐρύοψ*, and used as nominative by analogy with *μητίετα Ζεύς* etc. The meaning is probably 'with far-reaching voice'. Cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 200, Frisk s.v., Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 24.

The active role of Zeus, not only as consenting to the Rape, but as in some sense being at the back of it, is emphasized throughout the *Hymn*: cf. *Dem.* 9 and note ad loc., 30, 77 ff. In the second part of the *Hymn* Zeus plays a more openly active part: cf. Deichgräber, *Eleusinische Frömmigkeit*, 525 ff.

His consent to the marriage as father was necessary to make it legal (cf. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (Methuen, 1958), 91). But the Rape is also his plan, the *Διὸς βουλή*, as in *Il.* 1. 5, *Cypria* fr. 1. 7, etc. His role is ambiguous: he does not hear his daughter's cry, because he is out of earshot (*Dem.* 27 ff.), but he knows what is going on. Similarly, in the *Iliad*, he may turn away from the battle for a time, but ultimately 'his will is fulfilled'.

The role of Zeus is emphasized in later accounts: E. *Hel.* 1317 ff., Apollod. 1. 5. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 146, Claud. *RP* 1. 216 ff. (where Fate and Themis are behind Zeus: cf. Orph. *Arg.* 1195).

Aphrodite is also held responsible, in Ovid *M.* 5. 346 ff., Sil. Ital. 14. 242, Sen. *Herc.* 559 f., Claud. *RP* 1. 26 f., 216 ff., Myth. Vat. 2. 95, Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 5. 6. She is present at the Rape with Athena and Artemis in artistic representations (Roscher, 2. 1314), as also in Hyg. *fab.* 146, Claud. *RP* 2. 11 ff. Cf. ad *Dem.* 424.

**4. νόσφιν Δήμητρος:** cf. *Dem.* 72. It not only indicates that Demeter was absent, but also suggests that the Rape was without her knowledge or consent (cf. LSJ s.v. II. 3).

In some later artistic versions she is present, and pursues Hades. Cf. Curtius, *Abh. der Berl. Akad.* 1878, 288 ff.; Treu ap. Förster, *Philol.* Suppl. 4 (1884), 664–79; Murray, *JHS* 22 (1902), 3; Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pls. 17. 1, 18. 1–3, 5, 6, 18, 20–2, 26, 27; P. Hartwig, *AM* 21 (1896), 380 (but the figure is perhaps Aphrodite), *RE* 19. 1. 957, and ad *Dem.* 424. Förster and Hartwig assume that Hes. *Th.* 914 indicates her presence. This reads too much into the words.

In Firm. Mat. *de err. prof. rel.* 7 she is nearby and sees Hades vanish with her daughter.

**χρυσαόρου:** the α is lengthened in composition. The change to η was perhaps avoided, as it would have obscured the connection with ἄορ (cf. West, *Theogony*, pp. 79 n. 2, and 82 on ἔαγε).

In Homer, the epithet is used of Apollo, *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256; cf. *Ap.* 123, 395, *Hy.* 27. 3. The Homeric form is χρυσάορος. Cf., of Apollo, Hes. fr. 357. 3, *Ap.* 395, *Hy.* 27. 3, but χρυσάωρ Hes. *Op.* 771, *Ap.* 123, Pi. *P.* 5. 104, A.R. 3. 1282, Orph. *Arg.* 141. It is also used of Artemis (χρυσάορος, Orac. ap. Hdt. 8. 77), Orpheus (χρυσάωρ, Pi. *Thren.* 3. 12 Sn.), and Perseus (Orph. *Lith.* 545). Zeus has the cult-title *Χρυσαορεύς* or *Χρυσάριος* at Stratonicea in Caria (Str. 660 C = 14. 2. 25; *CIG* 2720, 2721; cf. *OGI* 234. 24).

Homer normally uses ἄορ of a sword (*Il.* 10. 484 etc.), but the Scholia claim that it is later used of any weapon. Cf. Schol. T ad *Il.* 14. 385 and *Il.* 21. 179, quoting Philitas fr. 23 P. In accordance with this theory, Callimachus (*Hy.* 4. 31) uses it of Poseidon's trident, and Ps. Oppian (*C.* 2. 553) of a rhinoceros' horn. δολιχάορος is also quoted from the *Phoronis* (P. Oxy. 2260 col. i 5–7, on which see Merkelbach, *APF* 16 (1956), 115 ff.), probably of Athena (cf. ad *Dem.* 424). Etymologically, ἄορ has been connected with ἀείρω (LSJ, Frisk s.v.; Solmsen, *Unters.* 292; Trümpy, *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos*, 63), and is taken to mean 'that which hangs' (from an ἀορτήρ), i.e. a sword (cf. English 'hanger', used of a type of short sword, originally hung from the belt: *Shorter OED* s.v. Hanger[3]). If this is correct, the extension of it to any weapon must be secondary.

In the case of Apollo, the Homeric epithet is normally explained as referring to the sword, with which he is occasionally depicted, in the context of the Gigantomachy or his fight with Tityus (cf. *RE* 2. 12. 10 ff., 111. 34 ff.). Artemis is shown with the sword once, on the Louvre Tityus amphora (*RE* 2. 1349. 28 ff.). The difficulty of this was felt by ancient scholars. The Scholia (ad *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256) object that Apollo's weapon is the bow, and that he is ἀγνός, so should not use the sword. They suggest that it refers to the strap (ἀορτήρ) by which his quiver or his lyre was hung (quoting χρυσάορα of Orpheus), or to the rays of the rising sun.

Pindar may have used it of Orpheus because of Orpheus' connections with Apollo (cf. also χρυσολύρας of both, and K. Ziegler, *RE* 18. 1251. 68 ff.). Alternatively, the rather improbable explanation which refers it to the lyre-strap may have already been current in Pindar's time.

In the case of Demeter, a reference to her sickle has been suggested (Preller, *Demeter*, 77; Welcker, *Gr. Götterlehre*, 1. 536). This is, however, a comparatively rare attribute: cf. A.R. 4. 984 ff., and Schol. ad loc. She does not appear to be depicted with it in art at all. (Ch. Picard, *RÉG* 40 (1927), 351, 363 compares the golden sickles found in tombs in various parts of the Greek world.)

Demeter is called *Ξιφηφόρος* in Lyc. *Alex.* 153. The line refers to the Boeotian Demeter-Erinys of Tilphossa, who was represented as a seated statue, holding a sword (cf. Schol. ad loc.).

One might conjecture a connection between this type and the story of Medusa, with whom Demeter-Erinys is originally identical (cf. Malten, *JDAI* 29 (1912), 181 ff., Farnell, *Cults*, 3. 59). Medusa is the mother of Pegasus and *Chrysaor* (cf. Hes. *Th.* 280 ff.), and Perseus' *ἅρπη* seems to belong here also. But it is doubtful whether any of this is relevant to our *Hymn.*

**ἀγλαοκάρπου:** this is used of trees in Homer (*Od.* 7. 115 = 11. 589) and *Dem.* 23. Cf. *ἀγλαόδωρος* (*Dem.* 54, 192, 492), and for the 'gladness' of nature cf. ad *Dem.* 10 (*γανόωντα*), 14 (*ἐγέλασσε*).

The noun–epithet formula is a doublet of *Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης* (*Il.* 14. 326). Cf. also *Δήμητρος καλλισφύρου** (*Dem.* 453), and *Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης** (Hes. *Th.* 912), which also emphasizes her function as goddess of fertility.

**5. κούρῃσι:** Persephone was playing with the nymphs, the daughters of Oceanus: i.e. the setting is probably by Oceanus (cf. ad *Dem.* 7, 17). The Oceanids are the *κοῦραι par excellence*, and Persephone is their leader, *Κο(ύ)ρη*, as the *Κουρῆτες* are led by *Ζεὺς Κοῦρος*. As such, they are also *κουροτρόφοι* of men. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 346 f. and West ad loc., also West, *JHS* 85 (1965), 155 f. For Core herself as a water-deity cf. ad *Dem.* 99.

Nymphs are mentioned as Persephone's companions by Colum. 10. 268 ff., Stat. *Ach.* 1. 824 ff., Paus. 5. 20. 3, Porph. *de antro nymph.* 7, Claud. *RP* 2. 55 f. Also Sirens (Hyg. *fab.* 141, Claud, *RP* 3. 190, 205; cf. A.R. 4. 895 ff., Ov. *M.* 5. 554 f.) and Horae (Orph. *Hy.* 29. 9, 43. 7). For nymphs in the worship of Demeter cf. Schol. Pi. *P.* 4. 106.

Girls are carried off from a chorus of nymphs in *Il.* 16. 181 ff., *Aph.* 117 ff., Hes. fr. 140. Cf. also A.R. 1. 213 ff., Plut. *Thes.* 31. 2, and K. Reinhardt, *Festschr. B. Snell* (Munich, 1956), 11.

**βαθυκόλποις:** in Homer this is used always of Trojan women (*Il.* 18. 122, 339, 24. 215). Cf. similarly *βαθύζωνος* in Homer (ad *Dem.* 95). It is a suitable epithet for *κουροτρόφοι*. Cf. *Aph.* 257 (*νύμφαι μιν θρέψουσιν ὀρεσκῷοι βαθύκολποι*); Pi. *P.* 9. 101, of the earth; and ad *Dem.* 231 ff.

### 6 ff. The flower catalogue

Girls were traditionally carried off while picking flowers. Cf. Moschus, *Europa*, 63 ff., and Bühler ad loc. (pp. 75, 108, 110 ff.). Moschus' catalogue contains five of the six flowers in the *Hymn.* This might suggest that he was influenced by it here (cf. Introduction).

But as the same five flowers are listed in *Cypria* fr. 4. 3 ff. the list may be a traditional epic one, occurring also in an early epic version of the Rape of Europa. The story of this is in the *Catalogue*, and the motif of gathering flowers may have occurred there: cf. Hes. frr. 140, 141.

Cf. also Hes. fr. 26. 18 ff.: Stratonice is carried off by Apollo while picking flowers. Later examples are Oreithyia (Choer. Sam. fr. 5 K.), Creusa (E. *Ion* 887 ff.), and Helen (E. *Hel.* 243 ff.).

Some of the flowers in the *Hymn* later have a special significance in relation to Demeter and Persephone. This could be the effect of the *Hymn* (see especially notes to *Dem.* 8 *νάρκισσον*). At Eleusis, however, flowers certainly played an important part in the cult. Cf. ad *Dem.* 99, 192 ff., Ar. *Ran.* 373 f., 445 ff., and the Niinnion tablet (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 88).[1] Clement (*Protr.* 2. 17. 1 = Orph. fr. 50 K.) may also refer to the ritual, although he does not specify the Attic Eleusis. Flower-gathering at Eleusis is suggested by the Sicilian Anthesphoria (Pollux 1. 37), and the festival at Hipponium (Str. 256), both in honour of Core. The festival at Hipponium commemorated her having gathered flowers there. At Hermione, in the festival in honour of Demeter Chthonia, children gathered and wore garlands of *κοσμοσάνδαλον*, a kind of hyacinth (Paus. 2. 35. 5). At Megalopolis, Artemis and Athena were represented with baskets of flowers on their heads in the temple of Demeter and Core (Paus. 8. 31. 1), as Core's companions at the time of the Rape (cf. ad *Dem.* 424).

At Sardis, a festival was held in honour of Persephone, called *Χρυσάνθινα* or *Χρυσάντινα* (Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, i. 187; Head, *Cat. of Greek Coins of Lydia*, cx, cxiii). Cf. Chrysanthis, the name of the girl who gave Demeter information about the Rape at Argos (Paus. 1. 14. 2; Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 300).

A festival Antheia is attested in the Attic deme Paiania (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, no. 18 A 23, B 7 f., 29). Nilsson (*Op. Sel.* iii. 96) connects this with the Eleusinian goddesses. But this is doubtful: cf. Sokolowski, who attributes it to Dionysus.

Similar flower-festivals are attested elsewhere in Greece. Cf. the *Ἡροσάνθεια*, or *Ἡροάνθεια* (Hsch., Phot. s.v.), a women's festival which took place in spring in the Peloponnese. Hera had the title *Ἀνθεία* at Argos (Paus. 2. 22. 1) and women *ἀνθεσφόροι* are mentioned in this cult (Pollux 4. 78). At the Argive Heraeum, a flower growing on the bank of the river Asterion was offered to Hera, and garlands were made from it (Paus. 2. 17. 2). Aphrodite was called *Ἀνθεία* at Cnossos, and had *ἀνθηφόροι* at Aphrodisias in Caria (*CIG* 2821 f.). *Hy.* 30. 14 (*χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν*) suggests a similar custom in the cult of Ge.

If the flower-gathering at Eleusis occurred at a spring festival, this will have celebrated the *Return* of Core (cf. *Dem.* 401 ff., 455). But the story of the Rape may also have been told at this, and hence the flower-gathering will have been projected back to that event. There is

[1] Cf. also Philodamus, *Paean* 29 f. (p. 166, Powell): *ἔμολες μυχοὺς* [*Ἐλε*]*υσῖνος ἀν*' [*ἀνθεμώ*]*δεις.*

no need to assume (with Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, 271 ff.) that the Rape itself was supposed to have occurred in spring or early summer: cf. K. Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.* 15 (1933–5), 6 ff. Where Core is, flowers naturally grow and are gathered (cf. Clearchus apud Ath. 554 b). In the Sicilian version, flowers bloom throughout the year on the plain of Henna (Diod. 5. 4. 3, Ov. *M.* 5. 391). In fact, some of the flowers in the hymn bloom in autumn (cf. below). Moschus also confuses the seasons in his flower-catalogue, and an anonymous versifier criticizes him for doing so (cf. Bühler, 114 n. 4).

For similar 'natural sympathy' cf. *Il.* 14. 346 ff., *Cypria* fr. 4, *Hy.* 19. 25 ff.

The anthology of Core is also described by Ovid (*F.* 4. 437 ff., *M.* 5. 391 ff.) and Claudian (*RP* 2. 128 ff.), and referred to by Pamphos (ap. Paus. 9. 31. 8), Nic. fr. 74. 60 f., Diod. 5. 33 f., Plut. *QN* 917 e, Ps. Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 836$^{b}$, Orph. *Arg.* 1192.

According to Schol. Soph. *OC* 681, the use of garlands was forbidden at the Thesmophoria, because they were abhorred by Demeter and Core (cf. Deubner, *AF* 56 n. 10). For similar prohibitions against following the example of Demeter cf. ad *Dem.* 42, 47 ff., 98 f. The Scholia on Sophocles say that the goddesses do not use *τὰ ἄνθινα*, which suggests a general prohibition at all festivals. This may mean that *crowns* were only of myrtle or smilax, rather than that no flowers were used at all.

**6. ῥόδα:** roses do not appear in Homer (but cf. *ῥοδόεις*, *ῥοδοδάκτυλος*). Cf. Theognis 537, Sappho 2. 6, etc. The name is properly applied to the cultivated rose, but is here apparently used of the wild kind, unless this is simply fantasy (cf. Olck, *RE* 7. 775. 64 ff.). They were commonly used on graves, as in the Roman grave-festival of Rosaria or Rosalia. They were also symbolic of love, and in Moschus (*Eur.* 70) it is a rose that Europa picks, like Helen in E. *Hel.* 243 f. (above, p. 141). Cf. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griech. Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), 78 ff., Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen* (Berlin, 1911), 251 ff.

**κρόκον:** this occurs once in Homer, *Il.* 14. 348 (cf. *κροκόπεπλος*), and at *Hy.* 19. 25, *Cypria* 4. 3. It was associated with Demeter: cf. Soph. fr. 451 P. (Schol. S. *OC* 684). It is mentioned by Sophocles in *OC* 684 f. together with the narcissus, which he attributes to Demeter and Core. In *Dem.* 428 the narcissus is compared to it (if the reading is correct). Its golden colour, like that of the narcissus, made it a suitable symbol of underworld deities (cf. ad *Dem.* 19).

It appears in other Rape scenes: E. *Ion* 887 ff., Mosch. 2. 68. In Scholl. AB *Il.* 12. 292 (Hes. fr. 140) Zeus as the bull 'breathed saffron' when he carried off Europa. It blooms in autumn or winter (Thphr. 6. 8. 3, 6. 10; Call. *Hy.* 2. 80 ff.; Plin. *NH* 21. 34), but as it often appears with spring flowers (e.g. hyacinth) in literature, Murr (o.c. 253) concluded that there was a spring saffron also, *Crocus vernus* L.

**ἠδ' ἴα:** on the neglected digamma (cf. *Dem.* 418) see Appendix II, B 6. The violet occurs once in Homer, *Od.* 5. 72 (cf. *ἰοειδής*, *ἰόεις*, *ἰοδνεφής*). In the Sicilian version of the Rape, Persephone was

picking violets when the earth opened: cf. Diod. 5. 3. 2 f. (they bloom all the year round on the plain of Henna); Nic. fr. 74. 60 f.; Paus. 9. 31. 9; Ps. Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 836$^{b}$; Plut. *Mor.* 917 f; Ov. *M.* 5. 392. Cf. also Bacch. 3. 2 *Δάματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε κούραν* (in an invocation of Demeter as patron-goddess of Sicily).

They appear in spring, but can bloom throughout the year (Theophr. *HP* 6. 6. 2, 8. 2). They were used to decorate graves in later times (cf. A. B. Cook, *JHS* 20 (1900), 11 ff.).

For roses and violets together cf. the popular song *PMG* 852.

**7. λειμῶν' ἅμ μαλακόν:** the phrase interrupts the flower-catalogue (cf. ad *Dem.* 17, 22 f., 34, 382, Theocr. 1. 132–6), but is 'formulaic' in this context.

At Nysa in Caria, where there was a cult of Demeter and Core, there was a place called the Meadow, where the marriage of Core and Pluto was celebrated (cf. Str. 14. 1. 45, and ad *Dem.* 17). Flowery meadows also play a prominent part in underworld topography: cf. *Od.* 11. 539, 573, 24. 13, Ar. *Ran.* 373 f., 449 f., Plut. fr. 178, Orph. frr. 32 f 6, 222. 3, 293, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 19 ff.

The meadow in Hes. *Th.* 279 is beside Oceanus, where the Hesperides live (*Th.* 274 f., 282), i.e. it is perhaps the legendary 'garden of the gods' (cf. Roscher, *Die Gorgonen*, 24 f.). Cf. also *Il.* 16. 151 *βοσκομένη λειμῶνι παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο.*

**ἀγαλλίδας:** this occurs only here and in Hsch. s.v. *ἀγαλλίς· ὑάκινθος ἢ θρυαλλίς, ἢ ἀναγαλλίς*; cf. Nic. fr. 74. 31 *ἶρις δ' ἐν ῥίζῃσιν ἀγαλλιάς.* Agallis was however used as a name (Scholl. AT at *Il.* 18. 483, Ath. 14 d, 583 e).

According to Murr (o.c. 246) it was a kind of iris, and was also a popular grave-flower in Greece.

**ὑάκινθον:** once in Homer, *Il.* 14. 348 (with *κρόκος*). On the use of *κοσμοσάνδαλον*, a type of hyacinth, at the festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione, cf. ad *Dem.* 6. Hyacinthus, who was killed by Apollo accidentally with a discus, is perhaps associated with Demeter, Core, and Pluto on the pedestal of the Amyclaean statue of Apollo (Paus. 3. 19. 4). His sister Polyboea was sometimes identified with Core (Hsch. s.v.).

It is not certain what flower was meant by the name: Theophr. *HP* 6. 8. 1 ff. has two types, wild and cultivated. They flower in spring and the latter is identified with the garden hyacinth (*Hyacinthus orientalis* L.) by Murr (o.c. 256 ff.). J. Sergeaunt, *Trees, Shrubs, and Plants in Virgil* (Oxford, 1920), 56 f., suggests that squill, larkspur, and modern hyacinth, perhaps also corn-flag or red lily, are all included under this name. C. Garlick, *CR* 35 (1921), 146 f., suggests that it is the fritillary. The Orchis quadripunctata has also been advocated (Gow ad Theocr. 10. 28).

**8. νάρκισσον:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Cypr.* fr. 4. 6. It is called 'the ancient garland of the great Goddesses' in Soph. *OC* 683 f. (cf. ad *Dem.* 6). This, however, caused the commentators some difficulty, as the Scholia observe that the narcissus is *not* used in garlands of the

two goddesses. They suggest that the reference is either to the Erinyes, or else simply an allusion to the story of the Rape, the plural *μεγαλᾶν θεᾶν* being an extension from the use of the flower by Core. This is probably the right explanation. Cf. also Hsch. s.v. *Δαμάτριον· ἄνθος ὅμοιον ναρκίσσῳ*. In Pamphos' version, it was also used to deceive Persephone (cf. Paus. 9. 31. 9, ad *Dem.* 6).

Murr (o.c. 246 ff.) identifies it here with the *Narcissus tazetta* L., which has a sweet scent and rich cluster of yellow flowers (cf. *Dem.* 12 f., 428), and blooms in wet, low-lying parts of Greece, from late autumn to early spring. Cf. Soph. l.c.: *ὁ καλλίβοτρυς . . . νάρκισσος*, i.e. with fine clusters. For the narcissus as an autumn flower cf. Theophr. *HP* 6. 6. 9, 8. 3, also Virg. *G.* 4. 122, 'sera comantem'. There were also two spring types (Theophr. 6. 8. 1).

It is often mentioned in connection with funerals or the underworld: cf. Nic. fr. 74. 70 (cf. Gow and Scholfield ad loc.), *Anth. Plan.* App. 120 (= 2. 238), Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 1. 77, 2. 7. It is attributed to the Eumenides (Schol. Soph. *OC* 681, Euphor. fr. 94. 3 Powell, etc.), and appears as their attribute in art. Hades also has a garland of it, or holds it (cf. Roscher, 1. 1797 f.). A gold crown from a south Italian grave has a narcissus on it (Siebourg, *ARW* 8 (1905), 393 f.). Cf. J. H. Dierbach, *Flora mythologica* (Frankfurt, 1883), 146 f. As in the case of the saffron, its golden colour aptly symbolized the underworld (cf. ad *Dem.* 19).

On the mythological figure of Narcissus and his associations with mystic cults, cf. Eitrem, *RE* 16. 1721 ff. (especially 1726 ff.).

The narcissus is made to grow by Earth, to catch the girl. It is a miraculous flower (10 ff.), and when she reaches out her hands to pick it, the earth gapes and Hades leaps forth. This suggests that the flower is a kind of 'Open Sesame', a common motif in folk-stories, in which the magic flower is the key that opens the earth, revealing the underworld, and its hidden treasures. Cf. Usener, 'Italische Mythen', *RhM* 30 (1875), 215 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 4. 129 ff.), for an interesting discussion of such motifs.

**δόλον:** as a 'lure' to catch her. Cf. *Od.* 8. 276 (Hephaestus' net), 494 (Trojan horse), *Od.* 12. 252 (bait), *Od.* 19. 137 (Penelope's weaving); of Pandora, Hes. *Th.* 589 (cf. ad *Dem.* 10 f.), *Op.* 83; Aristaen. 1. 10 (the apple of Acontius).

**καλυκώπιδι:** the word does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Dem.* 420, *Aph.* 284; Bacch. fr. 20A. 17 Sn.; Orph. *Hy.* 79. 2 (*κούρην*). LSJ translate 'like a budding flower in face, i.e. blushing, roseate' (cf. Murr, o.c. 83: 'mit rosigem Antlitz, mit Rosenwangen'), but it perhaps means 'with eyes like buds'. Cf. *κυνῶπις* (*Il.* 3. 180 etc. ~ *κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων Il.* 1. 225), *Κύκλωψ*, etc. On these words cf. Chantraine, *Formation des Noms*, 257 f., Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 147, 152. Heitsch (*Aphroditehymnos*, 25) translates 'mit einem Blick wie Blütenknospen', and calls it 'eine sehr gesuchte Neubildung'. See also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 13.

**κούρῃ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 5, 439, on Persephone's title *Ko(ύ)ρη*.

**9.** The line names the three agents in the Rape, Earth, Zeus, and Hades (i.e. perhaps Earth, Heaven, and Hell, the three parts of the world? Cf. ad *Dem.* 13 f., 33–5, and especially *Il.* 15. 36 ff. etc., *Ap.* 334 ff.).

Earth appears on Roman sarcophagi representing the Rape (cf. Förster, *Raub und Rückkehr*, 131 ff.). In Homer she is not portrayed as an active personality, but in Hesiod she gives advice and conspires with Zeus and other gods, as she does here (*Th.* 160 ff., 463 ff., 469 ff., 494, 626, 884, 891 ff.).

**Διὸς βουλῇσι:** cf. ad *Dem.* 3. The *Διὸς βουλή* is often referred to at the opening of an epic narrative, or in the summary of a myth: *Il.* 1. 5, *Od.* 11. 297, *Cypr.* fr. 1. 7 *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 1002, *Herm.* 10; *Od.* 8. 82, *Th.* 572, *Op.* 71, 79, 99, *Aph.* 23; *Od.* 11. 276, *Th.* 960, 993; Kirk, *Songs*, 165.

**πολυδέκτῃ:** the word occurs only here and Cornut. 35. Cf. *δέκτης* (*Od.* 4. 248). For similar epithets of Hades cf. *πολυδέγμων* (*Dem.* 17, 31, 404, 430), *πολυσημάντωρ* (31, 84, 376), *πολύξενος* (A. *Supp.* 157, fr. 228 N.[2]), *νεκροδέγμων* (A. *PV* 152), *παιάναξ* (*Tab. Defix. Aud.* 43. 44), *Ἀγησίλαος* (Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 195); also A. *Theb.* 860, Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 560, *Herc. fur.* 560, Roscher, 3. 2561, Rohde, *Psyche*[9], i. 206 ff., and ad *Dem.* 18. Hades is referred to euphemistically also at *Dem.* 17 f., 31 f., 404, 430, and perhaps at 371. On the favourable presentation of him in the *Hymn* cf. ad *Dem.* 83 ff. He is the 'host of many' because his realm is thought of as a huge palace (cf. ad *Dem.* 379).

The poet of the *Hymn* is particularly fond of *πολυ-* compounds: cf. Introduction, p. 61.

Noun–epithet formulae for Hades are rare in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The *Hymn* adds several new epithets and formulae: cf. 17, 18 = 32, 31, 84, 347, 376, 404, 430. It shares with Homer only *ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς* (357). For a doublet of this cf. 430.

**10. θαυμαστόν:** not in Homer or Hesiod (cf. Homeric *θαῦμα*; *θαυμάσιος* Hes. *Th.* 584, *Herm.* 443, *θαυματός Sc.* 165, *Herm.* 80, etc.). Cf. Archil. fr. 29. 8 West, Theognis 25, etc. *θαυμάσιον* would be an easy change, but unnecessary.

**γανόωντα:** used in Homer of the brightness of armour (*Il.* 13. 265, 19. 359), and of flowerbeds in full bloom (*Od.* 7. 128). Cf. *γάνος*, used in later poetry of water, wine, and honey; *γάνυμαι* ('brighten up, be glad'). The magic flower was 'marvellously gay'. A similar transference of sense is found with *ἀγλαός* (cf. ad *Dem.* 4), *γελάω* (cf. ad *Dem.* 14), and English *glad* (= smooth, shining, cf. German *glatt*).

**σέβας:** in Homer, always of the sense of awe which takes hold of the viewer (*σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα Od.* 3. 123 etc.). Cf. *Dem.* 190. It is here transferred to the object for the first time. Cf. A. *Supp.* 85 (and frequently in Attic tragedy). On *σέβας* see also ad *Dem.* 190, 478–9.

**τό γε:** *τότε* is supported by the papyrus, but seems no more than a stop-gap. *τό γε* is probably right: *τό* may refer to *νάρκισσον*, being attracted to the case of *σέβας*, or, more probably, generally to what

precedes (i.e. *θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα*). Cf. *Il.* 6. 167 (~ 417) *κτεῖναι μέν ῥ' ἀλέεινε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ.*

**11.** For this type of 'polar' expression cf. E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der gr. Literatur* (Würzburg, 1903). It is common in the *Hymn.* In Homer cf. *Il.* 5. 442 (whole line) etc.

The formula represents a 'Hesiodic' variation of Homeric elements (see formulaic parallels).

**12.** On the rich cluster of the *Narcissus tazetta* or polyanthus cf. ad *Dem.* 8. It has a hundred heads here, which suggests that it is a divine flower.

**τοῦ καί:** 'used in passing to a new detail not closely connected with what has gone before' (West ad *Th.* 910). But here the *καί* perhaps introduces an epexegetic sentence (cf. Leaf ad *Il.* 1. 249, 20. 165).

**κάρα:** the form is found only here and in Sannyrion, fr. 3. In S. *Ant.* 291 *κάρα* is singular, and so probably also in *Il.* 10. 259, *Herm.* 211; cf. Ebeling s.v.

It may have been influenced by *κέρᾱ* (neut. plur. of *κέρας*), as in *Il.* 4. 109, a line which was perhaps in the poet's mind. The analogy *καρήατα* ~ *κεράατα* perhaps had some effect. Cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 583. Chantraine, *GH* i. 231, suggests that it was influenced by neuter plurals in short alpha. This is unlikely, since the alpha is long here. Cf. also Frisk s.v., and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 57 (innovation or archaism?).

**13.** Tyrrell's conjecture is the most attractive that has been offered, but is open to some strong objections. Cf. *Od.* 5. 59 f. *ὀδμὴ . . . ὀδώδει*, 9. 210 *ὀδμὴ δ' ἡδεῖα . . . ὀδώδει.* Homer uses only this form of the verb. The crasis is also un-Homeric, but cf. Hes. *Th.* 284, and ad *Dem.* 227. *ἥδιστα* is not in Homer, but cf. *ἥδιστος*, *ἡδύ* (adv.). The MS. reading *ὀδμῇ* suggests a dative (cf. Agar, *CR* 31 (1917), 66). A lacuna after line 12 would not be impossible (cf. Introduction, p. 66).

The *Narcissus tazetta* is sweetly-scented (cf. ad *Dem.* 8). But here the scent is a feature of the miraculous appearance of this divine flower (cf. ad *Dem.* 277). Heaven, earth, and sea smile at it. At the epiphany of a deity the earth also smiles or laughs. Cf. the birth of Apollo: *Ap.* 118, Theognis 8 ff., Limenius (p. 149 Powell), 7 ff.; the epiphany of Bacchus: Nonn. *D.* 22. 7; the birth of Christ: *Or. Sib.* 8. 475 f.; and in general Pfister, *RE*, Supp. 4. 319 (to his examples add E. *Ba.* 726 f., *IT* 1242 ff., *Ion* 1078 ff., S. *Ant.* 1146, Theocr. 7. 64, cf. Gow ad loc., 17. 64, Lucr. 1. 6–9). Similar expressions for the earth (etc.) smiling or rejoicing occur in *Il.* 19. 362 (ad *Dem.* 14), Hes. *Th.* 40 (also 173), A.R. 1. 880, 4. 1171, Paul. Sil. *Ecphr.* 900, Cat. 64. 46, 284 ('domus iucundo risit odore', of flowers), Hor. *Od.* 4. 11. 6, Lucr. 1. 8, etc.

'Heaven, earth, and sea' is a way of saying 'the whole world'. This poet is fond of such expressions: cf. *Dem.* 33–5, 380–2, and also *Dem.* 9 (Earth, Zeus, and Hades).

**14. ἐγέλασσε:** *γελᾶν* originally meant to 'shine' (West ad Hes. *Th.* 40). Cf. ad *Dem.* 4, 10 and Hsch. s.v. *γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν.* For its use of the

sea ('to shine, sparkle, laugh') cf. Hes. *Th.* 256, Sem. 7. 27 f., A. *PV* 90, etc. (West, l.c.). See also Verdenius, *Mnem.* 25 (1972), 243.

**ἁλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης:** the formula is new, but built of Homeric and Hesiodic elements (although *οἶδμα θαλάσσης* occurs first here). *οἶδμα* in Homer and Hesiod is only found in the formula *οἴδματι θυίων/θυΐον* (*Il.* 21. 234, 23. 230, *Th.* 109, 131). The Homeric uses are specific, of a river in spate, and sea stirred by the winds, but in Hesiod the phrase is used simply as a general formula of the sea (cf. Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 52). Cf. also *Ap.* 417 *οἶδμ' ἅλιον πολυΐχθυον.*

**15. χερσὶν ἅμ' ἄμφω:** in Homer, *ἄμφω* is only found in the nominative or accusative. *Herm.* 50 has *ἀμφοῖν*, which is normal in later Greek. But cf. A.R. 1. 165, 1169, Theocr. 17. 26, Q.S. 1. 261, 2. 460, 5. 140, 14. 171, and in prose Arist. *Top.* 118ᵃ28.

In *Il.* 7. 255 *ἄμφω* goes with the subject of the verb (cf. 23. 686 f.). This is a good example of reuse of a formula. Possibly the Homeric passages were misunderstood, and so led to this new use, in accordance with Leumann's theory of formulaic development. But it is also possible that the use is parallel to that of *δύο* indecl. (cf. K–B 1. 633, 635). *ἀμφοῖν* does not occur in Callimachus, Theocritus, Apollonius, or Aratus. See also Introduction, p. 51.

**16. καλὸν ἄθυρμα:** the 'pretty plaything' deceives her, as the child Dionysus is deceived by the Titans: cf. Orph. fr. 34 *ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν.* Cf. also perhaps the anonymous song of the mystae (Snell, *Hermes*, Einzelschr. 5 (1937), 106 ff.) col. i. 11 f.: *διηπάτωϱ ϱιν[ ]ναϱθεων ποικίλτ' ἀθύρματα.*

Persephone is still something of a child. In the same way, to the child Hermes, the tortoise is a *καλὸν ἄθυρμα* (*Herm.* 32 ~ 40, 52). Cf. Ovid, *M.* 5. 400 f., where the flowers fall from Proserpine's lap as she is being carried off:

> tantaque simplicitas puerilibus adfuit annis:
> haec quoque virgineum movit iactura dolorem.

**χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρυάγυια:** the transition from the peaceful scene of flower-gathering is sudden and dramatic. When Persephone reaches out for the flower the earth opens (cf. ad *Dem.* 8).

The epithet *εὐρυάγυια* is applied in Homer only to cities (*Il.* 2. 12 etc.). Cf. *χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης* (*Il.* 16. 635 etc.), whose original meaning is uncertain. It may have been originally *εὐρυεδείης* (Schulze, *QE* 487 f., cf. Hes. *Th.* 117, Simon. *PMG* 542. 24 f.), which was then misunderstood and hence altered: by the time of the *Hymn* it must have been taken as equivalent to *εὐρυάγυια*. Cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 119.

The *χάσμα γῆς* is a leading feature of many versions of the Rape. Cf. the Sicilian version, where it is a cave (Diod. 5. 3. 3); Cic. *Verr.* 4. 107, Sil. Ital. 14. 239 f., Solinus 5. 15, Arnob. 5. 24; Pluto goes *down* through the chasm in Ps. Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 836ᵇ; cf. also Claud. *RP* 2. 172 ff. (Pluto strikes the rock to open a path to the upper world, and the earth opens 'immenso hiatu'). Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 17 after mentioning *τὰ Φερρεφάττης ἀνθολόγια . . . καὶ τὸν κάλαθον*, goes

on with *τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἄϊδωνέως καὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς ὗς τὰς Εὐβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν*, referring to the aition of the ritual of throwing pigs into underground *megara* at the Thesmophoria (cf. Schol. Luc. *dial. mer.* 2. 1 pp. 275 f. Rabe; Paus. 8. 9. 1). On this see Deubner, *AF* 40 ff., Ziehen, *RE* Supp. 7. 439 ff. s.v. *Μέγαρον*, A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 31 ff., and Introduction, pp. 81 f.

In art, the scene is not often illustrated in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.: cf. Metzger, *Recherches*, and the review by E. Simon, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 706 ff. There are no black-figure examples. It was probably the subject of a pediment at Eleusis of *c.* 490–80 B.C., from which the famous figure of a fleeing girl survives: cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 102 f. and fig. 34. Metzger gives two red-figure examples:

(*a*) an amphora showing Pluto pursuing Persephone (Oenocles painter, Beazley, *ARV*² 647. 21; Förster, *Raub und Rückkehr*, pl. 2; Schauenburg, *Jahrb. des d. arch. Inst.* 73 (1958), 49 fig. 1.

(*b*) Fragmentary scyphos (*c.* 430 B.C., according to Beazley, *ARV*² 647) showing a two-horse chariot, half-sunk in the earth, with Hades holding Persephone on it; also present: Eros, Hermes, Demeter(?), Hecate(?), Oceanid(?)[1] (cf. P. Hartwig, *AM* 21 (1896), 377 ff. and pl. 12; Kourouniotis, *Eleusis, A Guide*, 116 f.). On the Locrian reliefs of the fifth century showing rape-scenes see H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz, 1968), 68 ff. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, 70 and 75, explains the absence of representations as due to the wish to avoid presenting Hades, the god of the Mysteries, in an unfavourable light.

The Rape of Persephone is shown on several South Italian vases of the fourth century B.C. (cf. Schauenburg, o.c. 57–62).

The scene was portrayed in bronze by Praxiteles (Plin. *NH* 34. 69), and painted by Nicomachus (Plin. *NH* 35. 108). For other representations cf. Förster, o.c. 108 ff. It becomes very common in Roman times on sarcophagi, funerary altars, etc. Cf. Förster, o.c. 123 ff., Roscher s.v. 'Kora' 1376 ff.; sarcophagi: Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, 3. 3. pls. cxix–cxxx, nos. 356–415; altars: Altmann, *Die röm. Grabaltäre*, nos. 96, 98, 194, 198 ff., 208; painting at Ostia: Helbig, *Führer*, no. 1238; S. Russian tomb-paintings: Rostovtzeff, *Peinture antique du Sud de la Russie* (1914), pls. xlix. 1, lvii, lxiv. 4, lxxxix; cf. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, 95 ff. See also K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Harvard, 1959), 129 f.

**17. Νύσιον ἂμ πεδίον:** this mythical location of the Rape is introduced awkwardly at this point, interrupting the flow of the verse at a dramatic moment, and producing metrical and syntactical difficulties (see below). This might suggest remodelling of an earlier version. The poet apparently does not mention the place of the descent to the underworld (cf. ad *Dem.* 33 ff.). The name is connected with Dionysus: cf. *Il.* 6. 133, where Lycurgus pursues the nurses of Dionysus *κατ' ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον* (Lycurgus' name suggests Thrace).

[1] According to Kannicht, *Euripides, Helena*, ii. 342, Athena is also shown, in full armour. See notes to *Dem.* 424.

In *Hy.* 1. 8 f. it is a mountain near the Nile, and is Dionysus' birthplace. There were various actual or supposed places called Nysa: cf. Steph. Byz., Hsch. s.v. The most important was in Caria, and had a special cult of Demeter, Core, and Pluto (cf. ad *Dem.* 7). According to tradition, it was not called Nysa until the time of Antiochus I (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀντιόχεια*). But this has been questioned, and the truth remains uncertain (cf. Stein, *RE* 17. 1634. 5 ff.). As Dionysus' birthplace it was variously located, in Ethiopia (Hdt. 2. 146, 3. 97), Arabia (Diod. 3. 66. 3 etc.), Libya (Diod. 3. 66. 4), Scythia (Plin. *NH* 5. 74), etc. (cf. *RE* 17. 1640 ff.).

An Orphic version (fr. 43 K., ap. Schol. Hes. *Th.* 914) placed the Rape 'in the regions about Oceanus'. Cf. Orph. *Arg.* 1196, Artemidorus ap. Str. 198, Orph. *Hy.* 18. 13. The presence of the Oceanids in the *Hymn* suggests that this may have been the case here too (and cf. ad *Dem.* 7; Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, 2. 50 f.). That is of course as much as to say 'at the (mythical) ends of the earth', which may equally be the far north or south or east or west: hence the various locations of Nysa. Cf. perhaps also a papyrus text (G. A. Gerhard, *Veröff. bad. Pap.-Samml.* (Heidelberg, 1938), 20 ff. no. 176), which locates the Rape *παρὰ τὸν Ὠ[κεανόν.*

Malten (*ARW* 12 (1909), 300) argued for *Μύσιον*, i.e. the Argive plain (cf. Paus. 2. 18. 3: Mysia lay between Argos and Mycenae, and had a cult of Demeter Mysia), in accordance with his view of the Argive origin of the myth. This has found few supporters (cf. Wilamowitz l.c. n. 2 *contra*; but Jacoby, *FGH* IIIb (Supp.) i p. 196 favours it).

Why choose Nysa? Did the association with Dionysus influence the choice? (Cf. Bursian, *Lit. Zentralbl.* 1875, no. 6, and Wilamowitz l.c.) One should, however, beware of assuming that the Dionysus-cult was already prominent at Eleusis. Cf. on its later development Metzger, *BCH* 68–9, (1944–5), 323 ff., and *Représentations*, 248 ff.; Mylonas, *Eph. Arch.* 1960 (1965), 68–118.[1]

The name Dionysus is often taken as connected with Nysa: cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. d. gr. Sprache*, 241 f., H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1951), 7. The nurses of Dionysus are called *Νῦσαι* (cf. inscription on archaic vase of Sophilos: *AM* 14 (1889), pl. 1; Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 273, fig. 176), and *νύση* is interpreted by Kretschmer as a Thraco-Phrygian word equivalent to *νύμφη*, *κόρη*. Dionysus thus = *Διὸς κοῦρος* (or *δῖος κοῦρος*). If this were correct, the *Νύσιον πεδίον* would be 'the plain of nymphs' or 'of Core', which would be appropriate. But Kretschmer's etymology is open to objections.[2] *Νῦσαι* are also trees (Pherec. Ath. *FGH* 3 F 178), which fits both nymphs and Dionysus. Nysa as the name of Dionysus' nurse and also of various mountains is thus parallel to Ida ('timber-tree'), the nurse of the Cretan Zeus.

[1] For evidence of the cult of Dionysus in association with Demeter and Persephone at Corinth, cf. R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 299 ff., esp. 325 f., and A. D. Ure, *JHS* 89 (1969), 120 f.

[2] Lesbian *Ζόννυσσος* (Alc. 129 L.–P.) points to *νυτ-ι̯* or *νυθ-ι̯* (cf. *μέσ(σ)ος*, *ὄσ(σ)ος*).

Other locations of the Rape were:

(*a*) Crete: Bacch. fr. 47 (cf. the Orphic *Rhapsodies*, fr. 303 K.).

(*b*) Sicily (the commonest later version): cf. Introduction, pp. 76 f.

(*c*) Eleusis: the 'Orphic' story of Eubuleus and the pigs (cf. ad *Dem.* 16) places the *descent* at Eleusis. Cf. also Orph. fr. 49. 41(?), 105 ff., Orph. *Hy.* 18. 12 ff.; Paus. 1. 14. 3, 1. 38. 5, Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 181B, Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 698, Myth. Vat. 2. 96, Claud. *RP* 3. 51 f. This is perhaps the original local tradition. The poet substitutes a suitably vague mythical setting. Orph. *Hy.* 18. 12 ff. combines both: Core was captured from a sacred meadow, brought over the sea, and disappeared *ὑπ' Ἀτθίδος . . . ἄντρον, | δήμου Ἐλευσῖνος, τόθι περ πύλαι εἰς' Ἀΐδαο*. This refers presumably to the Plutonion, which one expects to have been the site of the descent of Core at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 200, and Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 99 f., 146 ff.). But in Paus. 1. 38. 5 the Rape is located at Erineos, on the banks of the Eleusinian Cephisus.

(*d*) Attica: Phanodemus, *FGH* 325 F 27; Schol. Soph. *OC* 1590, 1593 (Colonus). Various sites have been proposed: cf. Jacoby on Phanodemus l.c.

(*e*) Lerna: Paus. 2. 36. 7.

(*f*) Pheneos: Conon, *FGH* 26 F 15, Paus. 8 F 15. 3 f., 21. 3, Ael. *NA* 10. 40.

(*g*) Philippi: App. *BC* 4. 105.

(*h*) Hermione: Apollod. 1. 5. 1, Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 785, Zen. *Cent.* 1. 7. Cf. Paus. 2. 35. 10, Str. 373.

(*i*) Hipponium (Vibo) (?): Str. 256.

(*j*) Lebadeia(?): Paus. 9. 39. 2.

(*k*) Paros: Steph. Byz. s.v. (cf. Apollod. (?) *FGH* 244 F 89, and perhaps *FGH* 502: cf. Jacoby ad 325 F 27 and 502).

(*l*) Cyzicus: App. *Mithr.* 75; Plut. *Luc.* 10; Prop. 3. 22. 1; *Anth. Lat.* 6. 77. 11 (ii p. 550B); Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βέσβικος*.

(*m*) Taenarum(?): cf. Philicus' *Hymn* fr. 2, Latte, *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954), 12 (cf. Apollod. 2. 5. 12 for the descent of Heracles; *RE* 19. 951 f.).

**τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ πολυδέγμων:** the relative ('by which way') is odd here, and *ὄρουσεν* offends against 'Hermann's bridge' (cf. Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 87). Trochaic caesura in the fourth foot normally occurs in Homer only when it is preceded by an enclitic or short monosyllable (cf. *Dem.* 248), or (as here) the line ends in a 5- or 4-syllable word (Monro, *HG*[2] § 367. 2; for details cf. Allen and Sikes ad loc.). One would also expect a qualification of *ὄρουσεν* such as *ἀν-*. If the line has been remodelled (see below) this might have been squeezed out.

Contrast *Dem.* 429 f. (in Persephone's narrative): *γαῖα δ' ἔνερθε | χώρησεν, τῇ δ' ἔκθορ' ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων*. One would expect something similar here. Cf. also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 54, 62 ff.

**ἄναξ πολυδέγμων:** cf. ad *Dem.* 9. *πολυδέγμων* occurs first here. Cf. Orph. *Hy.* 18. 11 (of Hades); Lyc. 700 (name of a mountain in Italy?); Cornut. 35.

**18. ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι:** the fem. form *-αισι* (pap. 1) is nowhere well attested in early epic. *-ῃσι* would be possible. Homer often uses the feminine of horses, and mares were thought to be faster (Ebeling, s.v. 599. 10). But cf. *Dem.* 32, 375–6.

It is reasonable that Hades should have a chariot when he carries off Persephone. But attempts have been made to read more into his use of horses, in view of the Homeric formulaic line, *εὔχος ἐμοὶ δώ-σειν* (etc.), *ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλῳ* (*Il.* 5. 654, 11. 445, 16. 625). The epithet has been much discussed: 'Wo sollte denn der Homerische Aides spazieren fahren?' asked Lehrs (*Populäre Aufsätze*[3], 277). Schol. A ad *Il.* 5. 654 suggested, amongst other explanations, that it referred to the story of the Rape. Cf. Pi. fr. 37 Sn., a hymn to Persephone, ap. Paus. 9. 23. 4 *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἄρματι ἄλλαι τε ἐς τὸν Ἅιδην εἰσὶν ἐπικλήσεις καὶ ὁ χρυσήνιος, δῆλα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἁρπαγῇ.* But it has been maintained that the horse could be a symbol of death or of the earth. It is supposedly sacrificed to 'chthonic' powers, i.e. Poseidon and heroes (cf. Stengel, *ARW* 8 (1905), 203 ff. = *Opferbräuche*, 154 ff.). In the case of heroes this is readily understandable (cf. the horses sacrificed on the hero's pyre in Homer, *Il.* 23. 171–2). Poseidon himself, and Demeter-Erinys, take the form of horses in Arcadian and Boeotian legend, and Poseidon Hippios is a common cult-type (cf. Farnell, *Cults*, 4. 14 ff.). The connections between Poseidon and Hades are set out by Malten, 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben', *JDAI* 29 (1914), 179 ff. He sees *Il.* 5. 654 etc. as a picture of Hades carrying off the dead man's soul in his chariot, as he carries off Core: the Rape of Core is the archetype of this theme, which is represented also in an Athenian relief of the rape of Basile by Echelos (= Echelaos, i.e. Hades?), and a funeral feast relief of Zeuxippos (= Hades?) and Basileia. He also identifies as 'Hades figures' others who are associated with horses, Neleus, Admetus, Erichthonius, Erechtheus, and Laomedon, and suggests that the appearance of a horse's head or horse on some funeral reliefs is due to its 'chthonic' significance.

The modern Greek picture of Charos as a rider has also been compared (Maass, *Orpheus*, 219 n. 23; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 105 f.).

For reservations and objections to these theories cf. Farnell, *Cults*, 3. 58 ff., 283. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i[3]. 453 f., accepts Malten's theory as 'possible'. Cf. also Schachermeyr, *Poseidon*, Index s.v. 'Pferd', and Zuntz, *Persephone*, 400–2.

**Κρόνου . . . υἱός:** Homer normally has *Κρόνου πάις* of Zeus, but cf. *Κρόνου νἷε* (*Il.* 13. 345, of Zeus and Poseidon), *Κρόνου υἱέ* (Hes. *Th.* 660, of Zeus).

**πολυώνυμος:** the epithet is not Homeric. It occurs in Hes. *Th.* 785, where it is used of the water of Styx, and is taken to mean 'celebrated'; and in *Ap.* 82, of Apollo, where it refers to the many titles under which he will be worshipped in different places. Hades was worshipped under many euphemistic names: cf. Pi. fr. 37 (sup.), Plat. *Crat.* 403 a *οἱ πολλοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Πλούτωνα καλοῦσιν αὐτόν.* Similar titles are Clymenus, Periclymenus, Euclus (Eucles),

etc.; cf. Rohde, *Psyche*[9], i. 206 ff., and ad *Dem.* 9. Underworld deities especially tend to have many names: they must be propitiated with great care, and are most to be feared. Cf. (e.g.) Virgil, *A.* 7. 337–8.

Numerous attributes increased a deity's prestige: cf. Call. *Hy.* 3. 7, Gow ad Theocr. 15. 109. Repetition in prayer was considered effective, and long lists of titles are common in hymns, and more especially in magic incantations. Cf. *Dem.* 31 f. (n. ad loc.), Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 44 p. 216 R., the Orphic and Vedic hymns, and the Egyptian *Book of the Dead.* (For discussion and examples see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, i. 401 f., Gruppe, *Culte und Mythen*, i. 555 n. 44, Adami, *Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* 1901, 222 f., Pfister, *Bursians Jahresb.* 1931, Supp. 229, p. 200, Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 144 ff., Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 46 f., and other references ad loc., *RE* 9. 143, 11. 2155.)

πολυώνυμος is used of Demeter in Anon. *Hy. Cer.* 1 (cf. ad *Dem.* 1).

**19–32.** Hades carries off Persephone, who cries out to her father Zeus. He does not hear her, nor does anyone else except Helios and Hecate.

These lines are omitted in pap. 1, which quotes *Dem.* 8b–18 and 33–6 (Orph. fr. 49. 63–75). The omission is perhaps due to the fact that 18 = 32. The quotation of 8–18 is apparently intended to illustrate a point about the flowers, especially the narcissus. The addition of 33–6 seems pointless, as the commentator then breaks off, and probably returns to his narrative of the myth at the point where he left off (Orph. fr. 49. 57, 75 f., with app. crit. ad 75 f.). This might suggest that he is quoting from memory, and jumping unintentionally from 18 to 32. But the omission removes the reference to Helios and Hecate as the only witnesses to the Rape, which does not agree with the Orphic version, and the author of this version may have remodelled the *Hymn* to suit his own purposes (cf. ad *Dem.* 54–6, and Introduction, p. 80).

**19.** ἀέκουσαν: cf. *Dem.* 72, 413. Contrast the behaviour of Europa in Moschus, *Eur.* 14 (cf. Bühler ad loc.).

ἐπὶ χρυσέοισιν ὄχοισιν: Hades' chariot is golden, like his reins (Pi. fr. 37 Sn.). It is normal for the gods to have golden things. A chariot of gold does not occur in Homer, although golden fittings for a chariot do (*Il.* 5. 722 ff.). Helios, understandably, has a golden chariot: *Hy.* 31. 15 (cf. E. *El.* 739, *Phoen.* 2; Paus. 2. 3. 2; S. *Aj.* 847). Gold is also symbolic of the underworld: cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, 172, who refers to the golden colour of the narcissus and saffron (*Dem.* 6, 8; cf. ad 428), the Golden Bough, etc. (cf. also ad *Dem.* 335); R. A. Brooks, *AJP* 74 (1953), 260 ff.

ὄχοισιν: Homer has ὄχεσφιν (cf. *Dem.* 375) or ὀχέεσσιν. The second-declension form occurs first here. Cf. Pi. *O.* 6. 24 (ὄκχον), Hdt. 8. 124 (ὄχῳ), and ὄχοι in Attic tragedy. It may be due to an Attic poet, but as he uses the epic form in 375 it is perhaps more likely to be a corruption attracted by χρυσέοισιν (cf. Introduction, p. 54).

In Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus* (fr. 30 Sn.) the Moirai carry Themis to

Olympus from the streams of Oceanus, in a golden chariot, to be Zeus' wife (cf. ad *Dem.* 5). Cf. also Pi. *P.* 9. 5–6: Apollo carries off Cyrene in a golden chariot, and makes her δέσποιναν χθονός. Pindar is following the Hesiodic *Catalogue* here (cf. Schol. Pi. ad loc. = Hes. fr. 215). Cf. also Pi. *O.* 1. 40–2 (Poseidon carries off Pelops on golden horses to heaven), 43–5 (Ganymede), E. *Tro.* 855 (Tithonus carried off on a golden car), and J. T. Kakridis, *Philol.* 85 (1930), 463 ff. n. 31. All these passages suggest that there was a 'typical' epic description for such rapes (cf. also on *Dem.* 40, 44–5, 380 ff., 383).

**20.** There is a nice contrast of tenses here. The imperfect of ἄγω is commonly used in epic: *Il.* 1. 367, 7. 363, 9. 664, etc. (Chantraine, *GH* ii. 192).

**ἰάχησε:** Homer has ἴαχε. Cf. *Hy.* 28. 11 ἰάχησεν, 27. 7 ἰαχεῖ, Call. *Hy.* 4. 146 ἰαχεῦσα. Attic tragedy (only lyric) also uses ἰαχεῖν. Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 14 f., 55.

Persephone's cry is repeatedly mentioned (27, 39, 57, 67, 432). In Indo-European communities the cry for help is an important element of primitive justice, especially in cases of rape or abduction, where failure to set up a cry renders the plaintiff's subsequent plea invalid. Cf. E. *Tro.* 998 ff.: Hecuba rejects Helen's plea of abduction, because she did not cry out (999 f.) and hence can produce no witnesses. This custom is fully discussed by W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 160 ff. Cf. E. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1317, K. Latte, *Hermes* 66 (1931), 39 n. 1, F. Wieacker, *Münchener Beitr. zur Papyrusforsch.* 34 (1944), 156 f.

The cry is often addressed to gods and men (cf. *Dem.* 22): A. *Supp.* 890 ff., 905, S. *OC* 828 f., Ovid *F.* 6. 516 f., Caecilius fr. 211 R.$^3$, Trag. anon. 40 R.$^3$, Schulze, o.c. 174 ff. For the invocation of Zeus (*Dem.* 21) cf. A. *Supp.* 892, E. *El.* 1177 f., Trag. anon. 40 R.$^3$, Schulze, 186. The Sun is summoned as witness in similar contexts: cf. ad *Dem.* 24 ff., Schulze, 182 n. 8. Cf. also the invocation of Zeus and Helios in oaths: *Il.* 3. 276 f., 19. 258 f., etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 21). For invocation of the elements cf. ad *Dem.* 13, 23; for the Sun and Hecate together as witnesses ad *Dem.* 24 ff. Cf. Ovid (*F.* 4. 447 f.):

> illa quidem clamabat 'io, carissima mater,
> auferor!'

Orph. fr. 47 may contain a version of Persephone's plea on her abduction. Demeter, Zeus, and Helios are all mentioned several times in it, and some at least of the elements (fire, air, perhaps also earth). Cf. Zuntz, *Persephone*, 345–54 for a re-examination of this baffling text.

**21. κεκλομένη:** κέλομαι in Homer usually means 'command', but cf. *Il.* 18. 391 (= 'call to'). It is first used here to mean 'invocare': cf. A. *Supp.* 591 etc.

**22–37.** These lines (or 21–37) have been rejected by some critics (Matthiae, Lenz, Stoll, Gemss, Preller; cf. Gemoll ad *Dem.* 21). There is a slight awkwardness in ἄϊεν (25) after ἤκουεν φωνῆς (23), in the addition of 26, and in the repetition in 27a of 21a. But these

features are due to the poet's technique of composition: as he progresses, he gradually alters his construction, and at the end he returns to his starting-point. Cf. Introduction, p. 59, and ad *Dem.* 30–2.

**22.** οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ: this is normal (Denniston, *GP* 193, 510).

**22–3.** Neither gods nor men nor nature heard her: for this threefold division cf. *Dem.* 44–6, *Herm.* 143–5. In all these cases the form is 'no one *either* of gods or men heard (told her, met him), *nor* did the olives hear (birds tell her, dogs bark).' For a positive sentence with similar division cf. *Aph.* 2 ff., also Archil. fr. 177 West. Hor. *AP* 372–3 perhaps parodies the form.

The word-order (two parallel phrases with a verb, followed by the third phrase) occurs also at *Dem.* 33–4. For similar orders cf. *Dem.* 7, 380–2. For the enjambement, and ἤκουεν (runover word with *nu* movable making position) cf. Appendix II, c, and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 55 (who also notes the un-Homeric use of φωνή with ἀκούειν: cf. *Dem.* 57, 284).

**22–4.** οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων . . . (ἤκουεν) . . . εἰ μὴ . . .: cf. *Dem.* 77–8.

**23.** The olives have caused much heart-searching. But cf. ad *Dem.* 22 f. They are a typical feature of the Mediterranean landscape, and so represent the world of nature, the world of nymphs, intermediate between gods and men (cf. *Aph.* 257 ff.: the lives of the wood-nymphs are linked to those of the trees). One should perhaps personify them here, as 'Ελαῖαι? Cf. the Μελίαι, and perhaps also Νῦσαι (ad *Dem.* 17). They could still be ἀγλαόκαρποι (cf. *Dem.* 4).

Trees are not elsewhere gifted with hearing in early epic, but from the idea of their whispering in the wind or echoing (cf. *Hy.* 27. 7) came that of their listening and replying, talking, singing, or lamenting. This is common in later bucolic poetry, and in fables (cf. Call. fr. 194. 7 and Pf. ad loc., Aesop. 325 Cha. = 385 Ha., H. Diels, *Internat. Wochenschr.* 4 (1910), 993–1002).

The elements of nature are frequently invoked as witnesses (cf. ad *Dem.* 13, 20): cf. *Il.* 3. 27 ff. etc., and often in tragedy (A. *PV.* 88 ff., S. *Aj.* 856 ff., *Ant.* 844 ff., *Phil.* 936 ff., 1453 ff., *OT* 1391 ff., E. *Alc.* 244 ff., etc.). Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 963 f. (West ad loc.).

In the story of St. Demetra told to Lenormant in 1860 by an Albanian priest at Eleusis (Lenormant, *Monographie de la voie sacrée éleusinienne*, (Paris, 1864), 399 ff.; cf. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 80 ff.), this feature is reflected in folk-tale form. Demeter began her search for her daughter, carried off by the wicked Turkish lord of Souli, by asking her neighbours, who dared not tell her anything. She then 'turned her inquiries to the tree that grew before her house; but the tree could tell her nothing'. She went on to ask the sun, moon, and stars (cf. *Dem.* 24 ff., 62 ff.), and finally learnt the truth from a stork nesting on the house top (cf. *Dem.* 46). This example shows how easily the epic narrative of the *Hymn* may be turned into 'folk-tale'. On the many folk-tale features of the *Hymn* itself cf. also Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 510 f. For a tree as witness of a crime in folk-tales cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif Index*, D. 1393. 4.

Wilamowitz (*Aus Kydathen*, 125 n. 43) for some reason thought it 'un-Attic' to give the olives a soul, and also supposed that they were being ascribed to Demeter (cf. *Glaube*, ii. 45 n. 2).

Kerényi (*Eleusis*, 36 f.) suggests that the olives were originally those around the well Callichoron, the original site of Persephone's disappearance at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 99 f.).

**24–6. Hecate and Helios**

Hecate first appears in Hes. *Th.* 409–52, where she receives a special 'hymn', and is an important figure (cf. West ad *Th.* 404 ff.). There she is the daughter of Perses and Asterie (*Th.* 409 ff.). Cf. Apollod. 1. 2. 4, A.R. 3. 467, and ad *Dem.* 24. For other accounts of her parentage cf. Schol. A.R. 3. 467, 1035. She is also mentioned in the *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 262).

She seems to have come to Greece from Caria (cf. T. Kraus, *Hecate* (Heidelberg, 1960), 20). Her main cult-centre there was Lagina. It is not known when she first arrived in Greece, but evidently her cult was firmly rooted by the time of Hesiod and the *Hymn*. The oldest representation of her on the mainland is a terracotta seated statue of the late sixth century. Her presence at Eleusis as an 'attendant' of Persephone is attested at *Dem.* 440. It is generally assumed that she is to be identified here with Artemis Propylaea, who shared a temple with Poseidon Pater at the entrance to the sanctuary (Paus. 1. 38. 6; cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 167 f., Kraus, o.c. 63, 93). The temple is not aligned with the Greater Propylaea, and this suggests that it existed before the Propylaea were built. Remains of a cult-building of the Geometric period were found under it (cf. Kraus, 93; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 60, 167 f.).

Hecate is represented on vase-paintings, assisting at the Anodos of Persephone (Beazley, *ARV*² 1012. 1 = Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 619, No. 14; cf. also Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.* 1933–5, 1 ff.), and probably also (on south Italian vases) at the Rape (Schauenburg, *Jahrb. des d. arch. Inst.* 73 (1958), 57 f.), and present at the mission of Triptolemus (Beazley, *ARV*² 1191. 1). Cf. Kraus, 92 f., Metzger, *Recherches*, 11, 16, 25. She may also be depicted on the Niinnion tablet (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 88) leading the mystae to the Sanctuary at Eleusis (Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge*, 66; Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* 2. 202; E. Simon, *Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 89). On South Italian vases she is sometimes shown beside Persephone and Pluto in Hades (e.g. *Mon. Ant.* 16 (1906), 517, pl. III). In the fifth century she is depicted as a young woman similar to Artemis in appearance, and with nothing uncanny or unusual about her. This fits her description in the *Hymn* as *ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα*, and the picture of her in Hes. *Th.* 409 ff., where she is 'a healthy, independent and open-minded goddess' (West, 277). In Pindar, *Paean* 2. 49 f. she is called *παρθένος εὐμενής*. As *κουροτρόφος* (*Th.* 450–2) she is a suitable companion to Persephone.

In the *Hymn*, she is very much a 'Nebenfigur': she does not tell Demeter anything new (54 ff.), but acts as her attendant when they

go to Helios (60 ff.). Her appearance is presumably due to her position in the cult (cf. Walton, *HTR* 45 (1952), 105 ff., Kraus, 63 f.), but it fits well with Hes. *Th.* 429 ᾧ δ' ἐθέλει μεγάλως παραγίγνεται ἠδ' ὀνίνησιν (cf. ad *Dem.* 52 ἤντετο).

In another version (Call. fr. 466 Pf.; cf. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 438 n. 6), Hecate brings Persephone up from Hades (cf. the vase-painting above): this is done by Demeter herself in *Orph. Hy.* 41. 3 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff.). Wehrli (*ARW* 31 (1934), 82 ff.) suggests that Hecate and Demeter are 'doubles' in these myths, but this seems unlikely.

Hecate's cave (*Dem.* 25) has been taken as her Zerinthian cave on Samothrace (Kern, *RE* 16. 1213. 11 ff., assumes that this points to Ionian composition for the *Hymn*; cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 51 n. 1). There is no necessity to suppose this. Nor does the cave make her a moon-goddess (cf. Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 25; *contra*: Kraus, 63 f. n. 306), although her association with Helios might also suggest this. Hecate as the moon first appears with certainty in the Hellenistic period (Kraus, 87. On S. fr. 535 P. cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 173, Kraus, l.c.). Her cave and torches (*Dem.* 52) may both be due to her 'chthonic' associations (cf. Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 509 f., Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 396 f. n. 4). The Greek moon-goddess does not have torches (Kraus, 127). The cave is perhaps one of the two grottoes inside the Sanctuary, before which the later temple of Pluto was built (cf. Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* ii. 189). The temple of Artemis Propylaea lay quite near to this.

Helios as witness and guardian of right dealing is in the epic manner (*Od.* 8. 271, 302; later in A. *Cho.* 986 f., *PV* 91, S. *Aj.* 857, E. *Med.* 125 f., A.R. 4. 229 etc.; cf. ad *Dem.* 20, 69 f.). But his place in the story perhaps goes back beyond its form in Greek epic. In the Ugaritic *Poem of Baal*, 'Anat enlists the support of Shapash, the Sun-goddess, in the recovery of Baal's body (Pritchard, *ANET*[2] 139, 141; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1950), 194 f., 202). The Sun-god's role in the Hittite myth of Telepinu has also been compared (Gaster, o.c. 195). Telepinu has withdrawn from the gods in anger, causing a general blight. The Sun-god institutes proceedings to get him back (Gaster, 361 f.). These myths show other resemblances to the *Hymn* (cf. ad *Dem.* 40 ff., 305 ff.).

The Sun, Moon, and stars are regularly approached for information in mythology and folk-tales: cf. Roscher, 1. 2019 f., Apollod. 1. 6. 1 (Sun, Moon, and Dawn forbidden to reveal whereabouts of magic herb), Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], 2. 590, the modern Greek version of the story of Persephone (ad *Dem.* 23), and Ov. *F.* 4. 575 ff., where Ceres consults the Plough stars, who send her to the Sun. Cf. especially Ov. *F.* 4. 581 f.:

> crimine Nox vacua est, Solem de virgine rapta
> consule, qui late facta diurna videt.

Similarly here, Hecate in her cave (as a goddess of the night? Cf. ad *Dem.* 52) only hears, and cannot tell Demeter anything, whereas

Helios both hears and sees. There is a slight awkwardness in this, since 24–6 suggest that Helios only heard. But we should not conclude from this that two separate versions are being run together (as Wegener, *Philologus* 35 (1876), 227 ff., and Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 82 ff., suggest). Hecate and Helios are invoked together by Medea (as priestess of one and granddaughter of the other) in S. fr. 535 P. (cf. above), and A.R. 4. 1019 f.

In the Orphic version, Demeter receives her information from the inhabitants of Eleusis. Cf. Introduction, pp. 81 f. and ad *Dem.* 75 ff.

Helios is portrayed together with Demeter, Hecate, and Eos on one of the Locrian *pinakes* (cf. ad *Dem.* 51–89). For representations of Helios as a witness of the Rape cf. K. Schauenburg, *Helios* (Berlin, 1955), 41 ff. These are not numerous, and one at least (Winckelmann, *Mon. Ant. Ined.* ii. 22; Schauenburg, n. 387) is highly questionable. For the Sun's importance in later mystery-cults cf. W. Burkert, *Phronesis* 14 (1969), 1 ff.

**24. Περσαίου θυγάτηρ:** as the daughter of Perses she is called *Περσείη* (Call. fr. 474(?), *Orph. Hy.* 1. 4, *Hy. mag.* 21. 2 (vol. 3, p. 42 Pr.; cf. vol. 1, pp. 142, 158, 160), *IG* 14. 1017, Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 6. 495), and *Περσαίη* is an attractive suggestion. But mythological names fluctuate and *Περσαίου* may be right. Note that Perses' brother is called *Ἀστραῖος* (Hes. *Th.* 376).

**ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα:** this is used of *ἠΐθεοι* in *Il.* 18. 567, and of a child in Hes. *Th.* 989. Cf. *Il.* 6. 400 *παῖδ' ἀταλάφρονα*, 20. 222 *πώλοισιν . . . ἀταλῇσι*, *Od.* 11. 39 *παρθενικαί τ' ἀταλαί*. The meaning appears to be something like 'with youthful spirit' (rather than 'with kind intent', Allen and Halliday). Cf. also *ἀταλώτατα παίζει* on the eighth-century Dipylon jug (*IG* i². 919; Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, no. 53), and *ἀτάλλειν* (= 'play, leap' in *Il.* 13. 27; but also 'bring up, nourish', *Herm.* 400 etc., or 'be brought up', Hes. *Op.* 130). It has been suggested that the original form was *ἀ-ταλάφρων*, meaning 'timid' (cf. M. Leumann, *Glotta* 15 (1927), 153–5, *Hom. Wörter*, 139–41). Leumann assumes that in *Il.* 6. 400 the word was misunderstood as 'childish', and *ἀταλαφρονέων* formed, from which with false division *ἀταλός* was created, and finally *ἀτάλλω*. For criticisms of Leumann's theory cf. Bolling, *Language* 27 (1951), 73 f., also West ad *Th.* 989, Sealey, *RÉG* 70 (1957), 334 f., Frisk s.v. (Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos*, 46 ff., defends Leumann.)

On the youthful appearance of Hecate cf. ad *Dem.* 24 ff.

**25. ἄϊεν:** on the repetition after *ἤκουεν* (23) cf. ad *Dem.* 22–37. The sentence is built up piece by piece: 'No one . . . heard her voice—nor did the olives—except (that) Persaeus' daughter heard—Hecate—and Helios—the girl as she cried out . . .'

**ἐξ ἄντρου:** cf. A.R. 3. 1212 f. (quoted on p. 97), and ad *Dem.* 24 ff.

**λιπαροκρήδεμνος:** also of Charis (*Il.* 18. 382), Rhea (*Dem.* 458). Cf. *λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα* (*Od.* 1. 334 etc.), and on *κρήδεμνον* cf. ad *Dem.* 41. The adjective suggests that it was of linen: cf. *Il.* 3. 141, 14. 184 f., E. B. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (London, 1908), 35.

**26.** In Homer, Hyperion is normally used as an epithet, or by itself, for the Sun (*Il.* 8. 480 etc.). In origin it is a comparative of ὕπερος (cf. Lat. *superior*). In *Od.* 12. 176 the Sun is called Ὑπεριονίδης: this is not necessarily a patronymic (cf. Merry and Riddell on *Od.* 1. 8, Usener, *Götternamen*, 20 ff.). But Hes. *Th.* 374 makes him the son of the Titan Hyperion. Cf. *Hy.* 28. 13, 31. 4, and Ὑπεριονίδης in Hes. *Th.* 1011, *Dem.* 74, and later poets. Many of these also use Hyperion for the Sun, and make Hyperionides his son. Cf. *RE* 9. 287 f.

**27 ff.** Zeus' absence is a matter of convenience, as one might be 'out' to callers in the past. His design is still at work (*Dem.* 30). There is no contradiction here (cf. ad *Dem.* 3).

For the absence (ἀποδημία) of a deity cf. also *Il.* 1. 423 ff., *Od.* 1. 22 ff., Theocr. 1. 66 f. (Gow ad loc.), Hermocles (p. 174, Powell), 15 ff. If he wished, a god could hear wherever he was: *Il.* 16. 514 ff. Normally, however, the deity was considered to visit the temple where he received his honours: so here, *Dem.* 302 ff., 355 f., *Ap.* 347 f., Pi. *P.* 4. 5, Call. fr. 75. 26, Cat. 64. 387 ff. (where Bährens's conjecture *residens* is supported by *Od.* 1. 26, *Dem.* 28, etc.).

**28.** **ἧστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε:** on the position of θεῶν see Appendix V.

**πολυλλίστῳ:** 'full of prayers'; cf. Bacch. 10. 41 (βωμός). In *Od.* 5. 445 it is used of a god (cf. later πολύλλιτος Call. *Hy.* 2. 80, 4. 316, etc.). For a doublet of the formula cf. *Dem.* 355.

**29.** **δέγμενος:** Cobet objected to taking this as an aorist form, and wanted to read δέχμενος, as an athematic present. Schol. A ad *Il.* 9. 191 (and one MS.) have this, and Herodian read δεδεχμένος at *Il.* 8. 296; cf. Hsch. s.v. δέχμενος· προσδιαδεχόμενος.

The athematic present is attested by δέχαται (*Il.* 12. 147), but one expects *δέγμαι (etc.) with assimilation before the *mu*, and there is no reason to follow Cobet. Cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 296, Leaf ad *Il.* 2. 794, van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 384 f.

**30–2.** The poet returns to the main theme of the Rape, and repeats 17b–20a in the reverse order:

30a ~ 19a, 20a
31b ~ 17b (πολυδέγμων)
32 = 18.

Cf. ad *Dem.* 22–37, and Introduction, p. 59.

**30.** **Διὸς ἐννεσίῃσι:** cf. *Dem.* 3, 27 f. (also 414 f.). ἐννεσίη occurs once in Homer; cf. Hes. *Th.* 494, Call. *Hy.* 3. 108 etc. It is a metrically lengthened form of ἐνεσίη (see W. F. Wyatt Jr., *Metrical Lengthening in Homer* (Rome, 1969), 94).

The formula is a doublet of the Hesiodic *Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς* (*Th.* 572, *Op.* 71: cf. ad *Dem.* 414), which would be unsuitable here, owing to the ambiguity of *Κρονίδεω*.

**31.** This line, composed simply of three epithets, with its threefold alliteration, is very unusual and impressive. There is also a triple repetition of πολυ- in 31–2. Three-word lines are rare in Homer: cf. Bassett, *CP* 12 (1917), 97 ff., who notes only *Il.* 2. 706, 11. 427, 15. 678,

*Od.* 10. 137. Three of these have αὐτοκασίγνητος (etc.) with a genitival name+epithet formula. The fourth (*Il.* 15. 678), is a special case: δυωκαιεικοσίπηχυ need not be regarded as a single word. In the *Hymns*, cf. 27. 3 (αὐτοκασιγνήτην . . .). The only other early epic example which I know is Hes. *Op.* 383, the first line of the 'Works' part of the poem (cf. C. Bradford Welles, *GRBS* 8 (1967), 13, who notes its impressive character, and compares *Op.* 1). Bassett collects only 8 other examples from later verse (add (?) Call. fr. 21. 4). Cf. also Bassett, *CP* 14 (1919), 216 ff., 'Versus Tetracolos'.

Verses consisting only of epithets or accumulations are also rare in epic (cf. *Od.* 15. 406, Hes. *Th.* 320, 925), but a regular feature of hymns: cf. *Herm.* 13–15, 436, *Hy.* 19. 37, 27. 2 f., also 19. 2, 23. 2; and in the later period the Orphic hymns, some of which consist almost entirely of a string of epithets, and the 'Homeric' *Hymn to Ares* (which probably belongs to the hymns of Proclus: cf. Introduction, p. 3). Cf. also Bühler, *Moschus, Europa*, pp. 212 ff.

For alliteration of names beginning with *Π-* cf. *Il.* 11. 490 f., *Od.* 22. 423, Lehrs, *Aristarchus*, 461; and for repetition of part of a word cf. *Il.* 2. 325 (ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον), and Lehrs, o.c. 473 f.

Here, the language perhaps recalls that of magic incantation, where repetition is normal (cf. ad *Dem.* 228–30). For marked alliteration in a prayer cf. *Il.* 10. 288–90. For alliteration in general in Homer and Hesiod cf. ad *Dem.* 289 f. (also *Dem.* 46).

**πατροκασίγνητος:** Hades is Persephone's uncle. Such marriages are not uncommon in Greek mythology. Cf. Alcinous and Arete (*Od.* 7. 63–6), Iapetus and Clymene (Hes. *Th.* 507 f.), Cretheus and Tyro (Hes. fr. 38), (?) Orthos and Chimaera (Hes. *Th.* 326 f., West ad loc.), Electryon and Anaxo (Apollod. 2. 4. 5), Butes and Chthonia (3. 15. 1), Phineus and Andromeda (2. 4. 3), etc.

**πολυσημάντωρ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 9. The word occurs only here, and at *Dem.* 84, 376. Cf. σημάντωρ, *Il.* 8. 127 etc.

**33–50.** As long as Persephone could see the upper world, she still hoped to see her mother and the other gods. The mountains and sea echoed her cry, and Demeter heard her. She was distraught with grief. She tore her head-dress, and put on a black veil. Then she rushed over the earth, looking for her daughter. No one would tell her the truth, and for nine days she roamed the earth, with torches in her hands, and would not taste of nectar and ambrosia, or wash herself.

**33 ff.** In Orph. *Hy.* 18. 13 Hades carries Persephone over the sea to Eleusis, where they go down to the underworld (cf. ad *Dem.* 17). There is no suggestion of this here. 'Earth, heaven, sea, and sun' is a form of expression for 'the (upper) world'. Cf. ad *Dem.* 13 f., 380 ff. (where there is also a journey over sea and land).

There is no mention in the *Hymn* of Persephone's descent with Hades. This was important in the cult (cf. ad *Dem.* 16), and one expects something about it after *Dem.* 33–6. It might have occurred in the lacuna after *Dem.* 37 (cf. ad loc.), but as the location of the Rape

is mythical rather than actual, the poet may have avoided mentioning the place of the descent.

**33. μὲν οὖν:** in Homer this always refers back, and usually this is made explicit by an echoed word (e.g. *Il.* 9. 543–50, where cf. 550 f.). Here, and in *Herm.* 577, it is purely transitional. It is used with increasing frequency in early epic (once in the *Iliad*, five times in the *Odyssey*, and four times in the *Hymns*). Cf. Denniston, *GP* 470 f.

**34. λεῦσσε θεά:** for the word-order cf. ad *Dem.* 7, 22 f., 380–2. On the position of *θεά*, after a verb in the first trochee, with enjambement, see Appendix V.

**πόντον ἀγάρροον ἰχθυόεντα:** this looks like a 'combination formula' (cf. Introduction, p. 50). *ἀγάρροος* is used by Homer only of the Hellespont, for which it is much more suitable ('strong-flowing'). Cf. *AP* 7. 747 (of the Tigris), Q.S. 10. 174 (of a river in flood).

The opposite development has perhaps occurred in the case of *Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων* (*Il.* 24. 545), which may derive from *πόντος ἀπείρων* (Hes. *Th.* 678; cf. *ἀπείρονα/ι πόντον/ῳ* in Homer). Cf. Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 50.

Cf. also *Il.* 9. 360 *Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα* ~ *πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα* (5 times in Hom.), J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford, 1968), 124.

The phrase is also a doublet of *πόντον ἀπείρονα κυμαίνοντα* (*Od.* 4. 510). On 'sea formulae' in Homer cf. D. H. F. Gray, *CQ* 41 (1947), 109 ff. (= Kirk, *Language and Background of Homer*, 55 ff.), Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 225 ff., Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 45 ff.

**35. ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο:** the digamma in *ἔλπομαι* is several times neglected in Homer: cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 133, and especially *Il.* 15. 539, 701, 24. 491, *Od.* 9. 419. The augmented form occurs in most manuscripts at *Il.* 15. 539, 701, 17. 603 (*ἔλπετο* Ar.), *Od.* 9. 419. The papyrus omits δ' here, and its quotation breaks off after *Dem.* 36. The omission of δ' is probably due to carelessness. The papyrus commentator is perhaps quoting from memory (cf. ad *Dem.* 19–32).

It is tempting to make *ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο* (etc.) the apodosis of *Dem.* 33 ff., as *Dem.* 37 is suspect (cf. ad loc.). In that case, 37 could have been added later, by someone who failed to realize this. This was the view of Mitscherlich.

**36. φῦλα . . . αἰειγενετάων:** *θεῶν φῦλον* or *φῦλα* is used almost always in the context of someone going to join them (which is implied here). Cf. *Dem.* 322, 443, 461, etc., similarly *Dem.* 484 (etc.) and P. Oxy. 2509. 10, 16 (Hesiod, *Catalogue*?); West ad *Th.* 202.

**37.** This verse is omitted in the quotation in the Orphic papyrus (cf. ad *Dem.* 35). It had already been suspected, and seems very weak. It adds little, if anything, to the sense of 35–6. *μέγαν νόον* is more suitable in Hes. *Th.* 37, where it is used of Zeus, than here. Hermann also objected that there is a break in the narrative after *Dem.* 37, and that one expects a sentence answering 33 (*ὄφρα μὲν οὖν . . .*) of which the sense would be 'but when she was entering the gaping earth and realized that she was being carried down to the under-

world, then indeed she despaired and cried out still more vehemently than before.' 38 ff., describing the effect of her cry, then follow naturally. A reference to the descent of Persephone would also be supplied (cf. ad *Dem.* 33–6).

It is possible that *Dem.* 37 was added to supply a lacuna of some kind (cf. Introduction, p. 66). The sense of this may have been simply 'so long she continued to cry out' (*vel sim.*). But see also on *Dem.* 35.

**οἱ . . . ἀχνυμένης περ:** for the combination of dative and genitive cf. *Il.* 14. 25 f., 16. 531, *Od.* 6. 155, 14. 527 etc.; Chantraine, *GH* ii. 322 f.

If the line is genuine, the poet may have had *Il.* 22. 424 in mind (cf. ad *Dem.* 38–46).

**38 ff.** The poet was perhaps influenced here by *Il.* 22. 401 ff.:

*Il.* 22. 401–2 ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται* | κυάνεαι* ~ *Dem.* 40, 42.
405–7 ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ* | τίλλε κόμην, ἀπὸ δὲ λιπαρὴν ἔρριψε καλύπτρην | τηλόσε, κώκυσεν δὲ . . . ~ *Dem.* 39–42.
[424 ἀχνύμενός περ* ~ *Dem.* 37.]
425 ἄχος ὀξὺ . . . ~ *Dem.* 40.
438 οὐ γάρ οἵ τις ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἐλθών ~ *Dem.* 46.
447 (Andromache hears the cries) ~ *Dem.* 39.
460–1 διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση ~ *Dem.* 43, 386.
παλλομένη κραδίην· ἅμα δ'* ~ *Dem.* 293.
468–70 τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα . . . κρήδεμνόν θ' . . . ~ *Dem.* 40–1.

Note also *Il.* 22. 87 ~ *Dem.* 66; 94 ~ 354; 146* ~ 177 (~ *Il.* 22. 401); 263* ~ 434; 482* ~ 340, 398, 415; 490* ~ 140.

Cf. Introduction, pp. 31 f. (The parallel with *Il.* 22. 461 is noted by C. P. Segal, *HSCP* 75 (1971), 44 n. 22.)

**38. ἤχησαν:** the simple verb is not found in Homer, but cf. *περιήχησεν Il.* 7. 267. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 42, 835 and for the hills echoing also *Hy.* 19. 21. The idea of the depths of the sea echoing is poetic hyperbole: the phrase was perhaps prompted by *Il.* 1. 157, 357–8.

**ὀρέων κορυφαί:** a (grammatical) formula-variant: cf. formulaic parallels (p. 30), and for the nominative Alcm. *PMG* 89. 1.

**βένθεα πόντου:** not in Homer or Hesiod, cf. formulaic parallels.

**39.** This appears to contradict *Dem.* 22 ff. But probably the poet is simply telling his story progressively: '(at first) no one (except . . .) heard. But when Persephone ⟨continued to cry?⟩ her mother heard her.' Cf. ad *Dem.* 22–37.

**πότνια μήτηρ:** in Homer *πότνια* is used generally, as an epithet of a goddess, mother, nymph, etc. In the *Hymn* it is several times applied to Demeter (47, 54, 118, 203, 211, 492). Later, we find *Πότνιαι* used especially of Demeter and Core:

(i) at Eleusis: S. *OC* 1050. At the climax of the Mysteries the hierophant cried out *ἱερὸν ἔτεκε Πότνια Κοῦρον, Βριμὼ Βριμόν* (Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 5. 8. 39 p. 96. 16 W.; cf. Introduction, pp. 26 ff.).

(ii) at Athens, in the Thesmophoria: Ar. *Thesm.* 1149, 1156 (cf. ad *Dem.* 211).

(iii) at Potniae in Boeotia: Paus. 9. 8. 1. The place derives its name from the two goddesses.

(iv) at Mycale: Hdt. 9. 97 (*Ποτνιεῖς*); Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inschr. v. Priene*, no. 196 (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 774. 3); cf. ad *Dem.* 203.

It is used of Core alone by Pi. fr. 37 Sn., and perhaps in Theocr. 15. 14 (cf. Schol. ad loc.).

**40 ff.** Demeter's grief and her search for her daughter are said to have formed one of the subjects of the 'mystic drama' enacted at Eleusis. Cf. Clem. *Protr.* 2. 12. 2 p. 11. 20 St.: 'Demeter and Core have come to be the subject of a mystic drama, and Eleusis celebrates with torches the abduction of the daughter and the sorrowful wanderings of the mother'; Lact. *Div. Inst. Epit.* 18 (23). 7: 'in the Mysteries of Demeter during the night with torches kindled they seek for Persephone, and when she is found the whole ritual closes with thanksgiving and tossing of torches'; and Deubner, *AF* 84 n. 8.

What form this drama took, where and how it was enacted, whether the initiates took part, and if in fact it took place in Attic Eleusis at all, are disputed questions: cf. Introduction, pp. 24 ff. It is possible that the dancing with torches, which formed part of the pannychis after the Iacchus procession, represented in a formal way Demeter's sorrow and searching, and her subsequent joy at her daughter's recovery. Cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff., and the late Greek phrase *ἐξορχεῖσθαι τὰ μυστήρια* meaning 'to reveal them' (Lucian, *de Salt.* 15, *Pisc.* 33, etc.): this, however, does not necessarily refer to Eleusis. (Cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 662 f., Farnell, *Cults*, 3. 182, Casel, *De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico* (Giessen, 1919), 7 f.)

One may also note that the dancing around Callichoron involved singing in honour of Demeter (Paus. 1. 38. 6). These songs perhaps included narratives of the Eleusinian myths.

Demeter's grief and wandering are described in language similar to that used of Aphrodite searching for the lost Adonis, and 'Anat mourning for Baal. Cf. Bion 1 (*Epitaphios Adonidos*). 20 ff. *λυσαμένα πλοκαμῖδας ἀνὰ δρύμως ἀλάληται, | πενθαλέα νήπλεκτος ἀσάνδαλος* (etc.), and Gaster, *Thespis*, 194 (Pritchard, *ANET*² 139), 199 (~ Ov. *F.* 4. 495 f.). Cf. also E. *Hel.* 1301 ff., *PMG* 935. 4 ff. (*Μάτηρ θεῶν* = Demeter); Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 14 (356 d) *τὴν δ' Ἶσιν αἰσθομένην κείρασθαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν πλοκάμων ἕνα καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν . . . πλανωμένην δὲ πάντῃ καὶ ἀποροῦσαν οὐδένα προσελθεῖν ἀπροσαύδητον . . .* The rape of Ganymede provides a parallel for the parent's grief: cf. *Aph.* 207–8 *Τρῶα δὲ πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχε φρένας* (etc.), and ad *Dem.* 19, 383.

**40.** For the double accusative cf. *Dem.* 90, *Il.* 2. 171, etc., Chantraine, *GH* ii. 42.

**ἄχος:** cf. *Dem.* 90, 436. The cult title of Demeter *Ἀχαιά* (or *Ἀχαία*), which she had in Athens, the Attic tetrapolis, and Boeotia (Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 69 ff.) was sometimes explained as due to her *ἄχος* for Per-

sephone: Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 69 (378 e), Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 708, Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 486, Hsch., *Suda*, *Et. Magn.* s.v.

**40 f. χαίταις ἀμβροσίαις:** the dative in *-αις* occurs also at *Dem.* 205 (ad fin. vers.), 308 (ad fin.), 441 (*ταῖς* init.). In Homer, it is only found at *Il.* 12. 284 (ad fin.), *Od.* 22. 471 (ad fin.), 5. 119 (*θεαῖς* before a vowel; v.l. *θεᾶς*), and as a variant at *Il.* 1. 238 etc. It is commoner in Hesiod: *Th.* 61 (ad fin.), 70 (init.), 215 (*αἷς*); cf. West ad loc. Cf. also frr. 203. 2, 305. 3, and in the *Hymns*, *Aph.* 249 (*αἷς*), *Herm.* 200 (*ταῖσδε*), 19. 3, 24, 33. 16.

Its presence in Homer is unexplained (Chantraine, *GH* i. 202). Wackernagel (*Spr. Unters.* 53 f.) regards it as an Atticism. In Hesiod it might be due to the influence of the poet's own dialect (West, 177). But in this hymn it can hardly be due to the influence of spoken Attic upon an Attic poet, since the archaic Attic forms were *-ηϲι*, *-ᾱϲι* (cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 104. 7, Barrett ad E. *Hipp.* 101). Cf. ad *Dem.* 368 (*θυϲίαιϲι*), Introduction, pp. 53 f., and Appendix II, B (4).

Here the phrase is due to adaptation of the nominative formula *ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται* (*Il.* 6. 509 etc.). Cf. Hes. *Th.* 61 *ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἐχούϲαις* ~ *Op.* 112, 170 *ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες*.

**41.** Demeter tears her head-dress: cf. *Il.* 22. 405 ff., 468 ff. (ad *Dem.* 38–46), where the head-dress is cast away in grief. Normally it is the hair which is torn: *Il.* 18. 27, 22. 405 f. etc.; cf. *PMG* 935. 7 (where West (*CQ* 1970, 213) reads *ϲύρουϲα ῥυτὰν κόμαν*; cf. Maas, *Epid. Hymnen* ad loc.), Ov. *M.* 5. 472, Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 14 (ad *Dem.* 40 ff.), where Isis cuts her hair. Cf. Ov. *F.* 4. 457 f.:

> mentis inops rapitur, ut quas audire solemus
> Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis (~ *Dem.* 386).

**κρήδεμνα:** used of a veil (or shawl). The plural is probably for metrical convenience. After Homer, *κρήδεμνον* occurs in poetry, and also in the inventory of the Samian Heraeum (cf. *AM* 68 (1953), 46 ff.). It is used figuratively at *Dem.* 151 (etc.). Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 385 ff., H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster, 1966), 60 n. 32, 103 n. 108.

**42. κυάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα:** for Demeter's black mourning veil and peplos cf. *Dem.* 182 f., 319, 360, 374. *κυάνεοϲ* is used especially of the mourning dress of deities: cf. *Il.* 24. 93 f., West ad Hes. *Th.* 406. *κάλυμμα* occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 24. 93 f.), where it is used of a mourning veil, but in later poetry it is used generally of any veil (Bacch. 16. 38 etc.). The poet perhaps chose it here because it is associated with mourning in Homer (Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 386).

Cf. the name of the spring *Κυάνη* at Syracuse, into which, according to the Sicilian legend, Hades and Persephone vanished: Diod. 5. 4. 2 (cf. Ov. *M.* 5. 409 ff., Claud. *RP* 3. 246 ff., Ziegler, *RE* 9. 2234). Here, the name probably reflects the cult which was practised at the spring (cf. ad *Dem.* 99; Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941), 247). Cf. also the cult of Demeter Melaena in Arcadia (Paus. 8. 5. 8, 42, Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 50 ff., *RE* 4. 2734).

There is no direct evidence for the wearing of special clothing at Eleusis in the early period (Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge*, 14 ff.), but this is suggested by Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 845, *IG* ii². 1672. 229 (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 279). In A.D. 166–9 the ephebes accompanying the procession to Eleusis were provided with white clothing instead of black (*IG* ii². 2090, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2. 1 p. 59. 12). This is stated to have been the first occasion when it was done, but it may in fact have been a revival of an earlier custom (cf. Varro, *Sesculixes*, fr. 462 Bücheler; Münscher, *RE* 8. 942. 39 ff.). White was prescribed for the Mysteries at Andania (*IG* 5. 1. 1390. 16 ff.), and was also worn in the Roman festival of Ceres (Ov. *M.* 10. 432, *F.* 4. 619 f.; cf. Bömer, Frazer ad loc.). Similarly, the initiates at both Andania and Lycosura were forbidden to wear a veil or have their hair bound up (*IG* 5. 1. 1390. 20 ff., 2. 514. 9 ff.), and this was also the case at Alexandria (Call. *Hy.* 6. 5, 124; cf. Schneider, Cahen ad loc.; Legrand, *REA* 3 (1901), 290 n. 3).

In these cases, the prohibitions would be explained as preventing the initiates from following the example of Demeter in her sorrow (cf. ad *Dem.* 6 ff., 47 ff., 98 f.). For the possibility that *Dem.* 176 ff. also reflect this practice cf. ad loc. Cf. also T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griech. Kult* (Giessen, 1910), 16 f.; K. Mayer, *Die Bedeutung d. weissen Farbe im Kultus* (etc.) (Diss. Freiburg, 1927), 19 ff.; Radke, *Die Bedeutung d. weissen und d. schwarzen Farbe im Kult* (etc.) (Diss. Berlin, 1936), 57 ff. See Addenda.

P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, however, in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 196 (1970), 113 ff., argues that the initiates wore *black*, in imitation of Demeter.

**43. ceύατο:** cf. *Il.* 22. 460 (ad *Dem.* 38–46), E. *Hel.* 1302 (see parallels, p. 99).

**ὥc τ' οἰωνόc:** gods flying or moving are often compared to birds in epic, *Il.* 5. 778, 15. 237, 19. 350, *Od.* 5. 52, *Ap.* 114. Sometimes they appear to take the form of birds: *Il.* 7. 58 f., 14. 289, *Od.* 1. 320, 3. 371 f., 5. 337, 22. 239 f. For the origins of this cf. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*², 491 f.; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* (Leipzig, 1902), 34. Here the comparison is of course poetic. See also Addenda.

**ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρήν:** for the omission of the nouns referring to land and sea cf. West ad *Th.* 440, and *Ap.* 529, *Aph.* 123.

**44. ἐτήτυμα μυθήcacθαι:** this (Hesiodic) formula is a doublet of the Homeric *ἀληθέα μυθήcacθαι* (*Il.* 6. 382 etc., *Dem.* 121).

**44–5.** Cf. Pi. *O.* 1. 46 (after Pelops was carried off by Poseidon) *οὐδὲ ματρὶ πολλὰ μαιόμενοι φῶτες ἄγαγον*. Cf. ad *Dem.* 19.

**45. ἤθελεν:** Wegener (*Philol.* 35 (1876), 231) supposed that this implied a version in which no one wanted to tell Demeter, although they knew, for fear of Zeus' anger (cf. Claud. *RP* 3. 292 f.). But it means simply 'no one *would* tell', i.e. because they could not. Cf. Leaf ad *Il.* 21. 366 for this use of *ἐθέλειν*.

**46.** Cf. ad *Dem.* 22 f. For birds as messengers cf. Hes. fr. 123, Call. fr. 260. 27 ff., 261 (Pf. ad loc.), and perhaps *Il.* 19. 545 ff. Here the bird would probably be an omen: cf. *Herm.* 213 f. The bird as messenger is a very common motif in folk-tales. Cf. (e.g.) ad *Dem.* 23.

οἰωνῶν: perhaps placed first to contrast with θεῶν, ἀνθρώπων.

τῇ: for its position cf. *Dem.* 17, *Il.* 14. 78, Hes. *Sc.* 210. Note the (unintentional) repetition of οἰωνός, ἐτήτυμος in 43 f., 46. Cf. Introduction, p. 6.

## 47. Torches, fasting, and abstention from washing

Demeter's wandering over the earth with torches is supposed to have been represented in the 'mystic drama' enacted at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 40 ff.). Torches were certainly used in the Iacchus processions and the subsequent pannychis (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 340 ff., 351 ff., 448; E. *Ion* 1074 ff.; and the Niinnion tablet, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 88). This may have included some kind of running or dancing with torches: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4. 8. 50 f. (ad *Dem.* 59–61; but it is uncertain to what festival this refers); *Dem.* 48 (στρωφᾶτο) ~ 61 (ἤϊξε). The shaking or tossing of torches is often mentioned: Ar. *Ran.* 340 ff., Stat. l.c., Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21. 24, *Epit.* 18 (23) 7. If the 'mystic drama' did take place at Eleusis, it may have been partially enacted in this purely formal manner (cf. ad *Dem.* 40 ff., 48, and Introduction, p. 25).[1]

Demeter's nine-day fast has been taken as reflecting a similar period of abstention by the initiates at Eleusis (cf. Roscher, *Abh. d. Sächs. Ges.* 21 (1903), 14 ff., Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 321). The *sacra Cereris* at Rome, which were Greek in origin and character, included a fast (*castus Cereris*) which probably lasted nine days (cf. H. le Bonniec, *Le Culte de Cérès à Rome* (Paris, 1958), 404 ff.). The Sicilian Thesmophoria lasted for ten days (Diod. 5. 4. 7, cf. Pl. *Epist.* 349 d) and could have included a nine-day fast. Cf. the Isis-mysteries (Apul. *M.* 11. 23, 28, 30), and those of Cybele and Attis (H. Hepding, *Attis*, 183, H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, 119). At Athens, however, the Thesmophoria probably included only a one-day fast (Cornut. *Theol.* c. 28, Arbesmann, *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern* (Giessen, 1929), 92; Deubner, *AF* 52).

Fasting before the Mysteries is attested by the Eleusinian σύνθημα (Clem. *Protr.* 2. 21. 2), and was probably concluded by the drinking of the *cyceon* (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). Arbesmann (o.c. 75 ff.) distinguishes two grades, partial abstention from certain foods (Arbesmann, 47 ff.), and total abstinence. The latter was probably for one day only, and ended at nightfall (cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 6 ff., Ov. *F.* 4. 535 f.). The date is uncertain: it may have corresponded with the day of the Iacchus procession. At Alexandria, the initiates fasted on the day of the procession of the κάλαθος (Call. *Hy.* 6. 6 ff.). Cf. Arbesmann, o.c. 77 ff., Deubner, o.c. 79 ff., Roussel, *BCH* 54 (1930), 73, and notes ad *Dem.* 192 ff.

S. Dow (*HSCP* 48 (1937), 119 f.) suggests that the period of limited abstention may have run for nine days, from the fifteenth to twenty-third Boedromion, the duration of the festival. If so, it did not include

[1] Evidence for actual torch-races in the cult is very slight. Cf. B. Ashmole, *AJA* 66 (1962), 233–4, on a relief from Rhamnus which commemorates a *lampade-dromia*, possibly in honour of Demeter and Core. The only other recorded instance is in the Demetreia on Syros (cf. Sittlington-Sterrett, *AJP* 22 (1901), 418).

abstention from wine, since Chabrias' distribution of wine on the sixteenth Boedromion, in commemoration of his victory, can hardly have contravened the Eleusinian regulations (cf. ad *Dem.* 207). Call. fr. 21. 10 (*νήστιες ἐν Δηοῦς ἥμαι Ῥαριάδος*) might be taken to imply fasting for more than one day, but does not necessarily refer to Attic Eleusis. Philicus' *Hymn*, 36 f., after a reference to the Iacchus procession, has *τὸμ παρὰ κῦμα νήστην*: this could refer either to the sixteenth Boedromion, the day of the *ἅλαδε ἔλασις* (cf. *ὥρασιν . . . μυστηλασίαις Ἰάκχων*), or to fasting during the Iacchus procession, which skirted the sea along the Bay of Eleusis near the Rheitoi lakes (see below). The second is perhaps more likely. (Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 556, seems to identify the *ἅλαδε ἔλασις* with the Iacchus procession. But cf. Polyaen. 3. 11. 2.)

The nine-day period may, however, be purely poetical (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc.; Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 78; Arbesmann, o.c. 80; Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 656). The conjunction *ἐννῆμαρ μὲν . . . τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ* (*vel sim.*) is a conventional one in early epic (cf. especially *Il.* 1. 53 f., 6. 174 f., 9. 470–4, 24. 610–12, 664 f., 784 f., *Od.* 7. 253, 9. 82 f., 10. 28 f., 12. 447, 14. 314, West ad Hes. *Th.* 636). This has been derived from division of the lunar month into three parts (Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* i. 46 f.). In *Il.* 24. 664 f., 784 f., nine days is the period of mourning for the dead, and this was common later (Halliday, *Greek Questions of Plutarch*, 121 ff.). This may be the significance here. The echo *δεκάτῃ . . . Ἑκάτῃ* (*Dem.* 51 f.) should also be noted (cf. ad loc.). We are not told that Demeter ended her fast after nine days, and the contrary is implied by *Dem.* 90 ff., 200 ff. (cf. Arbesmann, o.c. 80).

Similarly the mystae may have abstained from washing for a period, but this cannot have corresponded with the duration of the festival, as they bathed in the sea on the sixteenth Boedromion (cf. above, and Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 249). The Rheitoi, on the Sacred Way to Eleusis, were also used for purification (Hsch. s.v. *Ῥειτοί*; Deubner, o.c. 75 n. 11). We do not know whether this occurred during the Iacchus procession (cf. Hsch. l.c.: *ὅθεν τοῖς λουτροῖς ἁγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους*). A ritual purification with the water of the river Ilissos formed part of the Lesser Mysteries (Polyaen. 5. 17. 1, Stat. *Theb.* 8. 763 ff., Deubner, o.c. 70).

Lustral bowls stood outside the Eleusinion at Athens ([Lys.] 6. 52), and probably also the Telesterion at Eleusis (Mylonas, o.c. 202, 248, fig. 77; Deubner, o.c. 76). An official at Eleusis was called the Hydranos: he was *ὁ ἁγνιστὴς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων* (Hsch. s.v.). But on the supposed representation of a goddess 'baptizing' an initiate at Eleusis, Mylonas, 194, Fig. 70, see E. Simon, *AM* 69–70 (1954–5), 45 ff. She identifies the fragmentary relief as a procession of worshippers led by a *νεωκόρος*: there is thus no question of a baptismal rite.

The significance of these various rituals has been variously interpreted. The chief use of torches or fire is for purification: cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 231 ff. (and Eitrem, *Opferritus*, 178 ff.; Kern, *Die Antike* 6 (1930), 307, and *RE* 16. 1220 f., 1230; Deubner, o.c. 78; Diels,

*Sibyllinische Blätter*, 47 f.). They are also used to stimulate the fertility of the earth (cf. Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 47), and possibly a *lampadephoria* had this as its main purpose.

Similarly fasting has various actual or supposed purposes all of which are closely related. These have been defined as:

(*a*) apotropaic, i.e. to drive out the evil powers in various foods and increase one's own powers (cf. especially Plut. *Mor.* 417 c δαιμόνων δὲ φαύλων ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα; also 361 b).

(*b*) preparatory for initiation, mystic ritual, ecstasy, magic ceremonies etc., both by purifying one (cf. below), and by 'heightening one's sensibilities'.

(*c*) purificatory: to enable one to approach a deity (cf. above). Cf. Porph. *de philos. ex orac. haurienda* (p. 148 Wolff) ἵνα τούτων (τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων) ἀπελθόντων παρουσία τοῦ θεοῦ γένηται.

(*d*) as an ascetic practice, to please the gods.

(*e*) for health (medical and gymnastic).

Cf. Arbesmann, o.c., especially 21 ff.; P. Gerlitz, 'Das Fasten als Initiationsritus' (in *Initiation, Studies in the History of Religions*, X, ed. C. J. Bleeker (Brill, 1965), 275 ff.). Fasting as an expression of grief, or a mourning custom, is explained by Arbesmann as due to fear of the dead man's ghost, which might cause harm through food and drink. But cf. K. Meuli, *Romanica Helvetica* 20 (1943), 763 ff., who regards it as a natural reaction at times of violent distress. This seems more reasonable. In Homer *Il.* 19. 203 ff., 305 ff., 319 ff., 24. 601 ff. illustrate this.

So here, the initiates imitated the sorrow of Demeter. At the same time, their fasting was purificatory, as a preliminary to initiation, such as is common in many societies (cf. Gerlitz, o.c., Arbesmann, 74 f., and references ad loc. Cf. also ad *Dem.* 197 ff., 208 ff.).

Abstention from washing is also a reaction to grief, and a sign of mourning: cf. *Il.* 23. 43 ff., 2 Sam. 12: 16 ff. Here, however, the purificatory aim is absent, since purification is rather achieved by the opposite, i.e. ritual washing. In this respect the initiates may have imitated Demeter's grief by abstention, and then purified themselves.

**47. πότνια:** cf. ad *Dem.* 39.

**Δηώ:** not in Homer or Hesiod. It is usually regarded as a hypocoristic of *Δημήτηρ* (*Et. Gud.* 316. 30, Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 857). *Et. Magn.* 263. 48 objects to this on the ground that these usually preserve the consonant of the second syllable (e.g. *Ὑψώ*, *Εἰδώ*, etc.). Cf. *Δημώ* (*Dem.* 109, n. ad loc.). Various alternative explanations are offered, connecting it with *δήειν*, *δαίειν* = *κόπτειν* or *καίω*, *γήω*, or *δηαί* (= *κριθαί*). Modern scholars prefer to treat it as a hypocoristic (*RE* 4. 2713). But it may be rather a by-form of the first element in *Δη-μήτηρ*. Cf. also S. fr. 743 *Τισώ*, for Tisiphone, detected by Pfeiffer, *Wien. Stud.* 79 (1966), 63 f.

**48.** Cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff. Torches played an important role at all stages of the Eleusinian celebrations. For their use in the preliminary

purification ceremony cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 231 ff., and for their importance and significance within the Telesterion itself ad *Dem.* 231 ff., and Introduction, pp. 26 ff.

The Dadouchos, the second official at Eleusis, took his title from his use of them (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 232, and for representations of him Mylonas, 208 f., fig. 78, and Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.* 1937, 223 ff.). Demeter and Persephone are frequently represented with one or two torches in literature and art (cf. Roscher, 2. 1339 ff.), and torches appear as emblems on Eleusinian monuments (e.g. Mylonas, 158, 167, Fig. 59; cf. 204). Cf. also A. fr. 386, S. *OC* 1049 ff. Torchlight dances formed part of the Attic Thesmophoria: Ar. *Thesm.* 101 ff., 280 f., 1150 ff., Deubner, *AF* 53 f.

In the Sicilian legend Demeter lights her torches from Aetna: Diod. 5. 4. 3, 20. 7. 1 ff., Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 106, Ov. *F.* 4. 491 ff., *M.* 5. 441 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 12. 270 ff., Claud. *RP* 3. 330 ff., etc.

**49.** On nectar and ambrosia cf. ad *Dem.* 237, and West ad *Th.* 640.

**ἡδυπότοιο:** for the sweetness of nectar cf. *Il.* 1. 598, Theocr. 17. 82, Ov. *M.* 14. 606; Roscher, *Nektar und Ambrosia* (Leipzig, 1883), 44 ff.

**49 f.** Cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 12, 16 (probably echoing the *Hymn*): *οὐ πίες οὔτ' ἄρ' ἔδες τῆνον χρόνον οὐδὲ λοέσσα* and *αὐσταλέα, ἄποτός τε, καὶ οὐ φάγες οὐδὲ λοέσσα*; Hdt. 3. 52. 3, Phryn. Com. ap. Phot. Berol. p. 118. 25 (ad *Dem.* 200).

**50. χρόα βάλλετο λουτροῖς:** cf. E. *Or.* 303 *λουτρά τ' ἐπὶ χροὸς βαλοῦ*. *βάλλειν* is used of 'dashing' someone with water, blood etc.: *Il.* 11. 536, 23. 502, A. *Ag.* 1390. Here the middle is used because one poured water over oneself.

**λουτροῖς:** in Homer, *λοετρά* is used. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 753 *λουτρῷ χρόα φαιδρύνεσθαι*. On abstention from washing cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff.

Cf. also E. *Hel.* 1383–4 *λουτροῖς χρόα ἔδωκα* (after 1301 ff., which echoes the *Hymn*).

**51–89.** On the tenth day Hecate meets Demeter and asks who has carried off Persephone. Demeter does not reply; and together they go off with torches in their hands, and visit the Sun. Demeter asks him for information. The Sun tells her that Hades has carried off her daughter, and consoles her.

The scene of Demeter's meeting with Hecate, and their subsequent visit to the Sun, seem to be illustrated by one of the fifth-century clay reliefs from Locri in Southern Italy, the home of a cult of Persephone. Cf. H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz, 1968), 82 ff., Abb. 15. The relief has been identified as a portrayal of the sorrowing Demeter, seated on a hillock or piece of rising ground (cf. ad *Dem.* 200), with her foot resting on a wave (i.e. Oceanus, or the ends of the world, perhaps). She is approached by a woman carrying a torch, who stretches out her hand towards her, i.e. Hecate (*Dem.* 52). Above their heads is an arch which indicates the vault of the sky. Above this Helios is shown, in the top right-hand corner, and

in the top left, a small female figure hurries away. She is probably Eos, whose appearance is mentioned in *Dem.* 51, and who crosses the sky before the Sun.

If this identification is correct, the relief must be a direct portrayal, although compressed into one scene, of *Dem.* 51–89. It is perhaps the only definite illustration of the *Hymn*, since other episodes are not so closely portrayed as to make this certain, and could reflect other versions.

**51. φαινόλις Ἠώς:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. Sappho, fr. 104a *φαίνολις . . . αὔως*, Moschus 4. 121 *ἠὼς . . . φαινόλις ἦλθε*, Hsch. s.v. *φαινόλις· λαμπρά, φωσφόρος*. Cf. also *μαινόλις* (Bacch. fr. 20A 43 Sn., A. *Supp.* 109 etc.) ~ *μαινόλᾳ* Sappho, fr. 1. 18.

**51–2.** *δεκάτη* / *Ἑκάτη* There is perhaps a word-play here. Cf. *Od.* 5. 262–3 *τέτρατον ἦμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα· τῷ δ' ἄρα πέμπτῳ πέμπ' . . .* Days of the month have a magical significance: cf. Hes. *Op.* 765 ff.

**52. ἤντετο:** a reference to Hecate's title of *Antaea* has been seen here (Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 724). Cf. A.R. 1. 1141, 3. 1212 ff., *Orph. Hy.* 41. 1 (Quandt ad loc.). The sense of this is apparently 'to whom one makes supplication' (LSJ s.v. II; on the original sense cf. Nilsson, o.c. 184). Cf. ad *Dem.* 53 (*ἀγγελέουσα*). Hecate is a helper of all men (cf. Hes. *Th.* 429 ff., esp. 441).

**κέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα:** this perhaps implies *two* torches, with which she is normally represented later (Ar. *Ran.* 1361 f., Roscher, 1. 1900, Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 549 f.). For Hecate as torch-bearer cf. also Bacch. fr. 1 B1. (Sn.), E. *Hel.* 569, Hsch. s.v. *Ὑπολάμπτειρα*, and Kraus, *Hecate*, Index s.v. Fackel, *δᾳδοφόρος*, *Φωσφόρος*. For *κέλας* of a torch cf. A.R. 3. 293, 1216, 4. 808, *AP* 9. 46, etc.

**53. ἀγγελέουσα:** this use of the future is found at *Il.* 19. 120 (characterized by Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 333 n. 25, as 'highly abnormal'). Present and future are equally found, the future normally with verbs of motion (*Od.* 4. 258 etc.). The present seems more usual in prose (Isocr. 1. 33 etc.). They are variants at *Od.* 13. 94, 14. 123 (etc.), and used interchangeably in Triphiod. 212, 236.

Hecate (or Artemis) was called *Ἄγγελος* at Syracuse (Hsch. s.v.; Schol. Theocr. 2. 12). Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 517 f. for the story of *Ἄγγελος* in Sophron. He suggests that the title may be due to her role as bringer of news to Demeter. But possibly her part in the *Hymn* at this point may be due to her title, since she does not in fact tell Demeter anything that she does not already know. Cf. also Pindar, *Paean* 2. 49 *ἄγγελλε* (Hecate).

**ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε:** such duplication of expression is especially a feature of epic poetry (W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor*, 124 f.). It is very common in this *Hymn*.

**54–6.** The Orphic papyrus borrows these lines and transfers them to Demeter's speech to the Eleusinians, attaching them to *Dem.* 268. This suits the Orphic version, in which Demeter learns the truth

about the Rape from the Eleusinians, and Hecate is not mentioned. Cf. ad *Dem.* 19–32, and Introduction, pp. 80 ff.

**54. Δημήτηρ:** the nominative for vocative is sometimes found in poetry, and in some cases, as here, combined with a vocative form, e.g. *Il.* 4. 189 (with name in voc.), S. *Aj.* 923 (name in nom.), etc. (cf. *Hy.* 30. 17 *χαῖρε, θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ*). In *Dem.* 75 the name is in the vocative, with *θυγάτηρ* in the nominative. Cf. also Page, *PMG* 935. 15. Metrical convenience must play some part in determining which is used (cf. Chantraine, *GH* ii. 36) and here a nominative formula is taken over (see below), but there may be other factors at work: cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 964, and *Glotta* 44 (1967), 139 ff., R. Loewe, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 55 (1927), 52.

**ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε:** the hiatus results from the adaptation of a nominative noun–epithet formula (cf. *Dem.* 192). Cf. e.g. *Il.* 2. 8, 18. 385, West, l.c. above. It is 'legitimate' in the bucolic diaeresis: cf. Monro, *HG*² § 382. 2. On Demeter as 'bringer of ripeness, giver of gladness' cf. Preller–Robert 1. 767, and ad *Dem.* 4. For *ἀγλαόδωρος* cf. Agallias' line quoted on p. 100, and Nonnus *D.* 7. 85, 12. 263, 19. 44.

**55. θεῶν:** for the synizesis of *θεός* cf. *Il.* 1. 18, *Od.* 14. 251, *Dem.* 259, 325, Hes. *Th.* 44. It is probable also in Hes. frr. 1. 5, 185. 7; Archil. fr. 19. 3 West.

**οὐρανίων:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. Pi. *O.* 11. 2 etc.; *θεῶν τῶν οὐρανίων* E. *El.* 1234; also Hom. *θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες Il.* 1. 570 etc., *Οὐρανιώνων Il.* 5. 373 etc.

Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 49, who points out that the synizesis is due to 'declension' of *θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες*.

**56. Περσεφόνην:** the Homeric form is always *Περσεφόνεια* (*Il.* 9. 457 etc.; cf. *Dem.* 337, 348, 359, 370, 493). *Περσεφόνη* occurs in Hes. *Th.* 913, *Dem.* 360, 387, 405. The form *Φερσεφόνη* (cf. pap. 1) or *Φερσεφόνεια* is also given by pap. 2 at *Dem.* 405, by papyri at Hes. fr. 185. 4, 280. 12, and as a variant at *Hy.* 13. 2; cf. Simon. 131 D.², Pi. *O.* 14. 21, *PMG* 885. 3, *IG* ii². 6551, 7873. 10 (4th c. B.C. Attic funeral epigrams), Philicus' *Hymn* (Attic) 2, 48, and Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 542 n. 5. These forms are poetic: Attic prose inscriptions use *Φερρέφαττα*. In decrees she is called *Κόρη* (cf. ad *Dem.* 439). Cf. Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*³ p. 100. 3. It might possibly be original here, under Attic influence.

For the possible etymologies of the name cf. Bräuninger, *RE* 19. 945–8.

**57. γᾶρ:** for lengthening of *γάρ* before a vowel cf. (in the same position) *Il.* 2. 39, Epic. Adesp. 4. 9, Powell (*Coll. Alex.* 79); also *Il.* 19. 49.

For the chiastic expression cf. E. *Hipp.* 86 *κλύων μὲν αὐδῆς, ὄμμα δ' οὐχ ὁρῶν τὸ σόν* (and cf. in reverse, E. *Med.* 653 f., Page ad loc.).

**ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν:** cf. ad *Dem.* 53.

**58. ὅς τις ἔην:** this is an indirect question added to 57 (cf. *Dem.* 71–3). *Dem.* 119, *Aph.* 92, which Allen and Halliday compare, are different ('whoever you are': cf. ad *Dem.* 119).

**coì δ' . . . πάντα:** 'I am telling you at once the whole truth.' This is simply a conventional way of ending a piece of news (as in *Od.* 11. 137, *Dem.* 433, and refs. ad loc.). There is no need to assume a lacuna here. ὦκα is due to the urgency of the situation: cf. ὦκα in 60, and 171–2 ὦκα δὲ μητρὶ | ἔννεπον . . . ἡ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα . . .

Messengers are traditionally swift (ταχὺς ἄγγελος *Il.* 24. 292, *Od.* 15. 526). Cf. *Aph.* 137 etc.

**59–61.** Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4. 8. 50 f.:

> tuque *Actaea Ceres cursu* cui semper *anhelo*
> votivam *taciti* quassamus *lampada* mystae.

These lines, describing the ritual of silent torch-carrying in the mysteries of Demeter, are an excellent commentary on *Dem.* 59–61. The festival referred to in Statius perhaps took place at Naples (cf. Vollmer ad loc.), but probably the Eleusinian ritual was similar. Demeter's silence is thus explained as a feature of the cult. Silence was essential to certain parts of the mystery-ritual: cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 198 f., and especially 478 f.

**60. Ῥείης:** this is the commonest form of the name in epic (*Il.* 14. 203 vulg., *Dem.* 60, 75, 442, Hes. *Th.* 453, 625, 634, *Ap.* 93, *Aph.* 43, *Hy.* 12. 1); but also Ῥέη (*Dem.* 459, *Th.* 467), Ῥεία (*Il.* 14. 203 v.l., *Th.* 135), Ῥέα (*Il.* 15. 187), and cf. also Ῥῆ (Pherecydes Syr. 9). Cf. West ad *Th.* 135.

**Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θυγάτηρ:** the epithet seems to be a feature of 'genealogy' poetry, since it occurs especially in the context of parent–child or husband–wife relationships:

*Il.* 1. 36 ~ 19. 413, *Od.* 11. 318, *Ap.* 178 (τὸν / ὃν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ); *Il.* 3. 329 etc. (Ἑλένης πόσις ἠϋκόμοιο); *Il.* 4. 512 ~ 16. 860 (Θέτιδος πάϊς ἠϋκόμοιο); *Il.* 10. 5 (πόσις Ἥρης ἠϋκόμοιο); *Il.* 24. 466 (μητέρος ἠϋκόμοιο); Hes. *Th.* 625 ~ 634 (οὗς τέκεν ἠΰκομος Ῥείη); *Sc.* 216 (ἠϋκόμου Δανάης τέκος); Hes. *Catalogue*, *passim* (cf. Index s.v.). Cf. also ad *Dem.* 442.

**61. ἤϊξ':** cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff. For ἤϊξε(ν) after a speech cf. *Herm.* 227, *Aph.* 291, and similarly *Il.* 6. 232. In *Herm.* 227 it is also used without any indication of direction.

**62.** For the Sun as watcher over all things cf. *Il.* 3. 277 (~ *Od.* 11. 109, 12. 323), A. *PV* 91, *Cho.* 985 f., fr. 192. 5, Orph. *Lith.* 695, *Orph. Hy.* 8. 1, 14. This led to his invocation as a witness, and to his ethical position as guardian of right (cf. ad *Dem.* 20, 24 ff.; Roscher, 1. 2019 f.).

**63. στὰν δ':** this represents one of the regular stages in Homeric scenes of 'Arrival': cf. Arend, *Typische Scenen*, 28 ff. and Tafel 1, 3, Teil IV.

**ἵππων:** the Sun's chariot (cf. *Dem.* 88 f.) does not appear in Homer. Cf. *Herm.* 69, *Hy.* 28. 14, 31. 9, 15; Mimn. fr. 10 D.$^3$, etc. In Homer, Dawn has a chariot (*Od.* 23. 244). In art, the Sun's chariot perhaps first appears *c.* 670–660 B.C. (cf. J. N. Coldstream, *BICS* 12 (1965), 34–7: Helios with single horse on amphora from Thera?), otherwise

not before the end of the black-figure period on vases (Roscher, 1. 2005). The Sun has a chariot in Persian mythology (Windischmann, *Mithra* 15. 124), in the Veda (Roscher, l.c.), and in German mythology (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*[4], 615). Its absence in Homer may be due to chance.

**64 ff.** For this speech of entreaty, cf. *Od.* 3. 92–101 = 4. 322–31 (Telemachus asks Nestor/Menelaus for news of his father):

1. *Request for respect and pity*:
   *Dem.* 64 αἴδεσσαί με, 76 ἄζομαι ἠδ' ἐλεαίρω ~ (negatived) *Od.* 3. 96 μηδέ τί μ' αἰδόμενος μειλίσσεο μηδ' ἐλεαίρων
2. *Precedent*:
   64b–5 εἴ ποτε δή σευ | ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ (etc.) ~ *Od.* 3. 98–100 εἴ ποτέ τοί τι πατὴρ ἐμός . . . ἢ ἔπος ἠέ τι ἔργον ὑποστὰς ἐξετέλεσσε . . .
3. *Request for information*:
   71 νημερτέως μοι ἔνισπε φίλον τέκος εἴ που ὄπωπας
   ~ *Od.* 3. 93 ἐνισπεῖν εἴ που ὄπωπας . . .
   97 ἀλλ' εὖ μοι κατάλεξον ὅπως ἤντησας ὀπωπῆς
   101 καί μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες . . .

For a similar speech of entreaty cf. *Dem.* 135 ff. (n. ad loc.).

**64 f.** Demeter uses the normal formula of entreaty, by appeal to precedent: cf. *Il.* 1. 39 f., 394 f., 503 f., and ad *Dem.* 64 ff., etc. Note the position of σευ: it goes with κραδίην καὶ θυμόν despite the intervening nouns. The pronoun is regularly brought forward to the beginning of the sentence: cf. ad *Dem.* 202.

**64. θεὰν θεός:** Peerlkamp's conjecture is attractive, as θεαν θεος might have become θεας and ὕπερ might then have been added in an attempt to make some sense. For the polyptoton cf. West, *Th.* p. 76.

Ludwich's conjecture (adopted by Allen) is unsatisfactory: the postponement of σύ περ is awkward, and περ unnecessary. Ludwich compares *Il.* 1. 508, 9. 301, 11. 796, 12. 349, but there περ means 'at least' (cf. Scholl. BT ad *Il.* 1. 508, Ebeling, II, 164 f.), and comes at the beginning of the sentence, closely associated with a conjunction: ἀλλὰ σύ περ etc. Allen and Halliday compare *Dem.* 116, but this is not a parallel in either sense or word order.

**65. ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ:** regular in this context (cf. ad *Dem.* 64 ff.).

**66 f. κούρην τὴν . . . τῆς . . .:** the sentence begins with asyndeton, as it explains Demeter's appeal (αἴδεσσαί με), and the first word states the subject of her appeal: cf. *Il.* 16. 56, 18. 444. It is attracted to the case of the relative ('attractio inversa'). Cf. *Il.* 6. 396, 10. 416, 14. 75, 371; Monro, *HG*[2] § 267. 4, Chantraine, *GH* ii. 237 f., Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, 1. 56 f., E. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 33 (1954), 157 ff. (on Virg. *A.* 1. 573). Wackernagel explains this inverse attraction as arising when a part of the main sentence whose construction is not yet determined precedes the relative.

εἶδεϊ κυδρήν does not occur in Homer or Hesiod (cf. Hom. εἶδος ἀρίστην etc.). κυδρός is used in Homer only in the formula (Διὸς)

κυδρὴ(ν) παράκοιτις/τιν: *Il.* 18. 184, *Od.* 11. 580, 15. 26 (Hes. *Th.* 328). Cf. κυδρὴ(ν) θεός/ν: *Dem.* 179, 292 etc. (cf. ad loc.), Hes. *Op.* 257 (of Dike), *Herm.* 461 (of Hermes). Note the neglect of digamma, for which there are virtually no parallels in Homer with εἶδος (cf. Appendix II, B (6)). Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 53, comments that 'the expression εἴδει κυδρήν looks rather strained.' There are no exact parallels in Homer for this use of the dative, the other cases being with comparatives, and the phrase 'was almost certainly coined by the poet'.

**67. ἀδινὴν ὅπ':** the basic sense of the epithet is probably 'thick, crowded' (LSJ, Frisk s.v.). From this, it comes to be used of the heart ('throbbing, thronging', *Il.* 16. 481, 19. 516), and then of violent grief, sobbing or crying (*Il.* 18. 124, 314, etc.), and of throbbing, passionate voices, e.g. the Sirens (*Od.* 23. 326), and here of Persephone's cry.

The rough breathing was read by Aristarchus (Scholl. AB ad *Il.* 2. 87), as in ἁδρός, but the correct epic form is probably ἀδινός.

**δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο:** the meaning of ἀτρύγετος is not known. Frisk (s.v.) supports the ancient interpretation 'unfruitful, barren', but the connection with τρυγάω is doubtful.

The phrase suggests that Demeter was in heaven at the time (cf. *Dem.* 92).

**69 f.** Demeter appeals to Helios on the grounds of his all-seeing power. Cf. the traditional formula of prayers δύναται γάρ (*vel sim.*), e.g. *Il.* 16. 515, *Od.* 5. 25, Hes. *Th.* 420 (West ad loc.), etc.

For the use of ἀλλὰ σύ . . . in prayers cf. Denniston, *GP* 16, Bühler on Moschus, *Europa*, 27 (p. 72), *Il.* 17. 645.

**70. αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης:** cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 687.

**καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσι:** the Sun sees with his own rays. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 451 πολυδερκέος Ἠοῦς (West ad loc.); A. *PV* 796 f., A.R. 4. 727 ff., Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 38 f. The Greeks thought of the eyes as seeing by light emanating from them, rather than that received by them.

**71. ἔνισπε:** the form ἐνίσπες is found at *Il.* 11. 186, 14. 470 (v.l. ἔνισπε, ad fin.), and is also attested as a variant in the *Odyssey* (3. 101 = 4. 331, 3. 247, etc.; cf. Allen ad loc.). But ἔνισπε is guaranteed by the metre at *Od.* 4. 642. It appears to have been regarded as an imperative of a present *ἐνίσπω (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 467).

**71–3.** Line 71 is complete in itself, and 72–3 are added as an indirect question (cf. ad *Dem.* 58). The word order is complex, and 71 might be derived from a formulaic passage in which φίλον τέκος was a vocative (as it normally is: cf. formulaic parallels). For the late position of ἠὲ θεῶν (etc.) cf. West ad *Th.* 82 (etc.).

**72. ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ:** Greek stresses this notion of restricted freedom. Cf. *Dem.* 124, 413, *Od.* 4. 646, 5. 154 f., etc., and ad *Dem.* 53 (duplication of expression). The concept of Ἀνάγκη was of an inescapable, binding force (cf. ad *Dem.* 216–17).

**73. ἠὲ . . . ἢ καί:** one would expect ἠὲ . . . ἠέ (cf. *Dem.* 55 etc.). ἢ καί perhaps suggests that the second possibility is more remote ('or even': Denniston, *GP* 306).

**74. Ὑπερονίδης:** cf. ad *Dem.* 26. The fourth-foot caesura is rare: *c.* 300 in all Homeric poetry, of which a third have a proper name in the middle of the verse (van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 17; Lehrs, *Aristarchus*², 396 ff.).

**75 ff.** For the Sun's role as Demeter's informant cf. ad *Dem.* 20, 24 ff. Ovid follows this version in *F.* 4. 583 f., but makes Arethusa tell Demeter in *M.* 5. 504 ff. A number of legends gave the credit to local inhabitants. In an Orphic version, Demeter is informed by the Eleusinians Eubuleus (or Celeus) and Triptolemus, and rewards them with the gift of agriculture: Orph. fr. 51 K. (= Paus. 1. 14. 3, Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 105. 11 p. 53 Dind.), Orph. *Hy.* 41. 6 ff., fr. 49. 103 f., Claud. *RP* 3. 52, Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 698, Myth. Vat. 2. 96. Cf. Introduction, pp. 81 f.

In another legend, she learnt the truth from the people of Hermione (Apollod. 1. 5. 1, Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 782, Zenob. *Cent.* 1. 7); at Argos, from Chrysanthis, the daughter of King Pelasgus (Paus. 1. 14. 2; cf. ad *Dem.* 6 ff.). At Paros, Cabarnos informed her (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Πάρος*). At Pheneos, Demeter rewarded the inhabitants who gave her information with her support in war (Conon, *FGH* 26 F 15). Cf. also ad *Dem.* 96.

**75. θυγάτηρ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 54.

**ἄνασσα:** of Demeter *Il.* 14. 326, *Dem.* 492, E. *Phoen.* 685 f., Ar. *Ran.* 386 ff. Rubensohn, *JDAI* 70 (1955), 48 f., suggests that the name Anaktoron for the Telesterion (and apparently also for the inner 'holy-of-holies') was due to Demeter's title *ἄνασσα*. Thus she sits in her temple at *Dem.* 302 ff. Cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 88 (*contra* Rubensohn), and for an alternative theory cf. ad *Dem.* 96.

**76. μέγα ἄζομαι:** for the hiatus cf. Hes. *Th.* 532 (and perhaps also Theognis, 280 *κάτοπιν ἀζόμενοι: κατόπισθ'* cod. A). The hiatus is 'illicit' at this place in the verse, and the pronoun might be expected with *ἀχνυμένην*. But *c' ἄζομαι* is unattractive, and the separation of the adverb from the verb undesirable. *σε μέγ'* (Voss) would be preferable.

Cf. Alcm. *PMG* 70c: *σὲ γὰρ ἄζομαι.*

**77. περὶ παιδί:** for the rare dative with *περί* and verbs of caring cf. E. *Hel.* 1342 f. (from *Dem.* 77? Cf. Kannicht ad loc.) and Gow on Theocr. 1. 54. It is common with verbs of fearing (*Il.* 10. 240, Thuc. 1. 60 etc.).

**οὐδέ:** Wegener objected to this ('vielleicht mit Recht', Gemoll), but it derives from the formula in *Od.* 11. 558 f. (22. 154 f.). Cf. also the use of *οὐδέ τί σε χρή* (ad *Dem.* 82), and *Od.* 4. 400 for *δέ* after 'I shall tell you (what to do)'; Denniston, *GP* 170 f.

**77 f.** For 'it is not your (etc.) fault but the god's' cf. *Il.* 3. 164, 19. 86 f., 409 f., 21. 275 (and ad *Dem.* 147 f.).

**79. θαλερὴν . . . ἄκοιτιν:** this phrase is notably common in the last part of the *Theogony*, and in the *Catalogue*: cf. West, *Theogony*, 398.

**81. μεγάλα ἰάχουσαν:** the vowel is lengthened before an original digamma (cf. Chantraine, *GH* ii. 139 f.).

**82 ff.** For this speech of consolation cf. *Dem.* 362 ff. (Hades to

Persephone). The form is the same: (1) Do not be so discouraged. (2) Hades is not a bad husband. (3) The τιμή of Hades/τιμαί of Persephone.

**82. οὐδέ τί σε χρή:** Hermann objected that this phrase always refers to something already mentioned (e.g. *Il.* 19. 67 f.). But cf. *Od.* 1. 296 f., 15. 393 f., 18. 17 f., *Herm.* 494 f.

**83. μὰψ αὕτως:** for the duplication cf. *Od.* 16. 111, *Dem.* 362, 467 f., and ad *Dem.* 53, 72, etc.

**ἄπλητον:** not in Homer. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 153, 315, 709, *Sc.* 147, 230 (v.l.), 250, 268. The sense is not certain: LSJ consider it equivalent to ἄπλατος (unapproachable, terrible, monstrous), but it may often be regarded as equivalent to ἄπλετος (boundless, immense), as in later epic (cf. West ad *Th.* 153, and *Od.* 16. 111). The sense of ἄπληστος (insatiable) would also fit here.

**83 ff.** Cf. *Dem.* 363–4, Ov. *F.* 4. 598 ff., *M.* 5. 526 ff., Claud. *RP* 2. 277 ff., and similarly *Aph.* 136. In later Greek οὐ μεμπτός is used of a good match: cf. E. *Phoen.* 425, *Ion* 1519, *Hel.* 1424, *IA* 712, Phoenix, 2. 10 f., Paus. 2. 28. 4, Plut. *Cato* 24, Antig. fr. 168, P. Oxy. 1083 fr. i 19, etc.

It is notable that Hades is presented in a relatively favourable light in the *Hymn*, although always with sinister undertones (cf. ad *Dem.* 357 f.). Cf. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, 75, on the reluctance of artists to portray him unfavourably.

**85. αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος:** this is not pleonastic, but means 'of the same mother and father'. Cf. κασίγνητος καὶ ὅπατρος (*Il.* 12. 371 ~ 11. 257, Hes. fr. 280. 21), Hes. fr. 280. 18 (see app. crit.), and (a similar formation) ὁμότροφος *Ap.* 199.

**ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμήν:** the prepositional phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence, as a separate colon ('and as for honour'). Cf. *Il.* 7. 408, Schol. ad loc.; E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, 1. 100, 125, 134.

For ἀμφί with accusative meaning 'concerning' cf. perhaps *Il.* 18. 339 (ἀμφὶ . . . σὲ . . . κλαύσονται). But this is a doubtful example: cf. Chantraine, *GH* ii. 88. Other examples (*Herm.* 57, *Hy.* 7. 1, 22. 1, 23. 1, Terp. *PMG* 697, Ar. *Nu.* 595) all belong to the traditional opening formula of a hymn (ἀμφιανακτίζειν). The dative is more common (*Il.* 7. 408 etc.). For the genitive cf. *Herm.* 172, *Il.* 8. 267. Pfister, *Philol.* 84 (1928), 5 n. 3, takes ἀμφί as adverbial, but this is very improbable.

**85 f. τιμήν:** for τιμή of a god's 'province' or 'sphere of influence' cf. *Il.* 15. 189, Hes. *Th.* 74 (West ad loc.), 112, 393, 425–6, 885, *Aph.* 37, *Hy.* 22. 4. He receives it as his μοῖρα (ἔλλαχεν, ἔμμορε, etc.): cf. *Il.* 15. 189 ff., Hes. *Th.* 203, 413 ff., 422 ff., *Aph.* 37, *Hy.* 29. 3, Orph. *Hy.* 17. 7, 18. 6, etc.; Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 62 ff.

**86.** This refers to the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, described in *Il.* 15. 189–91. Cf. *Hy.* 22. 4 f., and Page, *GLP* no. 91. 3 ff., especially 10: Ἀγεσίλας δ' ἔλαχεν τὸν Τά[ρταρον εὐ]ρὺν ἕπεσθαι; Ov. *M.* 5. 529, *Am.* 3. 10. 45 f. The language recalls Hes. *Th.* 424, which, however, refers to an earlier division of τιμαί. Other divisions are referred to in Hes. *Th.* 74 (etc.), 534 (cf. West ad loc.), Pi. *O.* 7. 55 ff., Call. *Hy.* 1. 58–67, fr. 119 (Pfeiffer ad loc.).

Persephone's division of her time between Heaven and Hades perhaps reflects the division referred to here (cf. ad *Dem.* 365–9, 399 f.).

**87.** τοῖς μεταναιετάει: the verb is found only here. Cf. περιναιετάειν (*Od.* 2. 66 etc.), μεταναιέτης Hes. *Th.* 401. τοῖς μέτα should perhaps be preferred.

The verse is epexegetic to 85 f., and hence in asyndeton. It is euphemistic: the dead are not named (cf. ad *Dem.* 9, 481 f.). The point seems to be 'Hades does live among the dead: but he is their king.'

**88.** ὁμοκλῆς: the smooth breathing is supported by Hes. *Sc.* 341, Call. *Hy.* 4. 158 (ὑπ' Ψ: ὑφ' P. Oxy. 2225). In *Il.* 20. 365 κέκλεθ' ὁμοκλήσας is read (with v.l. κέκλετ' ὀμ-). The rough breathing is perhaps due to false association with ὁμός (LSJ s.v.; cf. Wackernagel, *Sprach. Unters.* 47 (= 207) n. 1; Jacobsohn, *Philologus* 67 (1908), 513 ff.). It is normal in Homeric manuscripts.

**89.** φέρον: this should probably be retained as in *Il.* 17. 458 (ἔφερον v.l.) and elsewhere. ἔφερον occurs only in *Il.* 11. 533, 23. 849, *Od.* 18. 303 (~ 5. 461).

τανύπτεροι ὥς τ' οἰωνοί: the epithet occurs first in Hes. *Th.* 523. There is no example in Homer of the word order 'epithet–ὥς τε–noun', and it might be possible to take τανύπτεροι as referring to the Sun's horses, which are winged in art from the end of the black-figure period (although the gods' horses are already winged in art by *c.* 650, e.g. Melian amphora, Arias and Hirmer, *Greek Vase Painting*, 29 Pl. 22). In literature the first definite example of this is E. *El.* 465, although their speed is emphasized in *Hy.* 28. 14, E. *Phoen.* 3 (cf. Roscher 1. 2006 ff., J. Diggle, *Euripides, Phaethon* (Cambridge, 1970), 137). For the epithet in this position cf. *Il.* 2. 764 (of mares) τὰς Εὔμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας, ὄρνιθας ὥς.

But it is preferable to take the epithet with οἰωνοί: for this order cf. Pi. *N.* 7. 62, A. *Supp.* 751, *Cho.* 421, *Ag.* 1671.

Note the dactylic rhythm of the verse: cf. *Dem.* 171 (n. ad loc.), 184, 380 (again of flying horses). The appropriateness of this rhythm for a galloping horse has long been noticed in the case of *Il.* 6. 511 (cf. Leaf ad loc.). Cf. also *Il.* 13. 29 f. (τοὶ δὲ πέτοντο | ῥίμφα μάλ' . . . etc.), 20. 497 (of oxen trampling grain, compared to Achilles' horses in full career), Virg. *A.* 8. 596.

**90–7.** Demeter, in her grief and anger, leaves the gods and wanders over the earth in disguise, until she comes to the palace of Celeus, king of Eleusis.

In this version, the motive for Demeter's wanderings on earth is her anger with Zeus (81). In later versions, she is normally looking for her daughter (cf. ad *Dem.* 76). At first sight this has more point to it, but the theme of the withdrawal of a deity from heaven in anger is also a traditional one: cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff. (with 302 ff.), 192–211 (3. Iambe).

In Apollodorus (1. 5. 1) she learns about the Rape from the people of Hermione, and then is angry with the gods, leaves heaven, and comes to Eleusis.

**90. κύντερον:** in Homer this is used of things that are shameful (in *Il.* 8. 483, *Od.* 11. 427 as a term of censure of women, in *Od.* 7. 216 of the belly, in *Od.* 20. 18 of the maids sleeping with the suitors); hence of things that are hard to endure. Cf. *κύντατον Il.* 10. 503 (of deeds of slaughter); *Dem.* 305 f. *αἰνότατον . . . καὶ κύντατον* of the famine, which is due to her grief, and is in fact the 'physical correlative' of it (cf. ad *Dem.* 305–33).

**91. δ᾽ἤπειτα:** this is normal in Homeric manuscripts (cf. also Hes. *Th.* 405 and 562). Editors usually write *δὴ ἔπειτα* (∪ ∪ – ∪). Cf. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*², 70, West, *Theogony*, 100.

**93.** This theme of a god wandering in disguise among men is common in Greek literature. Cf. especially *Od.* 17. 485–7. (For a discussion of this cf. Pl. *Rep.* 381 ff.) For the motif of an encounter with a god in disguise cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff. In Hes. fr. 1. 6 f. the implication is different, that once gods and men lived together (West ad Hes. *Th.* 507–616, 535; cf. Cat. 64. 384 ff.). Cf. also A.R. 3. 66 ff. (where 72 ~ *Dem.* 101), Ov. *M.* 1. 211 ff., 8. 616 ff., *F.* 5. 493 ff., Paus. 8. 2. 4 ff., Pfister, *RE*, *Supp.* 5. 291 f.

Stories of hospitality to deities were often told to account for the origins of family cults. Cf. ad *Dem.* 96, also the hosts of Dionysus, Amphictyon, Icarius, and Oeneus, and in general Fr. Deneken, *De Theoxeniis* (Diss. Berlin, 1881), 24 ff., Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909), i. 166 f.

**94. ἀμαλδύνουσα:** this epic and Ionic word occurs in Homer only in the context of the destruction of the Achaean wall. It means 'soften' (cf. *ἁμαλός*), hence 'efface' etc. Cf. A.R. 1. 834, 4. 112 for the sense 'disguise, wipe out'.

**95. γίνωσκε:** this form is given by practically all Homeric manuscripts and papyri, and should be accepted. It is explicitly vouched for as the Homeric form by Eust. 1064. 2. Cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 429.

**βαθυζώνων τε γυναικῶν:** in Homer this formula is used of women from captured cities (Schol. *Od.* 3. 154 *βαρβάρων γυναικῶν τὸ ἐπίθετον*; *Et. Magn.* 185. 33, Eust. 1462. 3; cf. A. *Pers.* 155). Cf. *βαθύκολπος* (ad *Dem.* 5). It is used again of Metaneira (*Dem.* 161) and Persephone (201, 304). Cf. Hes. fr. 205. 5, etc. The sense should be 'low-girt' (cf. Allen and Sikes ad loc.), but it perhaps arises from a combination of *βαθύκολπος* and *ἐΰζωνος* (*Il.* 1. 429 etc.).

**96. πρίν γ᾽ ὅτε δὴ . . .:** this is the only 'forward-reference' in the *Hymn* (excepting perhaps *Dem.* 273–4). Cf. *Ap.* 49, van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaïque*, 108, 307.

**Κελεοῖο . . . δῶμα:** Celeus receives Demeter also in Pamphos (ap. Paus. 1. 39. 1), Apollod. 1. 5. 1, 3. 14. 7, Nic. *Ther.* 486, Ov. *F.* 4. 507 ff., Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 695, Serv. and Philarg. ad Virg. *G.* 1. 163, Myth. Vat. 1. 18; cf. also Bacch. fr. 3 (Sn.). For his parentage cf. ad *Dem.* 105.

In the Orphic version, Dysaules and Baubo receive Demeter (Orph. frr. 51, 52 K.), but Celeus replaces Dysaules in Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 105. 11 p. 53 Dind. (and perhaps Orph. fr. 49. 105). In this version they are poor herdsmen (i.e. before the discovery of agriculture), and this may be reflected by Ovid *F.* 4. 507 ff., where Celeus is a poor rustic (cf. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 417 ff.). It is, however, possible that Ovid is here following the popular Hellenistic tradition, which liked to portray humble people giving hospitality to deities (cf. A. S. Hollis, *Ovid, Metamorphoses VIII*, pp. 106 ff., Bömer ad Ov. *F.* 4. 508, and *F* 5. 493 ff.). Cf. Introduction, pp. 72, 79 ff.

As the recipient of the gift of agriculture in later Attic legend Celeus becomes 'the farmer': Virg. *G.* 1. 165, *IG* 12. 1. 780. 1 (cf. 781, 783), Nonn. *D.* 27. 285, 47. 50. Cf. Herter, *RhM.* 90 (1941), 251.

He is rooted in the local cult of Eleusis and Attica: he receives sacrifices with the other heroes at the Eleusinia (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, No. 10. 72), and his daughters and wife have a cult at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 105, 161 and Athenag. *Libellus pro Christianis* 14, ed. Schwartz p. 15). He was traditionally regarded as the founder of the custom of giving free meals in the Prytaneum at Athens (Plut. *QS* 4. 4. 1 = 667 d). The story of his hospitality to Demeter was a traditional subject of Attic hymns, and a rhetorical τόπος (Menander, Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν 1. 6, Rhet. Gr. 3. 338 Spengel; Nonn. *D.* 19. 80 ff.).

On the view that he originated in Celeae in the Argolid, where there was a tomb of Dysaules (Paus. 2. 14. 1 ff.) cf. Malten, o.c. 444, Kern, *RE* 11. 138 ff., s.v. Keleos.

In art, he appears with Demeter, Phersephasa, and Hippothoon on a vase from Agrigento (Overbeck, *Atlas*, Taf. 15, Nr. 24).

Deubner (*AF* 90 f., and *Abh. der Deutschen Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin* 1945/6, Nr. 2, 16 ff.) suggested that the palace of Celeus was the original Telesterion (hence called Anaktoron as the palace of the ἄναξ). Cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 85 ff., Rubensohn, *JDAI* 70 (1955), 1 ff., and n. ad *Dem.* 75.

For other traditions of the recipients of Demeter at Eleusis cf.:

1. Hyg. *Fab.* 147, Serv. ad Virg. *G.* 1. 19, Myth. Vat. 2. 97: Eleusinus.
2. Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 131: Hippothoon. This is a misunderstanding of Nic. l.c.
3. *Suda* s.v. Ῥαριάς: Ῥάρος, father of Celeus.
4. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρχία (Ἐρχία?): Herchius (or rather Erchius?).
5. Paus. 1. 37. 2: Phytalus.
6. Panyassis fr. 24 K.: Triptolemus (or Eleusis?).

An Argive legend told how she was received by Atheras and Mysios, and rejected by Colontas, against the wishes of his daughter Chthonia. Colontas' house was burnt down, and Chthonia was taken by Demeter to Hermione where she built her a temple, in which honours were paid to Demeter Chthonia. Mysios also founded a temple of Demeter at Pellene (Paus. 2. 18. 3, 35. 4, 7. 27. 9).

In the Sicyonian version, she came disguised as a γυνὴ ξένη, and nursed Orthopolis, the child of Plemnaeus, who founded a shrine to her in gratitude (Paus. 2. 5. 8, 11. 2; cf. ad *Dem.* 227). At Pheneos in Arcadia she was received by Trisaules (cf. Dysaules) and Damithales, who built a temple to Demeter Thesmia and established a τελετή (cf. Paus. 8. 15. 3, Conon, *FGH* 26. 15, Pisani, *IF* 53 (1935), 28 ff.). On Cos she was received by Eurypylus and Clytia (Schol. Theocr. 7. 5–9). On Paros, she was entertained by the king Melissos and his sixty daughters, gave them Persephone's loom, and instituted her mysteries there (Apollod. (?) *FGH* 244 F 89). For the story of Misme and Ascalabus cf. Nic. fr. 56, Ov. *M.* 5. 446 ff., Lact. *Narr. fab.* 5. 7 (cf. Nic. *Ther.* 484). Cf. also ad *Dem.* 75 ff.

**97.** In 153 ff. and 474 f. Celeus is listed among the other rulers of Eleusis, and called ἡγήτορι λαῶν. Does this necessarily imply that he was the chief ruler? In 296 ff. he summons the assembly and orders the people to build a temple. He does this because Demeter had come to his house, and not necessarily because he is supreme ruler. It is usually assumed that he has the same leading position as Alcinous in Phaeacia and Odysseus in Ithaca in the *Odyssey*. (Demeter's visit to Eleusis closely resembles Odyssean scenes: cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.) But we are not specifically told this. In later tradition Celeus recedes into the background, and Eumolpus takes prominence: see notes to *Dem.* 154, 475.

**θυοέσσης:** once in Homer (θυόεν νέφος *Il.* 15. 153). Applied to Eleusis, it is formulaic, and at this point in the story strictly speaking anachronistic, since it presumably refers to the cult of Demeter. Cf. the names Παρθένιον φρέαρ, Καλλίχορον (99, 272).

**98–168.** Demeter sits by the well Parthenion, disguised as an old woman. The daughters of Celeus come to draw water, and ask her who she is.

Demeter tells them a false tale, that she is from Crete, but was captured by pirates and brought to Attica. She escaped, and came to Eleusis, wandering and lost. She asks if she might go as a nurse and housekeeper to a family in the city.

Callidice consoles her, and tells her the names of the rulers of Eleusis. She remarks on her godlike appearance, and offers to ask her mother Metaneira if she will take her as nurse to her baby son, promising her a rich reward.

### 98 ff. Scenes of meeting

The scene of Demeter's encounter with Celeus' daughters by the well Parthenion is in many respects traditional. For the meeting at (or near) a well or spring cf. *Od.* 7. 18 ff. (with 6. 281 ff.), 10. 105 ff., 17. 204 ff. In *Od.* 7. 18 ff. Odysseus meets Athena in disguise and asks for information. This motif of meeting with a deity in disguise recurs in

(*a*) *Od.* 6. 149 ff., where Odysseus addresses Nausicaa as if she were a goddess, and asks for help.

(*b*) *Od.* 13. 221 ff., where Odysseus again supplicates Athena 'as a god': in this case, he is double-bluffed, since she is one. (Cf. A. Lesky, *Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im hom. Epos*, Heidelberg, 1961, p. 36 n. 68.)

(*c*) *Ap.* 464 ff., where the Cretans remark on Apollo's resemblance to a god, and ask for information.

(*d*) *Aph.* 92 ff.: here again Anchises addresses Aphrodite as a goddess.

In *Dem.* 98 ff., the normal roles are reversed, since the goddess is the suppliant. Again, the girls notice her godlike appearance (*Dem.* 159). They themselves are also 'like goddesses' (108).

For another stranger-suppliant scene cf. *Od.* 15. 260 ff. (Theoclymenus and Telemachus).

The meeting in *Od.* 6 also takes place near water, here the washing-place on the sea-shore (cf. *Od.* 15. 420 f.). In *Od.* 13. 102 ff. the scene is the cave of the nymphs, in which are 'ever-flowing waters' (109), beside an olive-tree (102 etc. ~ *Dem.* 100).

The town spring usually lay outside the walls, and as the duty of collecting water fell to women, it was a common place for scenes of abduction and love: cf. Poseidon and Amymone, Achilles and Polyxena, Boreas and Oreithyia, Heracles and Auge (E. Fölzer, *Die Hydria* (Leipzig, 1906), 5 ff.). Cf. also Men. *Dysc.* 189 ff., Genesis 29: 1 ff.; W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94 (1966), 15. Scenes of women at fountains are common on Greek hydriai, and sometimes show a man molesting a woman or women. (For a catalogue of fountain-scenes cf. B. Dunkley, *BSA* 36 (1935–6), 198 ff.) But it is possible that the scene at Callichoron is also a reflection of Eleusinian ritual. Hydriai played an important role in the cult of Demeter and Persephone, as is shown by the presence at many sites of miniature votive hydriai, figurines of hydrophoroi, and actual hydriai dedicated to the goddesses. For a catalogue of these cf. E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz, 1964), 187–93 (note especially Paus. 4. 26. 7 ff.), and for further material from the recently discovered sanctuary at Corinth cf. R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* 37 (1968), 303–4. A procession of hydrophoroi may have formed part of the cult at some sites. Cf. also notes on *Dem.* 99, 105 ff., 169–88.

A detailed analysis of these epic scenes of meeting is given in Appendix III.

In addition to the structural parallels listed there, Demeter's 'false tale' (119 ff.) shows several close similarities to those of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (13. 253 ff., 14. 192 ff., 19. 165 ff.). Cf. ad *Dem.* 120 ff. There are also a number of verbal parallels with the narrative of *Od.* 13. 96 ff., which suggest that the poet of the *Hymn* may have had this part of the *Odyssey* in mind (cf. Introduction, pp. 32 f.). These are also listed in Appendix III.

**98.** We have to supply here 'having reached Eleusis'.

**ἕζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο:** cf. Appendix III.

**98 f.** Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 20. 1 (= 1. 15. 24 St.), says that the initiates

at Eleusis were forbidden to sit by the well, lest they should seem to imitate the action of the sorrowing Demeter (cf. ad *Dem.* 6 ff., 42).

For sitting down in sorrow cf. ad *Dem.* 197 ff.

Later versions made Demeter sit down several times, or for a long time, beside the well Callichoron, either on the ground, or on the Agelastos Petra. Cf. ad *Dem.* 99, 200.

**99. Παρθενίῳ φρέατι:** for the local dative cf. Monro, *HG*² § 145 (4). For the metrical lengthening of the iota of the dative *in arsi*, cf. *Dem.* 101, 248. It is common in Homer, where it is often followed by hiatus, as in *Dem.* 99, 101, 248. It may reflect the original double form of the dative in *-ει* or *-ι*: cf. K–B i. 310, 367, van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 80, 91 f., La Roche, *HU* i. 49. Hiatus is commoner in the post-Homeric poets than in Homer: cf. K–B i. 195 f., Hermann, *Orphica*, 725 ff.

The form *φρέᾰτι* (not Attic, which has *φρέᾱτι*) is presupposed by the Homeric *φρείατα* (*Il.* 21. 197) with secondary lengthening *metri gratia*, after original *φρῆαρ* had become *φρέαρ* (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 10).

On the location of the well, and its identification with Callichoron, see Appendix I.

Parthenios is a common name of rivers in Greece (cf. *RE* 18. 1891 ff. s.v., Frazer, *Ovid*, *Fasti*, vol. 3, p. 286 n. 3). Springs and rivers were associated with virginity (cf. G. Glotz, *L'Ordalie dans la Grèce primitive*, (Paris, 1904), 72 ff., Frazer l.c.). The name Parthenion may also indicate that girls drew water from it at their marriage, as was the case with Callirhoe, the fountain by Demeter's temple at Agrae (Thuc. 2. 15).

The cult of Demeter and Persephone is especially connected with sacred springs: cf. in Arcadia those of Andania, Trapezus, and Phigalia (Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 480), and the spring Cyane at Syracuse, into which Persephone vanished with Hades (cf. ad *Dem.* 42), and where there was a festival (Diod. 4. 23. 4, 5. 4. 2). At Andania, the cult of the spring Hagne is clearly the oldest element (cf. Kern, *RE* 16. 1268. 44 ff.), and she is identified with Core (Paus. 4. 33. 4; cf. *Dem.* 337). At Cos, a sanctuary of Demeter and Core centring on a spring has been found, and a statue of Core beside the spring suggests their close connection (Herzog, *AA* 1901, 134 ff.). There was a Laconian festival of Demeter called *Ἐπικρήναια* (Hsch. s.v.). At Eleusis, the cult probably began with worship of a sacred well (cf. Frazer, o.c. 288 f., and Introduction, pp. 18 f.).

For the connection between springs and initiation ceremonies cf. also W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94 (1966), 15. The story of the Charites, who were thrown into a spring at Orchomenus while dancing round it, is especially relevant. At their festival there was dancing at night (*Geop.* 11. 4). The myth of Hylas, who was pulled into a spring by the nymphs while drawing water, also belongs to this type. In the local ceremonies performed in his honour a search for him was conducted, like that for Core (cf. A.R. 1. 1354 f., Str. 12. 4. 3).

In the story of Isis looking for the body of Osiris, there is a similar episode to that in the *Hymn.* Isis comes to Byblos and sits down at

a spring there, in dejection and tears, and addresses no one, until the queen's handmaidens come (Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 15). Cf. ad *Dem.* 40 ff.

Philicus' *Hymn* (verses 40 f.) apparently refers to a *βασιλεία κρήνη* formed from the tears of Demeter. Cf. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 557 f.

**100.** Wells in Greece have always been in the shade of trees, places in which to rest and take refreshment after the dust and heat of a journey. In Homer cf. *Il.* 2. 305 ff., *Od.* 6. 291 f., 9. 140 f., 17. 204 ff., and also 13. 102 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.). The olive tree presumably stood by Callichoron in later times, and was also sacred to Demeter. Cf. perhaps ad *Dem.* 23, and the sacred olive of Athena on the Acropolis, near which was the spring which Poseidon created.

**101.** A goddess taking the disguise of an old woman is an epic feature (e.g. *Il.* 3. 386, and A.R. 3. 72). Cf. also Aesch. fr. 279 Loeb (Appendix, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones), Ov. *M.* 3. 273 ff., Nonnus *D.* 8. 180 ff., Hyg. *Fab.* 167, 179 (Hera is disguised as a priestess in Aeschylus, an old nurse in Ovid and later sources); and Virg. *A.* 5. 618 ff., 7.416 ff. Demeter does the same thing in Pamphos' version. For the nurse of Demophon this disguise is also appropriate (cf. 103 f., 139 ff.). It is unlikely that there is a reminiscence of the portrayal of the corn-spirit or deity as the 'Old Woman' at this stage (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc.).

**παλαιγενέϊ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 99, and *Il.* 3. 386. The word means 'aged' (of persons) in epic (*Il.* 3. 386, 17. 561, *Od.* 22. 395, *Dem.* 113, *Herm.* 199). For the pleonasm cf. *γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων* (*Dem.* 119 etc.). For a dative *in hiatu* at the caesura before *ἐναλίγκιος* cf. *Il.* 5. 5, 13. 242, 14. 290, 17. 583. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 56, comments that *Dem.* 101a 'may be older than the expression found in *Il.* 3. 386'.

**101 f.** Ruhnken compared Virg. *A.* 4. 33 'nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris'.

**102. δώρων . . . Ἀφροδίτης:** in *Il.* 3. 54, 64 this phrase is used of Paris' charms. For its use here cf. Hes. *Sc.* 47, Pi. *N.* 8. 7. Cf. also West ad *Th.* 103.

**φιλοστεφάνου:** this does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, and *φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης* is perhaps a 'combination formula', formed from *φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη* (always in the nominative) and *ἐϋστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης*. It is also a doublet of *πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης* (Hes. *Th.* 980 etc.), and *Διὸς κούρης Ἀφροδίτης* (*Il.* 20. 105 only: cf. *Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη*). Cf. in later poetry Bacch. 13. 183 f. (of *Εὔκλεια*), E. fr. 453. 8 (*κῶμοι*), Ion Lyr. 1. 13 (*ἄνδρες*).

**103 f.** Cf. *Od.* 13. 223 *οἷοί τε ἀνάκτων παῖδες ἔασιν* (of Athena disguised as a young man: cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.).

The double genitive is a little awkward here, and 103 could stand on its own (cf. Bücheler), but the phrase has probably been adapted from *Od.* 13. 223, or a similar model.

**θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων:** *θεμιστοπόλος* is not found in Homer, and the formula is a 'doublet' of the Homeric *διοτρεφέων βασιλήων* (*Il.* 1. 176 etc.). Dion. Hal. (5. 74) calls the epithet Homeric, but not necessarily because of its occurrence in the *Hymn* (as Deichgräber suggests, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 532 n. 1). It occurs in Hesiod (cf. p. 103

ad loc.) and is analogous to the Homeric δικασπόλος (*Il.* 1. 238). It is hardly possible to say which of the two is the earlier formation: Wilamowitz (ad Hes. *Op.* 67) gives priority to θεμιστοπόλος, but H. Vos (*Themis* (Assen, 1956), 4) considers it a poetic word formed by analogy with δικασπόλος.

The θέμιστες are individual ordinances (precedents, or 'dooms') which are 'dealt out' by the βασιλῆες, the Homeric (and Hesiodic) aristocracy. Cf. *Il.* 1. 238, etc. For the βασιλῆες as guardians of justice cf. also ad *Dem.* 151 f.

**τροφοὶ . . . καὶ ταμίαι:** cf. Eurycleia (*Od.* 1. 435, 2. 345 ff., 361), and *Dem.* 141 ff.

**105. Ἐλευσῖνίδαο:** the first iota is here shortened. Cf. ad *Dem.* 266. This should mean the son of Eleusinus, who appears as son of Hermes and eponymous hero of Eleusis in Harpocr. s.v. *Ἐλευσίνια*; in Hyg. *Fab.* 147, Serv. ad Virg. *G.* 1. 19 as recipient (with Cothonea or Cyntinia) of Demeter. Panyassis (fr. 24 K.) made Eleusis the father of Triptolemus. According to Pausanias (1. 38. 7), tradition made him the son of either Hermes and Daeira, or Ogygius. Celeus is the son of Rarus in *Suda* s.v. *Ῥαριάς* (cf. ad *Dem.* 96, 450).

**105 ff.** Here there are four daughters of Celeus (108), and their names are given (109 f.). The paraphrase of the Orphic version (Orph. fr. 49. 53 ff.) names only three, calls them Calliope, Cleisidice, and Damonassa, and says that they came to fetch water *with the queen.* These discrepancies are not great: Callidice has been dropped out, and Callithoe replaced by Calliope, through reminiscence of Hes. *Th.* 79 (cf. ad *Dem.* 110). Demo (*Dem.* 109) is a hypocoristic, and could be extended to Demonassa. *Dem.* 285 ff. has been taken as an indication that there were only three daughters in the *Homeric Hymn*, but these lines are not a complete enumeration.

Pausanias, however, says (1. 38. 3) that both Pamphos and Homer call them Diogeneia, Pammerope, and Saisara. This caused much trouble to early editors. Pausanias also says that the daughters of Celeus 'perform the sacred rites' together with Eumolpus. The *Hymn* does not mention this (cf. 473 ff.), although it perhaps assumes their participation in the priestly functions: cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff., 109, 169–88, 176–81, 292 f. Pausanias' testimony agrees with that of the *Suda* (s.v. *Εὔμολπος*) which refers to a 3,000-line poem (or poems) of Eumolpus concerning τελετὰς Δήμητρος, καὶ τὴν εἰς Κελέου ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν, τὴν ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ γενομένην. According to the Parian Marble (*FGH* 239 A 15) Eumolpus published the poetry of his father Musaeus when he founded the Mysteries. Eumolpus is the first of the Hierophants, and the daughters of Celeus may have been considered as prototypes of the Eleusinian priestesses (cf. ad *Dem.* 169–88). The Hierophantides, however, were of the Eumolpid genos, and the priestess of Demeter belonged to the Philleidae (cf. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 61 f.). The names in Pausanias probably belong to local legend. In the case of Saisara this is certain: cf. Hsch. s.v. *Σαισαρία· ἡ Ἐλευσὶν πρότερον.*

According to the tradition of the Attic deme Scambonidae, Saisara married Crocon, the eponymous ancestor of the Eleusinian priestly family of the Croconidae (Paus. 1. 38. 2). For Diogeneia cf. perhaps Apollod. 3. 15. 1 (mother of Praxithea, who married Erechtheus).

The daughters of Celeus also had tombs and received honours at Eleusis (Clem. *Protr.* 3. 45. 2 p. 34 St.). The names in the *Hymn*, on the other hand, have the appearance of poetic invention (cf. ad *Dem.* 109 f.). It is not at all clear why the poet should not have given the local legend at this point: possibly the names were not yet fixed in his time.

Pausanias may have written *Ὅμηρος* by mistake for *Ὀρφεύς* or *Μουσαῖος* (cf. Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 109). But he refers to Homer and Pamphos again together at 8. 37. 9, and his version is not that of Orph. fr. 49 (above). More probably he is using a version ascribed to Homer by some and to Eumolpus (or Musaeus or Orpheus) by others (just as Orph. fr. 49 quotes parts of the 'Homeric' version and ascribes them to Orpheus). For other discrepancies between Pausanias' Homeric version and ours cf. ad *Dem.* 154 f., 417 ff. (where he agrees with Orph. fr. 49), 474 ff.: these, however, may be due to the fluctuations of epic transmission. Clearly there were several epic versions current, which were variously ascribed to Homer, Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, Pamphos, etc. (cf. Introduction, pp. 68, 74 f., 77 ff.).

**106. εὐήρυτον:** this occurs only here. Cf. *κοτυλήρυτον* (*Il.* 23. 34), *ἀρύω* Hes. *Op.* 550, *Sc.* 301 etc.

**107. κάλπιδι:** this is found in poetry (epic, Attic, Doric, etc.) and late prose, and is also Thessalian according to Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1095. The Attic word is *ὑδρία*. *κάλπη* (cf. M's reading) occurs in late Greek (Plut. *Marc.* 30, etc.).

**χαλκείῃσι:** valuable hydriai were often made of metal in the classical period, e.g. as prizes, dedications, etc. Cf. also Call. fr. 596 (Pf. ad loc.), Gow ad Theocr. 13. 46, A.R. 1. 1207. On the significance of hydriai in Demeter cults cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.

**φίλα:** the emendation *φίλου* is easy. *φίλα* could have been due to attraction to the nearest noun. But cf. *Dem.* 180 and *Il.* 12. 221. For other similar examples of 'epithet-shift' in combination-formulae cf. ad *Dem.* 113.

**108. τέσσαρες:** for this reference to their number before their names are listed cf. *Il.* 7. 161, 24. 252, *Od.* 8. 118, Hes. *Th.* 76 (West ad loc.), 148, 264, 907, frr. 7. 2, 26. 6.

**ὥς τε θεαί:** cf. Hes. fr. 26. 6. Nausicaa is compared to a goddess in the parallel scene at *Od.* 6. 102 ff., 149 ff.

**κουρήϊον ἄνθος:** *κουρήιος* occurs only here (cf. p. 104 ad loc. for *κούριος*). The original sense of *ἄνθος* was perhaps 'growth' (cf. ad *Dem.* 279, and J. M. Aitchison, *Glotta* 41 (1963), 271 ff.).

**109–10.** The repetition in *Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλειτιδίκη* and in *Καλλιδίκη . . . Καλλιθόη*, and the alliteration, are common features in lists of names: cf. Hes. *Th.* 135 (West ad loc.), 248, 249, 251, 257, 258, 353, 1017 f., and in general West, 76, Rzach, *RE* 8. 1199 f., Lehrs,

*Aristarchus*[2], 454 ff., especially 461 ff. These features make it all the more probable that the poet is inventing the names (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.).

For the pattern of 109, three names of which only the last has an epithet, cf. Hes. *Th.* 140 (West ad loc.), Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* 194; and for the pattern of 109–10, the fourth name with τε followed by a relative clause, cf. Hes. *Th.* 976–7, and similarly 376–7.

**Δημώ τ' ἐρόεσσα:** Demo is a hypocoristic form (cf. Demonassa in Orph. fr. 49. 53 ff.), used of Demeter herself (*Et. M.* 264. 8, *Suda* s.v.; cf. ad *Dem.* 47, and Preller, *Dem. u. Pers.* 135, 368, Baunack, *RhM* 37 (1882), 478 f.), and of the Cumaean Sibyl (Paus. 10. 12. 8–9), who is called Demophile in Varro ap. Lact. *Inst.* 1. 21. 17. As such, it is probably invented as suitable for a future servant of Demeter (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff., and her brother's name Demophon, ad *Dem.* 234). ἐρόεσσα is not found in Homer, who has ἐρατός, ἐρατεινός. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 245, 251, 357, *Dem.* 425, *Aph.* 263, *Herm.* 31, *Hy.* 32. 20.

**110.** The line is perhaps modelled on Hes. *Th.* 79, reminiscence of which may also have given rise to the name Calliope in Orph. fr. 49. 53.

**ἀπαcῶν:** this contracted form occurs in manuscripts of Homer in words in -ιῶν and pronouns, and also at *Il.* 11. 69 (simile), 18. 529 (Shield), 21. 243. Cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 64 f., 69, 201. -έων with synizesis is the normal form in Homer: 21 times in *Iliad*, 19 in *Odyssey*. The normal Ionic form in the fifth and fourth centuries in inscriptions is -έων. The only examples in Hesiod of the contraction are in the manuscripts at *Th.* 715 (but a papyrus has στιβαρέων, which West reads; cf. ad loc.) and *Op.* 264 (where a papyrus has σκολιέων . . . δικέων). Cf. ορχεστον on the Dipylon jug (Athens Nat. Mus. 2074): this may be an Attic form. Here also the form may be due to an Attic poet or copyist, or alternatively to 'normalization' in the medieval tradition. On ἀπαcέων cf. Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 129 f.

**111. ἔγνων:** this form is anomalous and ἔγνον would be correct. Cf. Pi. *P.* 4. 120, where most manuscripts have ἔγνων and ἔγνον is guaranteed by the metre. Cf. also Pi. *P.* 9. 79, *I.* 2. 23. ἔγνων may be due to false analogy with ἔδρων. Similar anomalous third-plural forms occur in Homer in μιάνθην (*Il.* 4. 146), ἔφῡν (*Od.* 5. 481). Cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 471 f., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 664. The reading should therefore be retained here also.

**χαλεποὶ . . . ὁρᾶcθαι:** cf. *Dem.* 94 f., and note ad loc. The gods rarely appear to men in their own form in epic (but cf. *Il.* 1. 197 ff., 5. 123 ff., 11. 195 ff., *Od.* 7. 201 ff., etc.). In *Od.* 16. 157 ff., 20. 30 ff., Athena appears 'as a woman' to Odysseus, but he knows who she is. Cf. also *Il.* 3. 396 ff., where Helen sees through Aphrodite's disguise. For the idea that it is dangerous for men to see them openly cf. *Il.* 20. 131, and for the notion that they are difficult to recognize cf. *Od.* 10. 573 f., 13. 312, 16. 160 f. But contrast *Il.* 13. 72 ῥεῖ' ἔγνων (cf. *Dem.* 111) ἀπιόντος· ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοί περ (and cf. *Il.* 22. 9 f., *Od.* 13. 299 f.).

Does *χαλεποί* mean 'dangerous' here (as at *Il.* 20. 131), or 'difficult'? The context seems rather to favour the second sense, but the *Iliad* passage would support the former.

A god often reveals himself on his departure, sometimes also on arrival: cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff., 268 ff.

**θεοὶ θνητοῖϲιν:** this juxtaposition is a common device. Cf. *Il.* 20. 41, *Od.* 24. 64, *Hy.* 31. 19; also *Od.* 13. 312, and *Il.* 2. 821, 22. 9, 24. 537, *Od.* 4. 397, *Aph.* 32, 167, Hes. *Th.* 871, 942, 967 f., 987, frr. 30. 27, 33, Call. fr. 193. 37, A.R. 1. 298.

**113. ἐccὶ γρηῢ:** this lengthening before mute and liquid in the second thesis occurs only twenty-eight times in Homer (Fr. Isler, *Quaestiones Metricae* (Diss. Gryphiswald, 1908), 22).

**γρηῢ παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων:** this is an excellent example of a 'combination-formula' with transferred epithet (cf. Introduction, p. 50). *παλαιγενής* has been transferred from *γρηῢ* to the genitive, probably under the influence of *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων*. Cf. ad *Dem.* 107, and *Il.* 5. 463 f., Hes. *Th.* 30 (~ *Il.* 10. 467), 319, 335, 451 (West ad loc.).

It is less probable that *χαμαιγενέων* is the correct reading, corrupted by reminiscence of *Dem.* 101. Cf., however, Theognis 870, where *παλαιγενέων* and *χαμαιγενέων* are variants. It is also notable that *χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων* is used of men in relation to the superior (and destructive) powers of the gods, nature, etc. in *Dem.* 352, Hes. *Th.* 879, Theognis 870, and in *Aph.* 108 it is used by Aphrodite (in disguise) in addressing Anchises. In Pindar's use of *ἀνθρώπων . . . χαμαιγενέων* at *P.* 4. 98 the tone is perhaps one of contempt (cf. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes*, 155 f.). Cf. also *Il.* 5. 440–2. There would be a neatly ironic twist in its use here by a mortal addressing a disguised goddess: cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff., 120 f., 147 f., 216 f., for similar examples of irony.

The verse is paralleled by *Dem.* 119, which has a similarly pleonastic phraseology.

**114. τίπτε δὲ . . . ἀπέϲτιχεϲ:** *τίπτε* is often used in questions of the sort 'why have you left (the battle, etc.) and come here?' Cf. *Il.* 4. 340, 6. 254, 7. 24 f., 14. 43, 18. 385 = 424, 23. 94, *Od.* 4. 312, 810 f., 5. 87.

**νόϲφι πόληοϲ:** this means 'apart from', not necessarily 'far from'. Cf. *Et. M.* 607. 5 *νόϲφι ϲημαίνει χωρίϲ*; Ebeling, s.v.; Mylonas, *Hymn to Demeter*, 72 f. The well was just outside the city walls (cf. Appendix I). Cf. Ov. *F.* 4. 514: 'quid facis in solis incomitata locis?'

**114–15.** The sentence is of the type '*x* and not the opposite'. Cf. *Dem.* 163, 213 f., and in general Introduction, pp. 59 f. In later poetry cf. e.g. S. *Ant.* 443.

**115. πίλναϲαι:** M has *πιλνᾶϲ*. *πιλνάω* occurs elsewhere only in Hes. *Op.* 510, where it is transitive (cf. on this Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 110). Hermann's *πιλνᾷ* (i.e. second sing. present middle: cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 301 f. on *Il.* 14. 199 *δαμνᾷ*) would give hiatus, which is rare after the first foot, although commoner with a pause in sense (cf. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 74; Schulze, *QE* 8). The sigma might have been added to remove the hiatus. But the form is in any

case anomalous, and *πίλναται* is probably correct. Cf. perhaps Theognis 1388: δαμνας δ' codd., δαμνᾷς Hartung, Diehl, δάμναται Bergk. The loss of *-αι* is paralleled in *Dem.* 332.

**117. φίλωνται:** 'welcome, treat kindly' (cf. *Od.* 1. 123, etc.). *φιλεῖν* requires 'not primarily emotions or intentions . . . but actions and results' (Adkins, *CQ* N.S. 13 (1963), 34).

**ἠμὲν ἔπει ἠδὲ καὶ ἔργῳ:** on the neglect of digamma in this formula cf. Hoekstra, *Hom. Modifications*, 45, 56, and *Mnemosyne*, Sér. 4, 10 (1957), 214 ff. He regards *ἠδὲ/ἠὲ καὶ ἔργα* (etc.) as modifications of the system *ἠέ* (*οὔτε*, *οὐδέ*) *τι ἔργον* (*-ῳ*, *-α*), as in *Od.* 4. 163, *Dem.* 199, etc.

**118. ὣς ἔφαθ':** contrast the plural in *Dem.* 112. The slip may be due to the poet himself, under the influence of the commoner formula (*ὣς ἔφαν* in Homer occurs only at *Od.* 10. 422). In 145 ff., Callidice alone speaks.

**ἡ δ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμείβετο:** this is not a usual formula of answer. But cf. *Od.* 11. 81, etc., and *Od.* 4. 706, etc.

**πότνα θεάων:** this is a 'combination formula', from *πότνα θεά* (in Homer always in the vocative), and *δῖα θεάων*, perhaps influenced by *πότνια Δηώ*. Schulze (*Kl. Schr.* 325 ff.) conjectured that Homeric *πότνα* stood for **πότνι* (Skt. vocative *patni*). But in Homer *πότνια* is also used as vocative (*Il.* 6. 264, etc.), and the manuscripts vary between *πότνα* and *πότνια* (i.e. *πότνϳα*) at *Od.* 5. 215, etc. Hence *πότνα* may have been written for *πότνια* (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 170). *πότνα* as nominative here may be due to a misunderstanding of the Homeric use, or it may also be for *πότνια*. The nominative use recurs in Call. fr. 63. 8, again of Demeter. Cf. also Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 559 Zusatz 2, R. Sjölund, *Metrische Kürzung im Griechischen* (Diss. Uppsala, 1938), 9 f. *πότνα θεάων* is a doublet of Hom. *δῖα θεάων*. Cf. also E. *Ba.* 370 *Ὁσία, πότνα θεῶν*.

**119–20. τέκνα φίλ' . . . χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν μυθήσομαι:** cf. *Od.* 13. 228 ff., *Ap.* 464 ff. (~ *Od.* 24. 400 ff.).

A similar address in Emp. fr. 112. 1–4 introduces an epiphany: *ὦ φίλοι οἳ . . . χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος* . . . (cf. ad *Dem.* 256–74, 397, and Zuntz, *Persephone*, 190–1). Cf. also *Od.* 11. 248–52. This suggests that the poet might have taken the phraseology from a context in which the disguised deity revealed his or her identity at this point.

**119. αἵ τινές ἐστε:** this replaces the name, which is normally used in address in epic. It is a common formula of address to a deity, whose identity or proper appellation is unknown or uncertain: cf. *Od.* 4. 376, 5. 445, *Aph.* 92, A. *Ag.* 160, Pl. *Crat.* 400 e, Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 144 ff. It is used of a mortal at *Od.* 15. 28, and similarly *Herm.* 209, 277, 311.

**γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων:** the 'comparative' *θηλύτερος* shows the original disjunctive sense of the termination (cf. *ἕτερος*, *ἀριστερός*, etc.) and emphasizes the distinction from men. For the typical epic pleonasm cf. *Dem.* 101, 136 (*κουριδίους ἄνδρας*).

**120–1.** Demeter introduces her false tale with a profession of veracity. Cf. *Od.* 14. 192 (~ 16. 61). For further parallels with Odysseus' Cretan stories cf. ad *Dem.* 123, 125, 127 ff., 129, 132. Odysseus also attempts to fool Athena with a Cretan tale in *Od.* 13. 253 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.). Persephone makes a similar protestation to her mother (*Dem.* 406). Cf. also *Herm.* 368–9!

**122. Δωσώ:** this is the most satisfactory solution proposed for M's *Δώς*. Demeter is unlikely to reveal her real name (despite Gemoll's contention that she is still unknown at Eleusis): hence *Δηώ* is improbable. A pseudonym suggesting her true character is more likely: cf. her epithets *Ἀνησιδώρα* (Paus. 1. 31. 4; Plut. *QS* 745 a), *ἀγλαόδωρος* (*Dem.* 54, etc.), etc. (cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 37). Aphrodite was also called *Εὐδώσω* at Syracuse (Hsch. s.v.). Cf. also δοσω on an Attic vase (Kretschmer, *Vaseninschr.* 202), and *Δεξώ*, *Δωρώ*, *Δημώ* (*Dem.* 109), etc. Bechtel intended *Δωίς* as a short form of *Δωμάτηρ* which occurs rarely in North Greek for Demeter (cf. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* 2. 374, Meister, *Dial.* 1. 75). But there is no reason why the poet should have chosen such a recherché form, if in fact he knew of it at all. Brunck's *μέν* is out of place here: cf. *Od.* 9. 19, 366. Ludwich's transposition retains *Δώς*, which occurs as an abstract noun (= δόσις) at Hes. *Op.* 356 (where it is perhaps 'semi-personalized'), and is recognized together with *Σώς* as a proper name in *Et. Orionis* 138. 16, *Et. M.* 247. 16. But the loss of *-ω* is an easier corruption, and Ludwich's word order is less satisfactory.

**τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ:** as in *Od.* 18. 5, the mother gives the name (cf. also Pi. *O.* 6. 56–7). Elsewhere, it is sometimes the father: e.g. E. *Phoen.* 12 f. *καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με· τοῦτο γὰρ πατὴρ ἔθετο.* Cf. *Od.* 19. 401 ff. (Odysseus' maternal grandfather tells the parents to call him Odysseus).

**123. Κρήτηθεν:** Demeter probably comes from Crete because this is suitable to a 'false tale' (cf. *Od.* 13. 256, 14. 199, 19. 172; also *Ap.* 469 f., and ad *Dem.* 98 ff., 120 f.). A special significance has been seen in this by those who think that the Mysteries have a Minoan origin: cf. Persson, *ARW* 21 (1922), 287 ff., Picard, *RÉG* 40 (1927), 320 ff., Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 99, 124, Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*², 468 ff., 558 ff.; also Hes. *Th.* 969 ff. (West ad 971), notes to *Dem.* 126, 489, and Introduction, p. 18. But it is probably rash to read too much into the reference.

**124.** Cf. *Od.* 13. 277 (Appendix III). Note the fourfold repetition of the notion 'against my will, by force'. Cf. ad *Dem.* 72, 413.

**125.** In Odysseus' false tale to Eumaeus he is made captive by Thesprotian pirates (*Od.* 14. 334 ff.), and escapes while they are having a meal (cf. *Dem.* 127 ff.). For capture by pirates cf. also *Od.* 15. 427, *Hy.* 7. 6 ff.

**126. Θορικὸν δέ:** for the accentuation cf. *Dem.* 163, 253, 484, Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 126 and p. lxi, Allen, *Iliad, Prolegomena*, 230 f., Lehrs, *QE* 40.

Thoricos is on the north-east coast of Attica, and is a natural

landing-place for boats from Crete. The remains of an early-fifth-century cult-building of unusual form, with thirty-eight Doric columns and two entrances on the longer sides, have been discovered there (Soc. of Dilettanti, *Uned. Antiquities of Athens*, 1817, ch. IX; Stais, *Praktika*, 1893, 16 f.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. 5, 525 f.; H. F. Mussche, *Thorikos II, 1964* (Brussels, 1967), 73 ff.). It has been conjectured that this was dedicated to Demeter and Persephone. A *hóρος τεμένους τοῖν θεοῖν* was found somewhere near Thoricos (*IG* ii². 2600; cf. *IG* i³. 869?). More significant is the fact that some columns from the building were re-used in the Roman period in a small temple in the Agora at Athens, near the Eleusinion, and in this were found fragments of a late-fifth-century statue of Demeter-type, which very probably also came from Thoricos (cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* 29 (1960), 339 f.; E. B. Harrison, *Hesp.* 29 (1960), 371 ff.).

The side-entrances of the cult-building at Thoricos suggest comparison with the temples of Lycosura, Tegea, and Bassae, where they were perhaps used in order to display the rituals inside the temple to spectators outside. These have been compared with the Telesterion at Eleusis and with a 'theatral area' recently discovered outside the Erechtheum at Athens (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.; Berve and Gruben, *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (London, 1963), 357, 389, 399). The building at Thoricos may possibly have been used for some kind of mystery rites, like those of Eleusis and Lycosura.

The direct route from Thoricos to Eleusis leads through Athens, but Demeter does not mention it, and in fact says that she has been wandering and does not know what country she is in (133 f.: this led Lenz to reject 126, with its mention of Thoricos). This silence has been taken as significant: cf. Walton, *HTR* 45 (1952), 114, who considers that Athens has been pointedly ignored here, because the *Hymn* is a polemic against the Athenian take-over of control of the Mysteries (cf. Introduction, p. 6). It is also possible to conclude that Demeter by implication has come along the Sacred Way from Athens, which must therefore have already existed when the *Hymn* was composed. But it is probably unwise to press the implications of Demeter's journey too closely, especially as she is not telling the truth (cf. ad *Dem.* 123).

**νηῒ θοῇ . . . κατέσχεθον:** the verb is used transitively in Homer in this context (cf. *Od.* 11. 456). The intransitive use occurs in Theognis 262, Hdt. 7. 188, S. *Ph.* 221, 270, *Tr.* 220, etc.

**126–7.** Baumeister's conjecture is designed to avoid the ellipse of 127 f. (cf. ad loc.).

**127–8.** The sense appears to require a connecting particle in 128. The examples of ellipse given in Allen and Halliday ad loc. are not parallel. But it is perhaps just possible to assume an ellipse here. Alternatively, Baumeister's conjecture (ad *Dem.* 126–7) provides an attractive solution, for which cf. *Od.* 11. 20 f.

**128. ἐπηρτύνοντο:** the verb is only used in the active in Homer. The simple verb is used in the middle (*Il.* 2. 55, etc.), and means

'arrange' (e.g. *ἕεδνα*, etc.). There is no need to alter it to *ἐντύνοντο* (Voss, Bücheler).

**129. δόρποιο:** contrast *δεῖπνον* in 128. In Homer, *δεῖπνον* is normally the main meal of the day, *δόρπον* the evening meal. The two are clearly distinguished in *Od.* 20. 390 ff. (But cf. *Od.* 4. 61 : *δείπνου* after sunset, 3. 497; cf. *Od.* 4. 194 f., 213. Perhaps Menelaus' feast, *Od.* 4. 3 ff., runs on into a *δόρπον* here. LSJ cite *Od.* 17. 176, 20. 390 f. for *δεῖπνον* of an evening meal, but this is wrong.) In *Ap.* 497, 511 there is a similar equation of *δειπνῆσαι* and *δόρπον*. Cf. Lehrs, *Aristarchus*[2], 127 ff., Baumeister ad *Dem.* 128–9.

**ἤρατο:** the imperfect is not found in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. Theognis, 1346, etc. (*κρειῶν ἐρατίζων Il.* 11. 551, etc., *ὅσίης κρεάων ἠράσσατο Herm.* 130; *δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν Od.* 8. 61, etc.).

**131. σημάντορας:** this always means 'leader' in Homer. The sense here is presumably 'my arrogant overlords'.

**131–2. ὄφρα κε μή με . . . ἀποναίατο . . .:** *ὄφρα κε* with the optative occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 12. 26). On the construction cf. K–G ii. 385 f., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 326, Bühler ad Moschus, *Eur.* 127.

**132. ἀπριάτην:** 'unbought'. The word could be an adjective here and at *Il.* 1. 99. Cf. Pi. fr. 169. 8 (Sn.) *ἀπριάτας* (accusative plural), and the name *Ἀπριάτη*. At *Od.* 14. 317 it is treated as an adverb, meaning 'gratis' (Rhianus read *ἀπριάδην*). Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 167 f., considers this a misunderstanding, but it is rather a case of an accusative singular adjective used as an adverb. Cf. Risch, *Wortbildung*, 17, 303, 'Erstarrten Akkusative'.

**τιμῆς:** the sense 'purchase-price' is not found in Homer, but is common in Attic: cf., however, *Il.* 3. 286 ff., 459 f., where it means 'compensation', and is equivalent to *ποινή* (*Il.* 3. 290), and *Od.* 22. 57 *τιμὴν . . . ἐεικοσάβοιον* (compensation); also Hom. *Epigr.* 14. 4 *τιμῆς ὦνον ἀρέσθαι.* (Cf. Latte, *Hermes* 66 (1931), 30 n. 1.)

**133. ἀλαλημένη:** in Homer *ἀλαλημένος* always comes after the hephthemimeral caesura (*Od.* 13. 333, etc.).

**133–4.** Cf. Appendix III, and ad *Dem.* 126, 135 ff.

**134. ἦ τις δὴ γαῖ' ἐστί:** the text should not be changed. *δή* emphasizes Demeter's pretended uncertainty ('just where I am').

**135 ff.** This speech of entreaty is 'typical' in the context of such scenes of meeting (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.). Cf. *Od.* 6. 175 ff., 13. 228 ff., *Ap.* 466 ff., A.R. 4. 1025 ff.:

1. *Wish for prosperity*: *Dem.* 135–7a ~ *Od.* 6. 180 ff. (13. 229a *χαῖρε*), *Ap.* 466, A.R. 4. 1026–8.
2. *Request for pity*: *Dem.* 137b ~ *Od.* 6. 175a (175b–7 ~ *Dem.* 133 f., etc.), 13. 229b, A.R. 4. 1025b–6a.
3. *Request for help and information*: *Dem.* 138 ff. ~ *Od.* 6. 178–9, 13. 230–5, *Ap.* 467–8. (In *Od.* 6. 175 ff., A.R. 4. 1025 ff. the order is reversed, the wish for prosperity coming at the end.)

The 'chance echo' *Dem.* 139a ~ *Od.* 6. 184a should be noted. For a similar speech of entreaty cf. *Dem.* 64 ff.

**135–7.** This formula for a prayer or wish accompanied by a request is expressed by a *μὲν . . . δέ* sentence: cf. *Il.* 1. 18 ff., etc. In English we should subordinate: 'May the gods grant you . . . if you will pity me . . .' Latin also uses parataxis: 'Sic te diva . . . regat . . . reddas . . .' (Hor. *Od.* 1. 3. 1 ff.).

**136. κουριδίους ἄνδρας:** 'wedded husbands'; cf. ad *Dem.* 101, 119.

**136 ff.** There is considerable repetition here:

| | |
|---|---|
| 136–8 *τέκνα τεκέσθαι . . . τοκῆς* (deliberate word-play?) . . . *κοῦραι . . . φίλα τέκνα . . .* | 138–40 *προφρονέως . . . γυναικός . . . ἐργάζωμαι* *πρόφρων . . . γυναικὸς* . . . ἔργα . . .* ~ 144 *ἔργα . . . γυναῖκας* |

Cf. Introduction, p. 60.

**137. τοκῆς:** M's *τοκῆες* must be scanned as a disyllable. Cf. *Il.* 11. 151 (*ἱππῆς*, *ἱππῆες* codd.), Hes. *Op.* 263 (*βασιλῆες* v.l.; cf. 248), 607 (*ἐπηετανόν*), *Herm.* 113 (*ἐπηετανά*); West, *Theogony*, 100, K–B i. 449, 452. For contraction of *-ηε-* cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 32, 43. For unmetrical *scriptio plena* of epic forms cf. Introduction, p. 66 and West ad Hes. *Th.* 800.

There is no need to alter *οἰκτείρατε*, which is a traditional feature (cf. ad *Dem.* 135 ff.). But a lacuna after 137 is necessary, to supply a verb asking for information (cf. e.g. *Od.* 13. 232 = *Ap.* 467). The lacuna is probably due to the same cause as that after *Dem.* 211, 236, etc. (cf. Introduction, p. 66). In this case, it is unnecessary to assume a *homoeoteleuton* (cf. Allen's supplement) or any other contributory cause.

**137–8. κοῦραι . . . φίλα τέκνα:** cf. perhaps *Il.* 23. 626–7 *τέκος . . . φίλος* (Leaf ad loc.).

**138. προφρονέως:** for the use of *πρόφρων* (etc.) with *εἰπεῖν* (etc.) cf. *Il.* 1. 543, 5. 816, 8. 39 f. = 22. 183 f., *Od.* 5. 143, *Herm.* 561. It approaches the sense 'openly, truthfully' in these cases.

**139. ἀνέρος ἠδὲ γυναικός:** note the 'echo' of *Od.* 6. 184 (cf. ad *Dem.* 135 ff.).

**140. ἀφήλικος:** in *Il.* 22. 490 *παναφήλικα* means 'bereft of companions of his own age'. The sense 'aged' occurs first here, and later in Ionic and Attic. The comparative and superlative are normally used (cf. Phryn. *PS* 1 B.), but the positive occurs in Cratin. 369, Phryn. Com. 67. Cf. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 45 f., Forderer, *Gnomon* 30 (1958), 97.

**οἷα γυναικὸς . . . ἔργα τέτυκται:** cf. ad *Dem.* 144. For neglect of digamma before *ἔργα τέτυκται* see Hoekstra, *Mnem.* sér. 4, 10 (1957), 215 f., and cf. *Sub-epic Stage*, 153. The 'tasks of an old woman' are listed in 141 ff. as nurse and housekeeper (cf. *Dem.* 103 f.).

**141. νεογνόν:** not in Homer or Hesiod (*νεογιλός Od.* 12. 86), but also not a neologism (cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 56, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 357).

**142. τιθηνοίμην:** not in Homer (cf. *τιθήνη Il.* 6. 132, etc.). Cf. Theognis 1231, etc.

On Demeter as nurse at Eleusis cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff. The two goddesses are the *κουροτρόφοι* of the initiates: cf. especially S. *OC* 1049 ff. *λαμπάσιν ἀκταῖς, οὗ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν* (cf. Introduction, p. 29, and Kern, *RE* 16. 1239. 38 ff.).

**τηρήσαιμι:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Dem.* 244 *ἐπιτηρήσασα*, Pi. *P.* 2. 88, etc.

**143. ἐϋπήκτων:** the dactylic form is preferable in the fifth foot (La Roche, *HU* 85). Cf. *Dem.* 164.

**144. δεσπόσυνον:** not in Homer (cf. *δέσποινα Od.* 3. 403, etc.). Cf. Tyrt. fr. 5. 2 (as noun), Pi. *P.* 4. 267, etc.

**διδασκήσαιμι γυναῖκας:** the conjecture of Voss is most attractive (cf. Ruhnken: 'nihil rectius' and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 20 Addendum). Cf. *Od.* 22. 422, Hes. *Op.* 64. (But can *γυναῖκας* stand alone for *δμῳάς*? And would a newcomer claim to fulfil this role?) On the form *διδασκῆσαι* (also Pi. *P.* 4. 217) cf. West, *Theogony*, 88 and Hoekstra, o.c. 14. M's *γυναικός* may be due to *Dem.* 140 (cf. also 139).

For Bothe's conjecture cf. *Od.* 22. 395 f. (of Eurycleia) *ἥ τε γυναικῶν | δμῳάων σκοπός ἐσσι* (*Od.* 22. 395 *γρηῢ παλαιγενές* ~ *Dem.* 101, 113). But *διαθρεῖν* means 'examine' rather than 'oversee' (Ar. *Nub.* 700, etc.). The sense of Allen's reading (in the 1936 edition) is presumably 'see to (i.e. perform) a woman's tasks', but again it is questionable whether *διαθρεῖν* could have this meaning. It is also repetitious after 140. This applies to the other conjectures. It might be argued that the words summarize 141–4 and round off the sentence: but the sense would be very feeble after 140.

**145. φῆ ῥα:** for Homeric *ἦ ῥα*. For *φῆ* (= 'he spoke') cf. *Il.* 21. 361, Hes. *Th.* 550, *Herm.* 212, and later Call. *Hy.* 3. 29, 6. 45, Theocr. 24. 101, A.R. 3. 382, 693, 718, Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris, 1959), 197.

**θεά:** on the unusual occurrence of *θεά* in the nominative after a verb in the first trochee, see Appendix V (and cf. *Dem.* 34).

**147 f.** The sentiment is a commonplace of Greek thought. It is a 'typical' epic reflection at the opening of an address, especially to a stranger: cf. ad *Dem.* 213 ff., *Od.* 6. 187–90, 18. 129–42, 20. 195–6, 4. 236–7. In Homer, the most famous example is that of Achilles' *consolatio* to Priam (*Il.* 24. 518 ff.), in a scene which also has several parallels with *Dem.* 180 ff. (*Il.* 24. 480 ff. ~ *Dem.* 190, 24. 553 ~ 191, 24. 601 ff. ~ 208–11). Here, Achilles wonders at Priam's endurance of his troubles, and his courage (*ἄνσχεο . . . ἔτλης* 518–19). He advises him to let his sorrow rest, since there is no use in it (522–4; 523 *ἀχνύμενοί περ*), and this is the fate allotted to mortals by the gods (525–6). He then describes the Jars of Zeus, which contain the gifts of the gods (*δώρων οἷα δίδωσι* ~ *Dem.* 147), and speaks of Peleus (*θεοὶ δόσαν . . . δῶρα* 534) and Priam himself, closing with encouragement to endure (*ἄνσχεο* 549), and a repetition of the theme of the uselessness of sorrow (548–50).

The motif is referred to in *Il.* 24. 48–9, where it is the *Μοῖραι* who give men a heart able to endure (*τλητὸν θυμόν*), so that they put an

end to their sorrow. In *Od.* 18. 129–42 men are advised to bear the δῶρα θεῶν (142), ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ (135). Here Odysseus also observes that men do not think of the future, but are optimists as long as prosperity lasts (cf. ad *Dem.* 256 ff.). Cf. also Hom. *Epigr.* 4. 1, 13 f., where men bear the fate (κῆρα) which god has given them, τετληότι θυμῷ (13 f.).

In later archaic literature, cf. especially Theognis 441 ff., 591 ff. (van Groningen ad loc.). In Solon, fr. 1. 63 ff. D.[3] *Moῖρα* gives men good and evil, and the δῶρα θεῶν are inescapable (ἄφυκτα): the theme of men's inability to foresee the future follows (65 ff.). Cf. also Archil. fr. 13. 5 ff. West (cf. Pfeiffer, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* 44), and *Ap.* 189 ff., where the Muses on Olympus sing of θεῶν δῶρ' ἄμβροτα ἠδ' ἀνθρώπων | τλημοσύνας which they suffer because of their folly and helplessness in face of death and old age (192–3 ~ *Dem.* 256–62! Cf. ad loc.). This perhaps indicates how common the theme was in early epic.

In later poetry, cf. Pi. *P.* 3. 80 ff. (with D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden, 1968), 50 ff.), A. *PV* 103 ff., S. *Ph.* 1316 f., E. *Phoen.* 1763, *Alc.* 1071 (χρὴ . . . καρτερεῖν θεοῦ δόσιν), also 416 ff., 616 f., 780 ff., and 984–6 (in an ode on the power of Ἀνάγκη: cf. ad *Dem.* 216 f.); A.R. 1. 298 ff. πήματα γάρ τ' ἀΐδηλα θεοὶ θνητοῖσι νέμουσιν (i.e. again the theme that men cannot *foresee* the future), τῶν μοῖραν κατὰ θυμὸν ἀνιάζουσά περ ἔμπης | τλῆθι φέρειν (~ *Od.* 6. 188–90); Rhianus fr. 1 (Powell) ἦ ἄρα δὴ μάλα πάντες ἁμαρτίνοοι πελόμεσθα | ἄνθρωποι, φέρομεν δὲ θεῶν ἑτερόρροπα δῶρα | ἀφραδέϊ κραδίῃ . . . (here also the point is that in our folly we do not know which way our fortune will go). Cf. also E. Ahrens, *Gnomen in griechischer Dichtung* (Diss. Halle, 1937), W. C. Greene, *Moira*, 27, 232 f., Nock, *HTR* 33 (1940), 309.

The reflection of *Dem.* 147 f. is thus often linked to the motif of men's inability to find a solution to their own problems, their helplessness and folly, and their incurable optimism. Here, and at *Dem.* 216 f., there is a special irony in the fact that the words are addressed by a mortal to a goddess, and that she is about to attempt to immortalize the son of Celeus.

By themselves, they form a kind of 'gospel of resignation' which places the responsibility in the hands of the gods, or of some impersonal agency, Necessity (cf. ἀνάγκη *Dem.* 147, 216, and ad *Dem.* 216 f.), or Fate (*Moῖραι Il.* 24. 49, *Moῖρα* Solon frr. 1. 63, 8. 2, κῆρα Hom. *Epigr.* 4. 13). But the 'answer' to this is given by Demeter herself (*Dem.* 256 ff.): it is mortals who by their folly and ignorance of their destiny (αἶσαν 257) bring disaster (ἄτη: cf. *Dem.* 246, 258) upon themselves, and prevent the gods from assisting them. (Cf. the parallels quoted ad loc., and Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 148 ff.) A similar 'theodicy' occurs at the opening of the Odyssey (1. 32 ff.).[1] Here, Zeus says

[1] On this, see W. Jaeger, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1926, 73 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 1. 321 ff.), Pfeiffer, *Deutsche Lit.-Zeit.* 1928, 2364, Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, 24, Schadewaldt, *HSCP* 63 (1958), 18, Page, *Homeric Odyssey*, 168 f., Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 32 f., A. Lesky, *Göttliche u. menschl. Motivation im hom. Epos*, 35, Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, 19 f., 24 f.

that the gods give men warning of what is to come: it is their own fault if they do not listen. Cf. later Solon frr. 3. 1 ff., 8. 1 ff., A. *PV* 1071 ff., Pl. *Rep.* 617 d 6–e 5.

In the *Hymn*, the gulf between men and gods, as it is envisaged by 'Homeric religion', is emphasized exactly at the points where an encounter between the two takes place, and again at the point of Demeter's departure. It is as if the two worlds were separated by necessity (*ἀνάγκη*), so that even a deity's attempt to reunite them, in the immortalization of Demophon, is bound to fail. Men cannot become gods: they must be content with the promise of a happy fate after death, through the Mysteries. Cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff., and Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 529 ff.

**148. δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν:** a commonplace of the gods. Cf. *Il.* 4. 56, 6. 11, 8. 144, 10. 557, 15. 165, 181, 20. 135, 21. 264, *Od.* 5. 170, 9. 276, 22. 289.

**149. σαφέως:** not in Homer (cf. *σάφα*). Cf. *σαφές Herm.* 208, *σαφέως* Pi. *O.* 6. 20, Hdt. 2. 31, etc.

**ὑποθήσομαι:** in Homer this means 'suggest, advise'. Here the meaning has developed to 'communicate'. Cf. ad *Dem.* 273.

**ἠδ' ὀνομήνω:** the aorist subjunctive is used for the second verb, after future indicative. Cf. *Il.* 2. 488, *Od.* 4. 240, 6. 126, 12. 383, 13. 215, *Ap.* 1. The two are closely related and sometimes indistinguishable (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 225 f.).

**150. ἔπεστι:** in Homer this is always used literally (but cf. *Od.* 4. 756 of time). Cf. *Dem.* 263.

**κράτος . . . τιμῆς:** 'power consisting in authority'. Cf. E. *Hipp.* 1280 ff. *συμπάντων δὲ βασιλήιδα τιμάν, Κύπρι, τῶνδε μόνα κρατύνεις. τιμή* is the 'criterion for the extent of one's power and might' (Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 55 ff.). *τιμή* and *σθένος, κράτος, δύναμις*, etc. are often used together, sometimes interchangeably, e.g. *Od.* 24. 30, Pi. fr. 29. 4 f. Sn., Keyssner, l.c., and cf. *Dem.* 365 f.

**151. κρήδεμνα πόλησς:** in Homer *Τροίης . . . κρήδεμνα λύωμεν* may have been suggested by the idea of a captive woman whose veil is torn off (cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 386). For *κρήδεμνα* of the walls of a city cf. also *Hy.* 6. 2, and similarly *Il.* 19. 99, Hes. *Th.* 978 (West ad loc.) *ἐϋστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ*, Anacr. *PMG* 391, Pi. *O.* 8. 32 f., S. *Ant.* 122, E. *Hec.* 910. On *κρήδεμνον* cf. ad *Dem.* 41.

**152. ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν:** the phrase is Hesiodic (*Th.* 86, *Op.* 36), but cf. also *Il.* 18. 508, 23. 579 f. *δίκη* perhaps originally meant a 'mark' or 'boundary' (cf. *δείκνυμι*). Hence it is described as straight or crooked. Cf. Palmer, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1950, 149 ff., West ad *Th.* 86. But for other views cf. Frisk s.v., Chantraine, *Dict. Étym. de la langue grecque* s.v.

**153–6.** The genitives are awkward, and have given rise to various conjectures, but presumably they look forward to 156. Such an anticipation over several lines is not Homeric.

**153. Τριπτολέμου:** in the *Hymn* Triptolemus is one of the *βασιλῆες* of Eleusis, and has no special prominence, although it is noticeable

that he is mentioned first both here and in *Dem.* 474. His later importance is due to his role as an Athenian 'propaganda hero'. Athens claimed that he received the gift of corn, and was taught the arts of agriculture by Demeter, and then travelled over the world teaching the other nations in turn. This legend first appears on two black-figure vases of the third quarter of the sixth century, which show him on a wheeled car, holding ears of corn, and surrounded by those to whom he is teaching his arts. On these vases he is portrayed without Demeter, on later (black- and red-figure) vases with Demeter and Core. A recently published vase from Locri in Italy, also of the mid sixth century, shows him accompanying Demeter, Athena, Heracles, Hermes, and a deity named 'Ploutodotas'. On this it is Demeter who is mounting a chariot, and holding ears of corn. Cf. Metzger, *Recherches*, 8 ff., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i$^3$. Nachtr. 860, and notes to *Dem.* 489.

In this period Triptolemus is bearded and has a sceptre. Later, on red-figure vases, he becomes younger, and is beardless. A similar development occurs in the case of Theseus and other heroes in Greek art. He is frequently portrayed at this time being sent out on his mission by Demeter, sometimes in the presence of other deities. His chair becomes a winged chariot, with snakes, like that of Demeter. Finally, he becomes a boy, as on the 'Grand Relief of Eleusis' (*c.* 450–430 B.C.: Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 192 f., Fig. 68). The period of his greatest popularity in vase-painting is *c.* 490–440 B.C. Sophocles' play *Triptolemus*, possibly his first victory in 468 B.C., may have contributed to this popularity (cf. Pearson, *Fragments*, vol. ii, pp. 239 ff.).

The representations reflect the growth of Triptolemus' popularity as an Attic cultural hero. There is no sign of this in the *Hymn*, whose poet ignores, if in fact he knew, the version in which Demeter gives the Eleusinians the gift of agriculture as a reward for their information about the Rape. This was a standard Athenian version in the classical period (cf. Introduction, pp. 81 f. Triptolemus' emergence to popularity probably coincides with the growth of Athenian interest in the Mysteries, in the mid sixth century B.C. (Cf. ad *Dem.* 154: Eumolpus.)

The development of his genealogy is consistent with this artistic progress. At first, it is vague and 'primeval': in Pherecydes (*FGH* 3. 53) and 'Musaeus' (fr. 10 Diels) he is the son of Oceanus and Ge, in Panyassis (fr. 24 K.) of Eleusis. Choerilus the tragedian (fr. 1 N.) makes him the son of Rarus and of a daughter of Amphictyon. In 'Orpheus' (fr. 51 K.) he is the son of Dysaules. But, as he becomes younger and emerges as the special favourite of Demeter, he comes to supplant Demophon as her nursling. In the revision of the Athenian State Code of 403–399 B.C., among the heroes of Eleusis who receive offerings is one called simply Threptos, who receives a special sacrifice (Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées*, *Supplément*, No. 10. 69 f.). The context suggests that this is Triptolemus. (Originally the child was probably nameless: Körte, *Glotta* 25 (1936), 137 ff., Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 544 ff., and ad *Dem.* 234.) Thus, he is the son of Celeus and Metaneira in later literature (Nic. *Ther.* 484 f., Schol. ad loc., Ov. *F.* 4. 539, Nonn. *D.* 19.

78 ff., Paus. 1. 14. 2, etc.). Apollodorus (1. 5. 1) also gives this account, but follows the *Hymn* in making Demophon Demeter's nursling (cf. perhaps Sophocles' *Triptolemus*). The 'Argive version' (Paus. 1. 14. 2) made him the son of Trochilus of Argos and an Athenian woman. For other accounts see *RE* 7. 221 ff., and cf. Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941), 266.

On the myth of Triptolemus Athens based her claim to receive offerings of first-fruits from all the other Greek states in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (cf. *IG* i². 76, ii². 140, *SIG*³ 704E, Isocr. *Paneg.* 31. 38, Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6, Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 550 f., Kern, *RE* 16. 1247). This claim was supported by a Delphic oracle and an appeal to 'ancestral custom'. He himself received sacrifices with Demeter and Core from the offerings (*IG* i². 76. 38, ii. 140. 20 ff.), as well as a sacrifice at the Eleusinian Games (*IG* i². 5. 4, *c.* 500 B.C.). He was also regarded as a lawgiver (Xenocrates, fr. 98 Heinze; cf. Nilsson, *Die Antike*, 1942, 220, and notes to *Dem.* 367–9), as initiator of Heracles and the Dioscuri (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6), and as one of the judges in the underworld (Pl. *Apol.* 41 a, and on two vases, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Ser. E, Taf. 2, Taf. VI 3).

Ancient etymology connected his name with τρίπολος, and he is shown with a plough on two vases (Rubensohn, *AM* 24 (1899), 59 ff.). As the first ploughman he must have been connected with the sacred ploughing on the Rarian Plain, where he had a threshing-floor and altar (Paus. 1. 38. 6, Deubner, *AF* 69; cf. ad *Dem.* 450). For modern etymologies cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 12 (1922), 51 ff., who connected the name with πελεμίζω, and interpreted this as 'sich heftig anstrengen, bemühen', Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 51 n. 3, Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 549, Frisk, s.v.

For Triptolemus in art cf. Fehrle in Roscher, 5. 1128 ff., Cook, *Zeus*, i. 211 ff., Schwenn, *RE* 7A. 213 ff., also D. Feytmans, *Antiq. Class.* 14 (1945), 285 ff. (unconvincing), Ch. Dugas, 'La Mission de Triptolème d'après l'imagerie athénienne', *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* 62 (1950), 1 ff. = *Recueil Ch. Dugas*, 123 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 208 ff.).

**Διόκλου:** in *Dem.* 474, 477, he is called Diocles. Cf. the variation between Ἴφικλος and Ἰφικλῆς, Πάτροκλος and Πατροκλῆς.

He is a Megarian hero (like Sciron who was also connected with Eleusis), and the Diocleia were celebrated in his honour at Megara. These games included a boys' kissing contest (Theocr. 12. 28 ff., Schol. ad loc.), and perhaps also gymnastic contests (cf. Schol. Pi. *O.* 13. 156, *N.* 3. 145). The Megarians said that he was a Megarian ruler of Eleusis who was driven out by Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 10), but he is called 'Attic' in Theocritus, and the Scholia ad loc. say that he fled to Megara at the time of Eumolpus' expedition. His name is common in Megara (*IG* 7. 133, 188, 54, 132, 27, 29, 39, 41, 42, 218). The Megarian in Ar. *Ach.* 774 swears by him.

At Eleusis he receives a sacrifice with the other heroes: Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées, Supplément*, No. 10. 71.

There was a Hierophant named Diocles in the early fifth century (Lysias, *Contra Andoc.* 54), and the name is found in the Roman period,

given to the father-in-law and son of the Dadouchos Themistocles (cf. Plut. *Vita X Orat.* p. 1917 Didot, P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, 819 ff.).

**154. Πολυξείνου:** he is the most shadowy of this list, and does not reappear in *Dem.* 473 f. (cf. ad 477). He does, however, receive a sacrifice with the other heroes in Sokolowski, o.c. 10. 68. In Hesychius he is one of the Attic heroes from whom the phyle names were taken (with Meineke's emendation, *Philol.* 13 (1858), 551 nr. 628; *contra*: Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 185 n. 28). His name is perhaps simply taken from one of the epithets of Hades (cf. A. *Supp.* 157, Cornut. 35, and ad *Dem.* 9, 17, 155).

**ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο:** Ruhnken's transposition agrees with Pausanias, and is supported by *Od.* 7. 29. But the text may have varied (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff., 417 ff., 474 ff.). Was the transposition due to the desire to give Eumolpus greater prominence? Cf. note on *Dem.* 475.

Like Triptolemus, he becomes much more prominent in the later history of the cult. He alone, of the princes in the *Hymn*, survives as the eponym of a priestly family, the Eumolpidae, from whom the Hierophant was drawn. His name, the 'good singer' (cf. *εὐμολπεῖν Herm.* 478), indicates his function: he had to have a strong, clear voice, for it was he who enunciated (presumably either singing or 'intoning') the sacred words of the Mysteries. Cf. *IG* 3. 713 (epitaph of a Hierophant):

> ὃς τελετὰς ἀνέφηνε καὶ ὄργια πάννυχα μύσταις,
> Εὐμόλπου προχέων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα.

(Cf. Hippol. *Ref. haer.* 5. 8. 40, 96. 14 W., Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* 3. 21. 16, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2. 20; also Ar. *Ran.* 370, 380, 384 f., Radermacher ad loc.) The Hierophant himself may have had the title *Εὔμολπος* (cf. Plut. *de ex.* 18, Paus. 1. 38. 3; Hiller von Gärtringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, 28 n. 111). The name is similar to Musaeus, Antiphemus, Phemius, etc.

In fragments of a poem probably by Pindar, in which Heracles is initiated by Eumolpus before his descent to Hades (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.), Eumolpus appears to be described as founder of the Mysteries for his citizens at Eleusis, whom he rules *εὐνομίᾳ λατερπέϊ*, and to be called *σοφὸν ἀγητῆρα* (P. Oxy. 2622. i. a and PSI 1391). It has been argued (H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 206 ff.) that this poem is dependent on an earlier, sixth-century Attic epic version of the Catabasis of Heracles, which is supposed to have been the source of material in Bacchylides' *Ode* 5, Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and *Aeneid* 6.

He appears again prominently in the early-fifth-century vase of Hieron, which shows the Mission of Triptolemus (*CVA*, *Brit. Mus.* 4, Pl. 28. 2, Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. Taf. 43. 1). He is accompanied by a swan, to point his connection with music. Poseidon and Amphitrite are also shown, suggesting that he was already regarded as the son of Poseidon, as later (Eur. fr. 349 Nauck = 39 Austin, 360. 46 ff. Nauck = 50. 46 ff. Austin, Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 98 ff., Apollod. 3. 15. 4). There was a cult at Eleusis of Poseidon Pater (Paus. 1. 38. 6).

In Euripides' *Erechtheus* the story of his birth was referred to (fr. 39 Austin). His mother Chione threw him into the sea after he was born, and Poseidon rescued him and took him to the Ethiopians. This is plainly an *aition* of the ritual bath in the sea taken by the Hierophant on assuming office (cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1883, 79, verses 5–6, 9 ff., Hiller von Gärtringen, o.c., 31 n. 116a, Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 28 ff.). In Euripides' play he becomes ruler of Thrace, and is called in to help in the war of Eleusis against Athens. Apparently he is killed in battle, and at the end of the play Athena probably predicts that a second Eumolpus, his descendant, will found the Mysteries (cf. fr. 65. 15?, 100 ff. Austin).

This hypothesis of two Eumolpi was presumably devised to account for the legend which made him a Thracian, and connected him with the Thracian Musaeus. On a vase of the Meidias painter he is shown as a child, together with Musaeus, who is dressed as a Thracian (G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* 43 (1939), 1 ff.), and he is the *son* of Musaeus on the Parian Marble (*FGH* 239 A 15), in Andron (*FGH* 10 F 13), and perhaps also already in Pl. *Rep.* 363 c, his *father* in Philochorus (*FGH* 328 F 208). On the Meidias vase his mother is Deiope (cf. Ister, *FGH* 334 F 22, Ps. Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 131, Phot. s.v. *Εὐμολπίδαι*; in Hermes. fr. 7. 16 Pow. she is Antiope). Various attempts to reconcile the two Eumolpi are given by Schol. S. *OC* 1053.

The war between Athens and Eleusis is (according to later tradition) already attested by the early-fifth-century bronze group by Myron on the Acropolis at Athens (Paus. 1. 27. 4, 9. 30. 1), but Pausanias stresses that the correct Attic version made Immaradus, Eumolpus' son (= Ismarus in Apollod. 3. 15. 4), leader of the Eleusinians. It has been suggested that Eumolpus was associated with the Thracian Orpheus and Musaeus in the sixth century because of his role as founder of the Mysteries, and was then connected with the legend of a Thracian expedition under Immaradus to help Eleusis against Athens (Toepffer, o.c. 24 ff.). It may have been Euripides who replaced Immaradus by Eumolpus, whom he represented as heir to his father Poseidon's claim to Attica (fr. 50. 46 ff. Austin).

Later authorities also make him the founder of the Mysteries (*Mar. Par.*, Andron, Ister, above). He is associated with the poetry of Musaeus: according to the Parian Marble he published this, and in the *Suda* (s.v. *Μουσαῖος*) he receives from Musaeus a work called *Ὑποθῆκαι τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ*. A poem of Musaeus called the *Εὐμολπία* is also mentioned (fr. 11 Diels, ap. Paus. 10. 5. 6), and he himself is said to have written a poem on the Mysteries and Demeter's visit to Eleusis (*Suda*, s.v. *Εὔμολπος*; cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.). If he is the son of Musaeus referred to in Pl. *Rep.* 363 c the information about life in the underworld referred to there must have appeared in these poems (cf. ad *Dem.* 367–9). Cf. Introduction, pp. 77 ff.

For Eumolpus in art see also on *Dem.* 489 (pp. 318 ff.), with Addendum to p. 318 n. 2.

**155. Δολίχου:** another shadowy figure. He occurs with Eumolpus

and Hippothoon in a hexameter verse, possibly Hesiodic (Hes. fr. 227), and he had a temple outside the sanctuary at Eleusis (*IG* ii². 1672. 23 ff.). This has been identified by Travlos (*Hesp.* 18 (1949), 143, figs. 1–2; *Praktika* 1953, 76). He places it on the north-west corner of the outer court, behind the temple of Artemis and Poseidon. Cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 170 and Fig. 4, No. 9.

In *IG* i². 5. 5, recording sacrifices at the Eleusinian Games (cf. ad *Dem.* 153) the reading *Πλούτο]νι : Δ[ . . . ]χοι : Θεοῖν :* has suggested *Δολίχοι* (cf. Prott, *ΑΜ* 24 (1899), 252). But the text is very uncertain at this point. Dolichus should be the hero of the race of that name (cf. Telesidromus in the same inscription). This formed part of the Eleusinian Games (cf. *IG* ii². 3143).[1]

Later, he was regarded as a son of Triptolemus, and eponym of Dulichium (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δουλίχιον*; Eust. p. 306. 2 ad *Il.* 2. 625; cf. Str. 10. 458). Hiller von Gärtringen suggests that this tradition may derive from the *Hymn* (cf. Kern, *RE* 5. 1282. 10 ff.).

**156. κατὰ δώματα πορσαίνουσι:** in Homer *πορσαίνω* occurs as a variant of *πορσύνω* at *Il.* 3. 411 and *Od.* 7. 347, but in *Od.* 3. 403 only *πορσύνω* is read. Both forms occur in Pindar and Apollonius, only *πορσύνω* in prose and probably also in tragedy. The verb is always used euphemistically in Homer, with *λέχος*, of a wife sharing her bed with her husband. In the Hesiodic examples, however, it means 'look after', and later also 'prepare, arrange, order'. So here 'manage (all things) in the house' (LSJ s.v. II 3) is the most probable interpretation. Ruhnken (cf. Allen) took *κατὰ . . . πορσαίνουσιν* as a tmesis, but this seems less likely. *κατὰ δώματα* is formulaic and comes naturally after *ἄλοχοι* (cf. *Dem.* 104, 115, *Od.* 20. 122).

**157. κατὰ πρώτιστον ὀπωπήν:** a curiously 'modern' idiom (not in Homer or Hesiod). For the two-termination superlative cf. *Od.* 4. 442 (for euphony? Cf. Platt, *CR* 35 (1921), 142), *Od.* 10. 279 (v.l.), 12. 11 (v.l.), Hes. *Th.* 408, Pi. fr. 152 Sn., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 536 n. 5, K–B i. 554 n., K. Witte, *Glotta* 3 (1912), 106 ff., Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, 68 ff.

**158. ἀπονοσφίσσειεν:** the compound does not occur in Homer. Cf. *Herm.* 562, S. *Ph.* 979, etc. One could write *δόμων ἄπο* here (cf. *Od.* 3. 313, 15. 10).

The line is a 'versus tetracolos' (cf. Bassett, *CP* 14 (1919), 216 ff.), unless we make *ἀπονοσφίσσειεν* two words.

**159. δέξονται:** the poet avoids using *δέξαιντο*.

**δὴ γὰρ . . . ἔσσι:** gods in disguise often arouse mortal admiration: cf. the examples given ad *Dem.* 98 ff. and *Hy.* 7. 17 f. Cf. also ad *Dem.* 213 ff.

**θεοείκελος:** an epithet of heroes in Homer (cf. *θεοειδής*).

**160. εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις:** *ἐθέλω* is the proper form in Homer and Hesiod (*θέλω* only *Il.* 1. 277 dub., *Od.* 15. 317 v.l.; also v.l. in Hes. *Th.* 446, *Op.* 209, 210, 392). In the *Hymns*, *θέλοι* occurs in *Ap.* 46 (where

[1] The reading in Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées, Supplément*, 10. 66 is *Μελίχωι*, not *Δολίχωι*. I owe this information to Dr. Fritz Graf and Mr. D. M. Lewis.

ἐθέλω is hardly possible), εἰ δὲ θέλεις *Herm.* 274, εὖτε θέλοι *Aph.* 38 (ἐθέλῃ M).

Later, θέλω is used in Ionic, Attic tragedy, and late Greek, ἐθέλω in epic, Attic prose, comedy, and inscriptions (to *c.* 250 B.C.). Cf. also Sol. fr. 19. 12 D.[3] (θέλει).

**161. Μετανείρῃ:** this is regularly the name of Celeus' wife in later legend. The Orphic version replaces her by Baubo (Orph. fr. 49. 81, 89; fr. 52; cf. Introduction, pp. 80 ff.), as the wife of Dysaules. Metaneira had a ἱερόν at Eleusis (Paus. 1. 39. 2; cf. also Athenagoras, *Libellus pro Christianis* 14), but is otherwise a relatively shadowy figure.

**162. αἴ κέ ς' ἀνώγῃ:** αἴ κε is normally used with the subjunctive; for the optative cf. *Il.* 7. 387, *Od.* 13. 389.

**163.** The verse is again of the type '*x* and not the opposite'. Cf. ad *Dem.* 114 f.

**164. τηλύγετος:** the original meaning remains uncertain. Cf. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, s.v., K. F. W. Schmidt, *Glotta* 19 (1931), 282, W. B. Stanford, *CR* 51 (1937), 168, Pisani, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 73 (1939/40), 525, Frisk, s.v. In Homer, it is always used of a special or favourite child, whether an only child (cf. *Il.* 9. 482, *Od.* 16. 19) or children last-born, or born to aged parents (*Il.* 5. 153 f.; cf. perhaps *Il.* 9. 143, 285, *Od.* 4. 11?, *Dem.* 165, 219), and so much-desired and much-loved (cf. *Dem.* 165, 220), or born unexpectedly (ἄελπτον *Dem.* 219; cf. Hes. fr. 204. 95 of Hermione, who is τηλυγέτην in *Il.* 3. 175; she is also an only child of Helen: *Od.* 4. 12 ff.). So it comes to be used generally of a spoilt or weak child (*Il.* 13. 470). Later, it is also used to mean 'born far away': E. *IT* 829, Simm. 1. 1, Com. Adesp. 1315. The prevalent ancient interpretation took it as 'latest-born', i.e. after whom no others are born, thus including only children: Plut. *Mor.* 94 a, *Et. Gud.* 616. 37, etc., also Virg. *A.* 6. 763–5.

Demophon fulfils most of these various qualifications, since he is ὀψίγονος, πολυεύχετος ἀσπάσιός τε, also ἄελπτος, and presumably also an only son.

The latest-born child (usually the last of several brothers) is often the hero of folk-tales and myths: cf. Cronos (Hes. *Th.* 137, West ad loc.), Zeus (Hes. *Th.* 478 f.); Stith Thompson, *Motif Index*, 5. 6–8, Frazer on Apollod. 1. 1. 3. Often the youngest child is a weakling when he is small, but grows up to be the hero. In a later version, the child is sick when Demeter comes, and she cures him: Ov. *F.* 4. 512 ff.

**165. ὀψίγονος:** in Homer (*Il.* 3. 353, etc.) always of 'men of future ages'. For the sense 'late-born' (~ *Dem.* 219) cf. Hdt. 7. 3. 3, A. *Supp.* 361 ('young'), Theocr. 24. 31 ('young'? Cf. Gow ad loc.). It is used to explain τηλύγετος (cf. *Dem.* 164) by Poll. 3. 20, and coupled with it in Plut. *Mor.* 94 a.

**πολυεύχετος:** only here. Cf. πολύευκτος (Orac. ap. Hdt. 1. 85, etc.), πολυάρητος (*Dem.* 220), and Call. *Hy.* 6. 47 (Demeter speaks): τέκνον πολύθεστε τοκεῦσι. πολύευκτος would be the 'correct' form, but cf. Homeric εὐχετόωντο (*Il.* 8. 347, etc.).

**166.** ἐκθρέψαιο: the compound occurs in Homer only as v.l. in *Od.* 18. 130. Cf. Hdt. 1. 122, etc. For the middle cf. S. *El.* 13, etc.

**167.** ῥεῖα: the sense is obscure here, and ἦ ῥα may well be right as in *Dem.* 222.

**167–8.** Cf. *Od.* 15. 537–8 etc. (Appendix III). This implies a form of 'macarismos' commonly used in praise of wealth. Cf. ad *Dem.* 480, 486 ff.

**168.** ζηλώσαι: the verb is not found in Homer (but cf. ζηλήμονες *Od.* 5. 118, δύσζηλοι *Od.* 7. 307). Cf. Hes. *Op.* 23, 312, and ζῆλος Hes. *Th.* 384, *Op.* 195.

τόσα . . . δοίη: if *Dem.* 223 is not corrupt, the subject is Metaneira. In Homer and Hesiod θρέπτρα, θρεπτήρια are the recompense given by children to their parents for their upbringing. Cf. later (e.g.) Theocr. *Epigr.* 20 where it is paid by the child to his nurse after her death. Hence Matthiae suggested δοίη in 223. But the text can stand (cf. e.g. E. *El.* 626 for payment by the parents). The Attic word is τροφεῖα.

**169–88.** Demeter consents, and the girls hurry off to tell their mother the news. She asks them to engage Demeter as nurse and summon her. They run back, like young deer or calves, their hair streaming in the wind, and lead Demeter to the palace. She walks behind sorrowfully. When they reach the palace, they run to join their mother, who is sitting by the pillar of the hall, holding the child.

In this fine passage, the youthful gaiety of the girls is emphasized, and contrasted with Demeter's gravity and sorrow. (Cf. E. Janssens, *Annales du Centre d'étude des religions*, ii (Brussels, 1962), 39 ff.) The narrative is rapid, like the events which it portrays: cf. especially ad *Dem.* 171–2, 172–3, 184. There are many pictorial details: e.g. the simile of 174 ff. (on this cf. also ad 170–8), and the contrast between the girls with lifted robes and hair flowing freely and the goddess whose head is veiled and whose robes ripple about her feet (cf. ad *Dem.* 176–8).

That the description was appreciated in later times is shown by the echoes in the Hellenistic poets of 176 f.

On 174–89 cf. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie*[2], 288 f.: he takes the passage as a characteristic example of the richer, fresher style of the *Hymns* in contrast to earlier epic, and compares Greek art of the sixth century.

It is possible that the scene of the girls running down the road, and leading Demeter to Eleusis, may reflect part of the ceremonies at Eleusis, i.e. a procession or ritual dance, led by the priestesses, of whom the daughters of Celeus may be the prototypes (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff., 105 ff.). Their flowing robes and free-flowing hair are probably features of the cult (cf. ad *Dem.* 176 ff.), and the initiates may have worn white clothing, in contrast to Demeter's black (cf. ad 42, 176 ff.).

The following scene (188–211) definitely reflects the ritual of the Mysteries (cf. ad loc.).

**169–70.** ταὶ δὲ . . . κυδιάουσαι: the word order is unusual, with the

separation of *φαεινά* from *ἄγγεα* by a participial phrase and verb. Cf. perhaps *Il.* 16. 104 f. *δεινὴν δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ | πήληξ βαλλομένη καναχὴν ἔχε* (Kirk, *YCS* 20 (1966), 110, calls this a case of 'violent enjambement'. Note the position of *φαεινή*). Cf. Introduction, p. 60.

**170–8.** These lines possibly show reminiscences of *Il.* 15. 263 ff., where Hector is compared to a horse galloping out to pasture, and immediately afterwards the Greeks are compared to dogs chasing deer or wild goats. In *Dem.* 174 ff., features of both similes have been combined into one:

*Dem.* 170 *κυδιάουσαι* ~ *Il.* 15. 266 *κυδιόων* (of the horse)
171 *ῥίμφα . . .* ~ *Il.* 15. 268 *ῥίμφα** (and cf. the dactylic rhythm of both verses)
174 *αἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἢ ἔλαφοι* ~ *Il.* 15. 271 *οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἢ ἔλαφον** . . .
175 *ἄλλοντ' ἂν λειμῶνα* ~ *Il.* 15. 264 *θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων κορεσσάμενα φρένα φορβῇ* ~ *Il.* 15. 263 *ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ*
177–8 *ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | ὤμοις ἀΐσσοντο . . .* ~ *Il.* 15. 266–7 *ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται . . .**

(Note also *Dem.* 386 *δάσκιον ὕλης* ~ *Il.* 15. 273 *δάσκιος ὕλη**.) Cf. Introduction, pp. 31 f.

**170. κυδιάουσαι:** Homer always has *κυδιόων* (etc.): four times in *Iliad* (cf. *Hy.* 30. 13). For examples of the retention of original *-άω*, etc. in Homer and Hesiod cf. Monro, *HG*², § 55. 6 ff., Chantraine, *GH* i. 78 f., Meister, *Hom. Kunstsprache*, 61–80. In the *Hymns* cf. *Aph.* 266 *τηλεθάουσαι*, *Hy.* 7. 14 *μειδιάων*, 41 *τηλεθάων*. See also Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, 63.

**171.** The purely dactylic rhythm, with trochaic caesura in both second and third foot, emphasizes the speed and lightness of the girls (as does the repetition *ῥίμφα . . . ὦκα*). For this rhythm cf. *Dem.* 89 (*ῥίμφα . . .*), 184 (*αἶψα . . .*), 380 (*ῥίμφα . . .*), also *Il.* 24. 691 (*ῥίμφα . . .*).

**171–2. ῥίμφα . . . ὦκα . . . ὦκα:** for the repetition cf. *Dem.* 58–60, *Hy.* 7. 6–9, Hes. *Sc.* 464–9, and Introduction, p. 60.

**172. ὡς εἶδον:** cf. *Dem.* 295, 416 and *Od.* 17. 344 (where Schol. B: *νῦν τὸ ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅσον*).

**172–3.** The poet of the *Hymn*, in contrast to normal epic procedure, avoids two passages of direct speech here, which would delay his narrative. Cf. ad *Dem.* 314–23, and Introduction, p. 59.

**173. καλεῖν:** M's *καλέειν* is probably due to scribal 'emendation', such as is found often in papyri of Archilochus, and manuscripts of Herodotus and the Hippocratica. Cf. Introduction, p. 66. The contracted forms *καλεῖ*, *κάλει* occur in Homer (*Il.* 3. 390, 13. 740, etc.).

**ἐπ' ἀπείρονι μιθῷ:** the epithet is rather unexpected. Evidently Metaneira is already impressed by what she hears of her visitor. Cf. Hdt. 8. 4 *πείθειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ*.

**174. ἢ . . . ἢ . . .:** West (ad *Th.* 6) advocates *ἠ'* before a vowel. Cf. also E. *Ba.* 110, P. Oxy. 2320. 8, and Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 141.

**ἦαρος ὥρῃ:** the Homeric forms are ἔαρ (*Il.* 6. 148, *Od.* 19. 519), εἰαρινός (*Il.* 2. 89 etc.). The spelling ἦαρος, ἠαρινός (cf. *Dem.* 401), with η for ει ('metrical lengthening' of ε), is probably influenced by the contracted ἦρος (cf. 455), ἠρινός. ἦρος and ἦρι occur in lyric, Attic, and probably Ionic (cf. LSJ, s.v. ἔαρ). Cf. also ἔαρ, Hes. *Op.* 492, ἔαρι 462, with synizesis. On the 'metrical lengthening' see W. F. Wyatt Jr., *Metrical Lengthening in Homer* (Rome, 1969), 150 f.

It is notable that in Homer, as here, ἔαρ, εἰαρινός always occur in similes, except once (*Od.* 18. 367).

**174 f.** Cf. E. *Ba.* 862 ff., where the bacchants wish to dance ἐν *πανυχίοις χοροῖς . . . δέραν εἰς αἰθέρα δροσερὸν ῥίπτους'* (cf. ad *Dem.* 176 ff.), *ὡς νεβρὸς χλοεραῖς ἐμπαίζουσα λείμακος ἡδοναῖς* (cf. Dodds, ad loc.). Note also the similes of leaping fawn and foals in Bacch. 13. 83 ff., Ar. *Lys.* 1306 ff., in similar ritual contexts.

**175. ἄλλοντ':** the present is not found in Homer or Hesiod.

**κορεσσάμεναι φρένα φορβῇ:** cf. *Il.* 11. 89 (~ *Ap.* 461) *σίτου . . . περὶ φρένας ἵμερος αἱρεῖ*, etc. For *κορέννυμι* with the dative cf. *Il.* 8. 379, 13. 831, A.R. 3. 897, and (passive) Theognis 751, 1269, Hdt. 3. 80.

**176–81.** The girls' robes would trail along the ground if they did not lift them, and their hair streams in the breeze. The trailing robe may be a Homeric feature, although the gesture has been considered 'post-Homeric' (cf. ad *Dem.* 176). Likewise, hair worn loose is characteristic of the archaic period (cf. ad *Dem.* 177 f.). Both features are thus natural in a poem of this time. But their occurrence together is suggestive, since they are often mentioned in connection with festivals and cults, especially those of Bacchus and Cybele: cf. Call. fr. 193. 35 ff. (of the cults of Cybele and Adonis) *Κυβηβῇ τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν . . . ἢ ποδῆρες ἕλκοντα Ἄδωνιν αἰαῖ . . . ἰηλεμίζειν*; cf. (for Adonis) Theocr. 15. 134, and Pfeiffer ad Call. loc. cit. for further examples from these cults, and also that of Bacchus (especially E. *Ba.* 150, 833, Ar. *Lys.* 1311). See also Alcman, fr. 3. 1. 8–9; and perhaps Asius, fr. 13. 3 ff. (K.) of the Ionians at the festival of Hera of Samos (cf. *ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰαόνες Ap.* 147, at the festival of Delian Apollo; Allen and Halliday ad loc.): *χιονέοις τε χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον . . . χαῖται δ' ἐρρώοντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς* (see Addenda).[1]

In the Mysteries of Lycosura and Andania the initiates were forbidden to have their hair bound up or their heads veiled. This suggests that here also the picture may reflect the cult. Cf. ad *Dem.* 169–88, 174 f. Similarly, the mystae were forbidden to wear black at Andania (cf. ad *Dem.* 42).

The contrast with Demeter is emphasized formally: 177 *ἤϊξαν . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται . . .* ~ 182 *στείχε . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος . . .* For the contrasting verbs cf. also 188 *ἔδραμον . . . ἔβη ποσί.*

There is a kind of chiasmus: 176–7a ~ 182b–3; 177b–8 ~ 182a.

Note also the colour-contrast of *κροκηΐῳ ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι* (178) and *κυάνεος* (183).

[1] On this fragment see C. M. Bowra, *On Greek Margins* (Oxford, 1970), 122 ff.

**176. ἐπισχόμεναι:** Brunck's *ἀνα-* would be more natural, but *ἐπι-* is possible, meaning 'holding back'.

**ἑανῶν:** the substantive is used in Homer only in the singular (*Il.* 3. 385, etc.), and is a synonym for *πέπλος* according to Schol. *Il.* 14. 178, 16. 179. (It is probably related to *ἕννυμι*, i.e. **ϝεσανός*, as *στέφω*: *στέφανος*, etc., the adjective *ἑανός* being from a different root.) Cf. the use of the plural *πέπλων* in *Dem.* 277.

The trailing robe (cf. *Dem.* 182 f.) is implied in Homer by *ἑλκεσίπεπλος* (of Trojan women only: *Il.* 6. 442, 7. 297, 22. 105). Cf. also *τανύπεπλος* (*Il.* 3. 228, etc.: general epithet of heroines). It is also a feature of Doric dress, as on the François Vase (cf. Fr. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriechischen Tracht* (Wien, 1886), 95 f.).

The gesture described is often shown in art of the seventh century and later (cf. *CVA, Louvre*, III 1d, Pl. 51, No. 5, K. Francke, *De hymni in Cererem compositione, dictione, aetate* (Kiel, 1881), 26). It also occurs in Hellenistic and Roman poetry. Cf. A.R. 3. 874 f. *ἂν δὲ χιτῶνας | λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρις ἄειρον*, where 874a ~ *Dem.* 177a (cf. ad loc.), suggesting that this is a reminiscence of the *Hymn* (cf. also ad *Dem.* 231, 254 and pp. 69 f.); A.R. 4. 940 ff. *αὐτίκ' ἀναςχόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐπὶ γούναςι πέζας . . . ῥώοντ'* (4. 936b = *Dem.* 269b); 4. 45 f.

Moschus, *Eur.* 126 ff. again probably echoes the *Hymn*: *ἐν χέρι δ' ἄλλη | εἵρυε πορφυρέας †κόλπου† πτύχας, ὄφρα κε μή μιν* (~ *Dem.* 131b) *δεύοι . . . ὕδωρ*. Cf. Bühler ad loc. (in *Eur.* 127 he conjectures *πέπλου* or *ἑανοῦ* for *κόλπου*). Ruhnken noted this parallel, and also Cat. 64. 129:

mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae.

Cf. also Theocr. 14. 35 *ἀνειρύcaca δὲ πέπλως*, 26. 17 (but see Gow, ad loc.), Call. *Hy.* 3. 11.

**177. κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν:** cf. *Od.* 10. 103 f. For *κοίλην* cf. *Il.* 23. 419 (but this refers to a road hollowed out by a torrent).

**177 f.** This motif (taken from the simile of the stall-fed horse) is un-Homeric, since women in Homer, married or unmarried, normally wore a head-dress of some kind, usually a veil or a shawl. Cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 385 ff.; E. B. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (London, 1908), 34 f.: (in Homer) 'no woman would think of leaving the house without her *κρήδεμνον*', whereas in post-Homeric times 'before the Persian wars women for the most part wore their hair down, although instances occur where it is fastened up with bands or fillets.' (Cf. ibid. fig. 45 for illustrations.)

The girls may have been wearing a simple head-band here. But cf. ad *Dem.* 176–8.

**178. κροκηΐῳ:** found only here. Cf. *κρόκος* (*Il.* 14. 348, etc.), *κροκόεις* Sapph. fr. 92. 7, etc. For the form *-ήϊος* cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 468, Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, 52. It occurs in all dialects except Attic, which has *-εῖος*. *κροκήϊος* is an analogical extension, perhaps from *χαλκήϊος* (< *χαλκεύς* ~ *χαλκός*). Cf. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 13 f.

For the comparison of hair to flowers cf. *Od.* 6. 231 = 23. 158, Call. fr. 274, Theocr. 2. 78; Ov. *A.A.* 530 'croceas irreligata comas'.

**179. τέτμον:** this is a regular feature of arrival scenes. Cf. *Dem.* 319, 342, Arend, *Typische Scenen*, Taf. 1–3. It is 'neglected' at *Dem.* 63, 185, 458.

**ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ:** cf. *Od.* 6. 291 (Appendix III).

**κυδρὴν θεόν:** M has *θεάν*, but *θεόν* is regular in this and similar formulae. It is also metrically preferable. Cf. *Dem.* 292 where M has *θεόν*, notes to *Dem.* 1, and West ad *Th.* 442. On *κυδρός* cf. ad *Dem.* 66.

**179–82.** The run of initial verbs is notable. These are common in narrative passages, often with enjambement and pause after the first foot. Cf. also in this passage 172, 177, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, etc.

**180 ff.** This scene is based on a typical *schema* (Journey and Visit): cf. Arend, *Typische Scenen*, Taf. 1, and see also Appendix III.

[> marks elements inserted into the normal schema.]

I. *Journey*: 180–3 (*ἠγεῖνθ', ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὄπιcθε . . . cτεῖχε*: cf. *Il.* 3. 447, [9. 192], 11. 472, 12. 251 = 13. 833, 13. 690, 24. 95 f., *Od.* 2. 405 f., 413, etc.; *Ap.* 514–16, *Hy.* 26. 9–10). > 181b, 182b–3 (Demeter's sorrow).

II. *Arrival*: 184 (*αἶψα δὲ . . . ἵκοντο**: *Il.* 5. 367, *Od.* 15. 193; cf. *Il.* 2. 168, etc.). > 185a.

III. *Situation*: 185–7a (usually expressed by *εὗρε*: cf. ad loc.; 185–7a ~ *Od.* 6. 304–7). > 187b–8a: the girls join their mother.

IV. 1. *Visitor stands in doorway*: 188b (~ *Od.* 1. 103 f.; cf. ad loc.). > 188b–9: Epiphany.

2. *Reaction of host(ess)*: 190 (~ *Il.* 9. 193, 11. 777, 24. 480 ff., *Od.* 16. 12; here enlarged for epiphany).

3. (*She*) *rises*: 191a (~ *Il.* 9. 193, etc.).

4. *Takes by hand*: } omitted.
5. *Leads in*: }

6. *Offers seat*: 191 (~ *Il.* 11. 646 = 778, etc.; cf. esp. *Il.* 24. 100, *Od.* 7. 169 f., 16. 42; cf. ad loc.).

Refusal of seat: 192–3 (~ *Il.* 11. 648, 23. 205, 24. 553: cf. ad loc.).

> Iambe 195–6 (196b ~ [*Il.* 9. 200b], *Od.* 1. 130, etc., 16. 47).

> 197–205: cf. ad 192 ff. [200: (Refusal of) food and drink —cf. below].

7 and 8. *Food and drink*: 206–11.

> Refusal of wine: 206–8a.

> *Cyceon*: 208b–11 (~ *Od.* 10. 316 ff., in Visit scene; 10. 234 ff.; *Il.* 11. 624 ff. Cf. also *Il.* 24. 601 ff., 641 f.: Priam is persuaded to take food by Achilles despite his grief, in Visit scene).

V. *Conversation*: 212 ff.

On the interweaving of elements from Eleusinian ritual into this schema cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.

**181.** 'He (etc.) led, they (etc.) followed': cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff., and Appendix III.

**181 ff.** For the contrast between Demeter's sorrow and the girls' gaiety cf. ad *Dem.* 169 ff., 176 ff.

**182. κατὰ κρῆθεν:** 'down over her head', as in *Od.* 11. 588, Hes. *Th.* 574, fr. 23 (a). 23 (cf. *Sc.* 7). This sense is probably secondary, and arises from a misinterpretation of an original *κατ' ἄκρηθεν* (cf. M here, and v.l. *Il.* 16. 548, *Od.* 11. 588, *Th.* 574) = *κατ' ἄκρης* ('from the summit downwards', i.e. 'utterly'). Cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 57 f., West ad *Th.* 574.

On Demeter's veil cf. ad *Dem.* 42.

**182–3. ἀμφὶ δὲ . . . ποσσίν:** note the neat chiasmus. The position of *θεᾶς* is unusual. For the word order cf. perhaps Hermann's conjecture at Hes. *Op.* 549 *ἀὴρ πυροφόροις τέταται μακάρων ἐπὶ ἔργοις* (*πυροφόρος* codd.).

**183. κυάνεος:** cf. ad *Dem.* 42, 319.

**ῥαδινοῖσι . . . ποσσίν:** *ῥαδινός* is used only once in Homer, of a whip (*Il.* 23. 583). The Hesiodic formula (*Th.* 195) is a 'doublet' of the Homeric *ποσσὶ* (δ') *ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν* (*Il.* 2. 44, etc.). This is normally used of men, but cf. *Il.* 14. 186, of a goddess. Cf. also *Il.* 13. 19 *ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι* and Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 56, 69 ('*ἀθανάτοισι* or *λιπαροῖσι* would be flat here').

Cf. Phryn. *PS* p. 106 B. *ῥαδινοὺς πόδας· τοὺς ὀρθοὺς καὶ ἁπαλοὺς καὶ εὖ πεφυκότας.* It generally means 'slender', perhaps also 'pliant' (*εὐκίνητος*, Schol. A ad *Il.* 23. 583). Cf. Groeneboom ad A. *PV* 401.

**θεᾶς:** M has *θεῆς* here and at 279, elsewhere in the *Hymn θεά*, etc. Homer has *θεῆς*, *θεῇσι* (*Il.* 3. 158, 8. 305, etc.), but *θεή*, etc. occur only in later epic poetry (Antim. fr. 186 Wyss, Call. *Hy.* 3. 119, etc.), and *θεᾶς* should probably be read here.

For Demeter's trailing robe cf. ad *Dem.* 176.

**184.** Cf. ad *Dem.* 171, 180 ff., Appendix III.

**185–8.** Cf. Appendix III. Here the action is divided: the girls go to their mother (185–6 ~ *Od.* 6. 304 f., 7. 139–41, 6. 50), Demeter steps on the threshold (188 ~ 7. 135).

**βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης ἔνθα . . .:** the *αἴθουσα* does not appear elsewhere in this formula. The phrase is compressed and ambiguous: *ἔνθα* must mean 'to the place where' (cf. *Il.* 13. 789, 24. 733), since Metaneira is sitting in the megaron.

On the *αἴθουσα* cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 415 ff.

**ἔνθα:** the second syllable is lengthened *in arsi* only here and at *Od.* 3. 367.

**πότνια μήτηρ:** Celeus is absent from this scene. Cf. the parallel scenes *Od.* 10. 112–14, where the king is at the agora (cf. *Od.* 6. 53 ff.), and *Od.* 7. 135 ff. where Arete is the main figure, although Alcinous is also present (Appendix III).

**185–6.** Cf. *Od.* 17. 96 *μήτηρ δ' ἀντίον ἷζε παρὰ σταθμὸν μεγάροιο.* Metaneira probably sits by one of the main supporting pillars of the megaron, which stood near the hearth. Cf. Arete in *Od.*

6. 52, 305 f., Penelope in *Od.* 17. 96, 23. 89 f. The Homeric megaron, with its hearth and pillars, has been thought to correspond closely with that of Mycenaean palaces (cf. Monro, *Odyssey* XIII–XXIV, pp. 490 ff., Myres, *Homer and his Critics*, 162–70, D. H. F. Gray, *CQ* N.S. 5 (1955), 1 ff.). But this is not certain (see Addenda).

**187. ὑπὸ κόλπῳ:** in *Od.* 15. 649 this must mean 'under the fold of her garment' (cf. *Il.* 9. 570, 22. 80, etc.). *ἐπὶ κόλπῳ* means 'on her lap' and may well be right. *ὑπό* and *ἐπί* are often confused in manuscripts: cf. Allen and Halliday ad *Ap.* 18, West ad Hes. *Th.* 843, also Hes. *Op.* 162, A.R. 4. 1064 (?), Nonn. *D.* 8. 78.

**187 f.** The girls' eagerness is again contrasted with Demeter's deliberate action. Cf. ad *Dem.* 176 ff.

**188–211.** Demeter sets foot on the threshold, her head touches the rafters, and she fills the doorway with divine radiance. Metaneira is seized by reverence, awe, and fear, and rising offers Demeter her chair. The goddess refuses it and stands in silence with downcast eyes, until the good Iambe gives her a stool, and places on it a white fleece. There she sits holding her veil before her face, for a long time, in silence and sorrow, without laughter and without tasting food and drink: until Iambe with her jokes and mockery makes the holy lady smile and laugh and have a propitious spirit, Iambe who later also pleased her heart. Metaneira offers her a cup of wine, but she refuses, saying that it is not lawful for her to drink wine, and asks her to mix barley and water with pennyroyal, and give it to her to drink. She makes the *cyceon* and gives it to the goddess. The lady Deo receives it for the sake of the rite . . .

In this scene various elements that are typical in Visit scenes are used for a special purpose. These are:

1. The visitor appears in the doorway (Epiphany).
2. Amazement of the person visited.
3. She rises and offers the visitor a seat (her *own* seat).
4. The visitor refuses the offer.
5. A stool with a fleece on it is offered (Purification ceremony).
6. Offer of wine (refused as unlawful).
7. *Cyceon.*

Cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff., 192 ff.

The passage aroused suspicion on the grounds of its aitiological character (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.), amongst critics who considered the aitiological elements of the *Hymn* secondary. It has also been objected that Demeter's epiphany and subsequent behaviour interrupt the natural course of events, and are ignored by Metaneira in 212 ff., and that Metaneira's greeting should follow Demeter's arrival.

The passage is unusual, because it describes unusual behaviour. But it follows the traditional schema of scenes of this type (cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff.). Moreover, a sudden, momentary epiphany of the type of 188–9 arouses fear and amazement in those present (190), but often

leaves them baffled, and unable to appreciate its significance. Thus Aphrodite overrules Anchises' scruples (*Aph.* 82 ff., 190 ff., 153) and the forebodings of the steersman at the sight of Dionysus are ignored by the ship's captain (*Hy.* 7. 17 ff.). Metaneira, like the girls (*Dem.* 159) is aware that Demeter is unusual (213 ff.). She is also aware of Demeter's sorrow, and tactfully attempts to console her (216 ff.). But she does not refer to what she has just seen: her reactions of αἰδώς, σέβας, and δέος prevent her (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90, 275 ff.).

Metaneira's χαῖρε (213) is delayed here owing to her reactions in 190. But in general conversation tends to follow a meal (cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff.). For χαῖρε after a meal cf. *Il.* 9. 225 (~ *Od.* 4. 60, 18. 122).

**188–90.** Demeter's arrival is the signal for an epiphany. A second and grander epiphany occurs at her departure (289 ff.). These are the two main points at which deities tend to reveal themselves in Homer: e.g. (Arrival) *Il.* 4. 75 ff.; (Departure) *Il.* 13. 72, 24. 460 ff., *Od.* 1. 319 ff., 3. 371 ff. (cf. Aristarchus ad *Il.* 2. 791–5).

The epiphany is characterized here by the supernatural stature of the deity, the divine radiance which she sheds abroad, and the reactions of reverence, awe, and fear which she arouses.

1. *Supernatural stature*: this is commonly a sign of the superhuman. Cf. *Il.* 4. 443, *Aph.* 173 f., both of which may be models for *Dem.* 188 f. (cf. ad loc.), *Dem.* 275; Call. *Hy.* 6. 57 f. (epiphany of Demeter, echoing *Dem.* 188 f.? Cf. ad loc.); Virg. *A.* 2. 592 (~ *Il.* 24. 629 f.), 4. 177 = 10. 767 (~ *Il.* 4. 443); Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2. 276 f. (cf. ad *Dem.* 188 f.). Often supernatural stature and beauty are linked: cf. ad *Dem.* 275. For further examples cf. Pfister, *RE, Supp.* 4. s.v. Epiphanie, p. 314.

2. *Divine radiance* is also a common epiphany feature: in Homer, Athena is like a star (*Il.* 4. 75 ff.), the gods' eyes shine (3. 397, 13. 3, etc.; cf. Hes. *Sc.* 72), and Athena's lamp makes the house appear as if on fire, so that Odysseus and Telemachus recognize her presence (*Od.* 19. 33 ff.). Cf. also *Od.* 18. 353 ff., and later *Dem.* 278 ff., *Ap.* 440 ff., *Aph.* 86 ff., 174 f., Hes. *Sc.* 70 ff., Bacch. 17. 103 ff., E. *Ba.* 1083, Theocr. 24. 38 ff., A.R. 4. 1701 ff., 3. 126, and in Latin Virg. *A.* 2. 589 f., 616 (Servius ad loc.), 3. 151, 4. 358, 8. 608 f., Ov. *F.* 1. 94, etc. Cf. (in the New Testament) Luke 24: 4, Matth. 28: 3, Mark 16: 5; and Pfister, o.c. 315 f., Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 38 ff., Stephani (*Mém. de l'acad. des sciences de St Petersb.* 6 sér. ix. 361 ff.), 'Nimbus und Strahlenkranz'; and ad *Dem.* 275 ff.

3. The reactions of the onlookers are commonly *amazement* and *terror*. (Amazement is also the common reaction to an unexpected visitor: cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff., 190.) For θάμβος (etc.) cf. *Il.* 3. 398, 4. 79, *Od.* 1. 323, 3. 371 f., 19. 36, *Ap.* 135, *Aph.* 84, *Hy.* 7. 37, 28. 6 (σέβας), A.R. 2. 681, 921, Luke 24: 41, etc. For fear cf. *Il.* 20. 130 f., 24. 170, *Od.* 16. 178 ff., 24. 533 ff., *Dem.* 281 ff., 293, *Ap.* 2, 447, *Aph.* 182, Bacch. 17. 102 f., A.R. 3. 1221, Virg. *A.* 4. 279 f., Matth. 16: 5 ff., etc. (cf. also ad *Dem.* 190). For fear and amazement together at a 'pseudo-epiphany' cf. *Od.* 6. 168.

Pfister (o.c. 317) observes that these reactions are 'the beginning

of the cult'. The epiphany of a deity is commonly the occasion for the institution of a cult. This is the case with Demeter's visit to Eleusis. Here the following scene describes the origins of the preliminary ritual of initiation (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.), just as Demeter's self-revelation at 268 ff. is followed by her command to build a temple and altar and her promise to institute her *ὄργια* (cf. ad *Dem.* 270 ff.), and her second epiphany (275 ff.). In 188 ff. Demeter's epiphany creates the religious atmosphere in which the following scene takes place.

The experience of an epiphany corresponds in some respects to that of the initiate during the Mysteries themselves. He has the same reactions of terror and amazement (*φρίκη, τρόμος, ἱδρώς, θάμβος*) during the early stages, and at the climax a great light (*φῶς τι θαυμάσιον*) shines out. The religious awe aroused prevents him from speaking (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–211, 275 ff. and especially 478 f.; also here 194, 198 f.). In both cases the emphasis lies on *vision*. Cf. Pfister, o.c. 319, and notes to *Dem.* 478 f., 480.

**188. ἐπ' οὐδὸν . . . ποσί:** entry to a house is normally expressed as crossing or stepping on a threshold: cf. *Od.* 4. 680, 7. 135, etc. Visitors on arrival (cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff.) stand on it (*Od.* 1. 103 f.), 'in the doors' (*Il.* 11. 644) or 'in the *πρόθυρα*' (*Il.* 11. 777). Suppliants and beggars sit on it (*Od.* 10. 62, 17. 339, 413, etc.). The barrier between the house and the world outside it had a special significance, and to cross it was a 'significant act'. Hence Demeter's epiphany takes place at this point. Cf. K. Meister, *Die Hausschwelle in Sprache und Religion der Römer* (Sb. Heidelb. 1925), especially 17 ff., E. Norden, *Aus Altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, 141 f., 144, 152 f., 158 ff., 171 f. (also for the regular conjunction of *limen* and *stare* in Latin), M. B. Ogle, *AJP* 32 (1911), 251 ff. (especially 260 f., for the threshold in connection with prophecy and epiphany). Cf. also Porph. *de antro nymph.* 27 on the sacred character of doorways.

**188 f.** There is parallelism in *ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ καί ῥα μελάθρου κῦρε κάρη*. Cf. *Il.* 4. 443 (Eris) *οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει*. This passage, or a similar one, may lie behind *Dem.* 188 f. But a closer parallel is *Aph.* 173 f., in the epiphany of Aphrodite. Both *Dem.* 188 f. and *Aph.* 173 f. have oddities of expression:

(*a*) the genitive is not used with *κύρειν* in Homer or Hesiod (who use dative). Cf. Hom. *Epigr.* 6. 6, [Archil.] fr. 326 West, Hdt., Attic.

(*b*) *μέλαθρον* properly means the roof-beam or rafter (cf. Schol. T ad *Od.* 8. 297), and hence 'roof'. In *Aph.* 173 f. this sense is natural, but in *Dem.* 188 f. the goddess stands on the threshold and fills the doorway with light. *μέλαθρον* should therefore strictly mean 'lintel' here (cf. Gemoll). The only evidence for this sense is Hsch. s.v. *μέλαθρα· οἰκίαι, ὑπέρθυρα.*

(*c*) Is *κάρη* the subject of *κῦρε*, or accusative of respect? In *Aph.* 173 f. either is possible, but the asyndeton there is perhaps easier if each clause has a separate subject, and *κάρη* governs *κῦρε*. Here, either is again possible, if *κάρη* may also govern *πλῆσεν* (cf. ad 189).

But it is more natural for Demeter to be the subject of all three clauses. (The dative κάρῃ is a third possibility: this occurs in Theognis 1024 and later poets, and would give an exact parallel with ἔβη ποσί.)

(*d*) in *Aph.* l.c., the asyndeton itself is unusual (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc.), and ἔστη ἄρα κλισίῃ is odd, as one expects a preposition, and ἄρα comes very late in the sentence. Cf., however, J. C. Kamerbeek, *Mnem.* 20 (1967), 391, who notes *Aph.* 71, 153, 267, as examples of this poet's fondness for asyndeton.

Other parallels with *Aph.* 155–75 tend to suggest that, if there *is* a direct echo, the poet of our *Hymn* is later: in this same passage *Dem.* 194b = *Aph.* 156b; and *Aph.* 157a ~ *Dem.* 285a. All these are phrases which occur nowhere else in early epic.

Gemoll argues for the priority of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (ad loc.). So also K. Reinhardt (*Ilias und ihre Dichter*, 519), on the ground that there is a strong and effective contrast between *Aph.* 155 ff. and 168 ff., which is lacking in our *Hymn*. This is a rather subjective criterion.

Cf. also Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnus*, 38 ff.; K. Stiewe, 'Der Erzählungstil des homerischen Demeterhymnus' (Diss. Göttingen, 1954, unprinted); and Introduction, pp. 42 f.

Virg. *A.* 4. 177 = 10. 767 echoes *Il.* 4. 443. Cf. also Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2. 277 (epiphany of Roma): 'summae tangunt laquearia cristae.' Did Claudian have the *Homeric Hymns* in mind? It is possible that the motif occurred elsewhere.

**189. κάρῃ:** in this position in the verse only here and at *Aph.* 174.

**πλῆcεν δὲ θύρας:** the conjecture of Voss avoids taking κάρῃ either as accusative or as subject of πλῆcεν. The latter is possible: the divine radiance comes from the body (cf. *Dem.* 278 f., Hes. fr. 43 (a). 73 f., Bacch. 17. 103 ff.) and especially from the head or face (*Il.* 5. 7, 18. 206 ff., *Od.* 18. 353 ff., *Aph.* 174, in the parallel passage; *Hy.* 31. 12 ff., 32. 3 f., Matth. 17: 2, 28: 3, Revelation 1: 16, etc.). But the accusative of respect gives an easier construction (cf. ad *Dem.* 188 f.).

**cέλαος θείοιο:** for cέλας of supernatural radiance cf. *Il.* 8. 76, 18. 214, *Od.* 19. 17, 366, *Ap.* 442, 445.

189b is parallel to *Aph.* 174b–5.

**190.** For αἰδώς and δέος together cf. *Il.* 15. 657 f., 3. 172 (αἰδοῖος . . . δεινός τε; cf. *Od.* 8. 22, etc.), 18. 394, 1. 331 ~ 24. 435, also *Od.* 9. 269 ~ 274, etc., *Cypria*, fr. 23. 2 ἵνα γὰρ δέος ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς, Epich. fr. 221 K., S. *Aj.* 1074–6; Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 353 ff., von Erffa, *Phil. Supp.*, 30. 2 (1937), "*Αἰδώς* und verwandte Begriffe (etc.)", 28 ff., Verdenius, *Mnem.* sér. 3, 12 (1945), 47 ff. For αἰδώς and cέβας cf. *Il.* 4. 242 f. ~ 5. 787, etc., 8. 178–80, von Erffa, o.c. 26 ff., A. *Eum.* 545–9 (cf. also A. *Eum.* 522 ff., 690 f., 696 ff.). αἰδώς and cέβας are not used in Homer of reactions to the divine (but cf. αἰδεῖcθαι *Il.* 9. 504, 24. 90, 503, *Od.* 9. 269; αἰδοίη θεά *Il.* 18. 394). Cf. for αἰδώς *Cypr.* l.c. sup., for cέβας *Dem.* 479, *Hy.* 28. 6, Hom. *Epigr.* 8. 3; also cεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε of Demeter and Persephone, *Dem.* 486 (cf. *Dem.* 1, 343, 374, Hes. *Op.* 301). The normal reaction in Homer is amazement (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90, and B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*,

tr. T. G. Rosenmayer (Harper, 1960), 33), but sometimes also fear (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90 and *Od.* 14. 389, 22. 39, 14. 88, *θεουδής Od.* 6. 121, etc.).

On *cέβας* cf. also ad *Dem.* 10, on *αἰδώς* ad *Dem.* 214 f., and *Lex. des frühgriech. Epos*, s.v. *αἰδοῖος, αἰδώς*.

**191.** This is also a typical feature of Visit scenes. For the queen to offer the visitor her own chair is a mark of great respect. Cf. *Od.* 7. 168 ff. (Odysseus at Alcinous' court), where Alcinous offers him his favourite son's chair, next to his own, and *Il.* 24. 100, *Od.* 16. 42.

**κλισμοῖο:** this is distinguished from a *θρόνος* by Ap. Soph. 100. 15, Schol. *Od.* 1. 145, as having arm-rests, but the two are sometimes used interchangeably, as here (*Il.* 11. 623 ~ 645, 24. 515 ~ 597). It was often decorated: cf. *Dem.* 193, *Il.* 8. 436, 24. 597, *Od.* 1. 132, etc.; Pollux 10. 47, Helbig, *Hom. Epos*, 118 ff.

**192–211.** This scene forms the model for several elements of Eleusinian ritual:

1. Preliminary purification: 194–201.
2. Fasting and abstention from wine: 200 f., 206–8.
3. Aischrologia: 202–5.
4. *Cyceon*: 208–11.

The keynotes of the passage are formally emphasized by repetition, i.e. Demeter's sitting-down (193 etc.), sorrow (194, 197, 198, 200, 201), and silence (194, 198–9), and the duration of time (194, 198). The ritual character is also brought out by parallelism and repetition: 192–7 ~ 198–204:

i.e. { 192–3 *ἀλλ' οὐ Δημήτηρ . . . ἤθελεν ἑδριάασθαι*
194 *ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα ἔμιμνε . . .*
195 *πρίν γ' ὅτε δή . . . 'Ιάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα . . .*
~ { 198 *ἄφθογγος τετιημένη ἦστ' . . .*
199 *οὐδέ τιν' . . . προσπτύσσετο . . .*
200–1 *ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος . . . ἧστο . . .*
202 *πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ . . . 'Ιάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα.*

206–11 also show the same pattern of refusal followed by acceptance. The ritual element is explicitly referred to in 204, 207, 211.

1. *Preliminary purification*

The similarity between the events described in 194–201 and the scene portrayed on two Roman monuments, the 'Lovatelli urn' and 'Torre Nova sarcophagus', has long been recognized. (Cf. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (1890), 122 ff.; Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910), 89–167; Roussel, *BCH* 54 (1930), 58 ff.; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 205 ff., Figs. 83 and 84.) These depict the purification of Heracles from the slaughter of the centaurs, before his initiation at Eleusis and descent to Hades. According to Apollodorus (2. 5. 12) this was performed by Eumolpus (cf. P. Oxy. 2622 and PSI 1391, ad *Dem.* 154). According to Diod. 4. 25. 1 he was initiated by Musaeus. (Cf. also E. *HF* 613,

Xen. *H.* 6. 3. 6, Plut. *Thes.* 30. 8, and in art, the Kertsch pelike and Pourtalès vase, Mylonas, o.c. 210 ff., Figs. 85 and 81.) Another tradition held that the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae were instituted by Demeter for Heracles' purification (Diod. 4. 14. 3, Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 846, 1014; cf. Ps. Plat. *Axiochus* 371 e, Maas, *AM* 20 (1895), 355). The central scene shows Heracles seated on a stool (cf. *πηκτὸν ἔδος, δίφρου Dem.* 196, 198), which is covered by his lion skin. (In some other parallel reliefs he sits on a ram's fleece, according to Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge*, 9 f., who assumes that the lion skin was substituted to characterize Heracles. Cf. *Dem.* 196b.) His right foot is bare, and rests on a ram's head. His head is veiled by a cloak (cf. *Dem.* 197b). A female figure stands behind him and purifies him, by means of a liknon (on the urn), or a lowered torch (on the sarcophagus). To the left, Demeter herself is shown seated on the *cista* (on the sarcophagus), or an altar-like seat (on the urn), both of which are covered by a pelt (a ram's fleece according to Hauser, *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910), 287 f.). She is accompanied by Persephone or Iacchus. The scene to the right of Heracles shows a purificatory sacrifice.

Heracles' purification is by means of the *Διὸς κώδιον* (or *δῖον κώδιον*), the sacred fleece taken from a ram sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios. It was used for various ceremonies of purification, amongst others by the Dadouchos at Eleusis (cf. *Suda* s.v.; Hsch. s.v.; Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 23 ff.).

Heracles was purified from homicide, but the ceremony formed a part of the preliminaries to initiation (cf. Plut. l.c.: *τὸν πρὸ τῆς μυήσεως καθαρμόν*). The two forms of purification, for murder, and before initiation, are closely similar: cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 66 f., and ad *Dem.* 197–8.

The *Hymn* portrays the *aition* for this purification: Demeter sits on the stool, which is covered by the fleece. (Normally the ram's head was placed under the feet of the candidate.) Her head is veiled, and she is silent (198 f.). For the significance of these various features in purification ceremonies cf., for the *fleece*, Diels, o.c. 122 ff., Persson, *ARW* 21 (1922), 300, Gjerstad, *ARW* 27 (1929), 206 f., J. Pley, *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu* (Naumburg, 1911); for the *veil*, Diels, l.c.; Roussel, o.c. 63, Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religion*, 1. 299 ff., Deubner, *AF* 78. *Silence* is prescribed for purification: A. *Eum.* 448 ff. (ad *Dem.* 198), cf. Schol. A. *Eum.* 276, A.R. 4. 693 ff., 697 f., Diels, o.c. 123.

The emphasis on *sitting down* (*Dem.* 191, 193, 196, 197, 198, 201) is also significant: cf. the ceremonial thronismos of the initiate in the mysteries of the Corybantes and the Great Mother (Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 213), and notes to *Dem.* 200. See Addenda.

For the possible connection of the purification ritual with the story of Demophon cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff. The place and time of the ceremony in the later period are both uncertain (cf. Introduction, pp. 20 ff.). The *Διὸς κώδιον* was certainly used at Eleusis, but one tradition connects Heracles' purification with the Lesser Mysteries, and these are described as purificatory (Clem. *Strom.* 4. 3. 1, Schol. Ar. *Plut.*

845). It has been conjectured that the scenes on the Torre Nova sarcophagus are derived from those on the temple at Agrae (cf. Rodenwaldt, *Gnomon* 1 (1925), 127; Möbius, *AM* 61 (1936), 234 ff. = *Studia varia* (1967), 108 ff.) but this seems doubtful (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 668 n. 10). For the use of torches for purification at Agrae cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8. 763 ff.

The ritual of purification is parodied in Ar. *Nub.* 250, 633 ff., 723 ff., where Strepsiades is 'initiated' into the Socratic 'mysteries' (cf. C. Petersen, *Der geheime Gottesdienst bei den Griechen* (Hamburg, 1848), 41; Dieterich, *RhM* 48 (1893), 275 ff.; Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 210 ff.).

2. *Fasting and Cyceon*

These are both mentioned in the Eleusinian *σύνθημα* (Clem. *Protr.* 2. 21. 2) : *ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα* . . . (cf. Introduction, pp. 22 f., and ad *Dem.* 47). It is natural to assume that the initiates broke their fast with the *cyceon*, as Demeter does. Fasting before a sacred meal is common practice (cf. P. Gerlitz, 'Das Fasten als Initiationsritus', in *Initiation*, ed. C. J. Bleeker, 275 ff.). But the time and place when it was drunk in the later period are not certain. It is possible that it was drunk on the arrival of the procession at Eleusis, despite the supposed difficulty of making this journey on an empty stomach (cf. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten*, 77 ff.). The procession of the *κάλαθος* at Alexandria took place on a day of fasting (Call. *Hy.* 6. 6 ff.). The modern Greek pilgrim would not consider such feats of endurance beyond him. It would thus coincide with the *αἰσχρολογία*, which in the *Hymn* causes Demeter to break her fast. The two are closely linked (see below).

Cf. also Deubner, *AF* 79 ff., Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 140 ff. On the purpose and constitution of the *cyceon* cf. Appendix IV, and on Demeter's refusal of wine ad *Dem.* 207 f.

3. *Iambe*

She appears without introduction in the *Hymn*. To those familiar with Eleusinian ritual she would need no introduction. Others would not penetrate below the surface narrative to the ritual underlying it. Her epithet *κέδν' εἰδυῖα* simply suggests a *ταμίη* (cf. *Od.* 1. 428, etc.). But her importance in the cult is obscurely hinted at in *Dem.* 205.

She is the eponym of the iambic rhythm (Philoch. *FGH* 328. 103, Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130, Hsch. s.v. *Ἰάμβη, ἰαμβίζειν*, *Et. M.* 463. 23 ff., Schol. Hephaest. 214. 9 Consbr., *et al.*). Compare Elegeis, about whom a myth is told similar to Iambe's (Crusius, *RE* 5. 2258 ff.) and Iacchus, eponym of the cry of the procession to Eleusis. The original use of the iambic rhythm was probably religious, and connected especially with the festivals of Demeter and Dionysus. Archilochus, the first iambic poet, came from Paros, home of an important Demeter-cult (cf. ad *Dem.* 491) and of Baubo, Iambe's counterpart.

He himself probably came of a priestly family (cf. Paus. 10. 28. 3; also perhaps fr. 251 West (Tarditi, pp. 6–7), for Archilochus and Dionysus, and note frr. 322–3 West; Crusius, *RE* 2. 501. 60, Kern, *RE* 4. 2723. 15 ff.). The earliest use of the word ἴαμβος (excluding *Iliu Persis*, fr. 6 Allen) comes in Archil. fr. 215 West. This suggests the sense 'jesting' (cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1448$^{b}$37, Gerhard, *RE* 9. 65 ff. s.v. Iambographen). Ritual jesting (αἰσχρολογία, σκώμματα) certainly occurred at Eleusis, and probably some of it at least was in iambics. The chorus of mystae in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, after singing the Iacchus song (396 ff.) itself in iambic rhythm and scurrilous (411 ff.), go on to iambic σκώμματα against political characters. That they are not just indulging in the traditional jesting of comedy here is suggested by *Ran.* 393, where in their hymn to Demeter they ask that they may sport and jest in a way worthy of *her* festival (τῆς σῆς ἑορτῆς ἀξίως παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα). Cf. also 375 f. κἀπισκώπτων καὶ παίζων καὶ χλευάζων ~ *Dem.* 202–3 χλεύης . . . παρασκώπτουσα, 444 ff., 450 ff.[1]

The jesting in the *Frogs* takes place during the procession (*Ran.* 372 ff.; cf. 389 πανήμερον). It was accompanied by dancing (374, 390, 404, 409, 451 ff.). Iambe herself danced to the iambic rhythm (Eust. *Od.* 11. 277). Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter* is entirely *choriambic*, which is why it is quoted as a rarity. Iambe comes from Halimus in Philicus' version, and the Thesmophoria at Halimus, a preliminary to the three-day festival at Athens, involved dancing (παίζειν καὶ χορεύειν, Plut. *Sol.* 8. 4; cf. Polyaen. 1. 20. 2; Ar. *Ran.* 390, 409, 419, 452 f.). Apollodorus (1. 5. 1) makes Iambe's jesting the *aition* for the σκώμματα of women at the Thesmophoria, and this may refer to the Thesmophoria at Halimus. In the similar ritual of Damia and Auxesia Herodotus (5. 83) mentions χοροῖσι γυναικηίοισι κερτόμοισι, who were led in their abuse against local women by twenty male χορηγοί. There was dancing during the Iacchus procession to Eleusis (*IG* ii$^{2}$. 1078. 29; Plut. *Alc.* 34. 4; Deubner, *AF* 73 f.), and this was presumably accompanied by σκώμματα. One form of these is attested by Strabo (9. 1. 24) and Hesychius (s.v. γεφυρίς, γεφυρισταί). As the procession crossed the Athenian Cephisus (cf. Bolte, *RE* 11. 248), a man sitting on the bridge with veiled head (or according to Hesychius a woman) made jokes against those who were passing (or against well-known citizens: Hsch. s.v. γεφυρίς). The person may have been a man disguised as a woman (cf. Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, p. 203 n. 1).

Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1014 also mentions σκώμματα by women in carriages during the procession (cf. *Suda* s.v. τὰ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα).[2] Ar.

[1] Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 332 ff., and Deubner, *AF* 73 f., deny that this refers to the Mysteries. I think that it does. See also H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 219 f., and n. 25, for other references.

[2] This is referred to the Anthesteria by Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 328, Deubner, *AF* 73 f. Cf. also Kerényi, *Symb. Osl.* 36 (1960), 1 ff. The bridge on the Rheitoi at Eleusis was too narrow for carriages (*IG* i$^{2}$. 81. 11, 421/20 B.C.): but cf. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge*, 47.

*Vesp.* 1362 f. (*ἵν' αὐτὸν τωθάσω νεανικῶς, | οἵοις ποθ' οὗτος ἐμὲ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων*) is a general reference to *αἰσχρολογία* as a preliminary to the Mysteries (cf. Schol. ad loc.). 1361–2 perhaps suggest a connection with the purification by torches.

The dancing continued on the arrival of the procession at Eleusis, in a *παννυχίς*. This is portrayed on the Niinnion pinax (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 213 ff., 241, 257, Fig. 88), which also shows that the *κερνοφορία* took place at this time (cf. Appendix IV).[1] In the *Frogs*, the mystae on reaching their destination divide into separate groups of men and women. The men go off to 'the sacred circle of the goddess, to sport in her flowery precinct', while the chorus-leader (the dadouchos) joins the girls and women, 'to give them sacred light, in their *παννυχίς* for the goddess' (444 ff., cf. 371). In the following chorus, they speak of going 'to the flowery rose-filled meadows', *τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον, τὸν καλλιχορώτατον, παίζοντες* (451 ff.). This surely refers to the dancing around Callichoron, which was part of the *παννυχίς* (cf. E. *Ion* 1074 ff., E. Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* (Berlin, 1900), 40, Möbius, *AM* 61 (1936), 256). Pausanias (1. 38. 6) says that 'the *women* first danced and sang here in honour of the goddess' (cf. also ad *Dem.* 292 ff. and Appendix I).

It seems very likely that during the *παννυχίς* further *αἰσχρολογία* occurred, together with the dancing. Normally only women indulged in this: cf. the Thesmophoria (above), Stenia (Plut. s.v., Hsch. s.vv. *Στήνια, στηνιῶσαι*), Haloa (Schol. Luc. *Dial. Mer.* p. 280. 14 Rabe), and cult of Damia and Auxesia. In this cult the women were led by male *χορηγοί* (cf. Hdt. 5. 83. 3). Cf. perhaps for Eleusis Ar. *Ran.* 447 f., Radermacher ad loc. But for men and women together cf. e.g. Call. fr. 7 ff. (*ritus Anaphaeus*).

The drinking of the *cyceon* may also have taken place at this time (see above). Originally, *aischrologia* and *cyceon* were closely linked. In the *Hymn*, it is Iambe's jesting which persuades Demeter to break her fast. There are many parallel stories (see below). The Alexandrian myth of Ascalabus also connects the two, although in a different way. Ascalabus (or Ambas), son of Misme (or Metaneira), angered Demeter by laughing at her when she was drinking the *cyceon* (or according to another version, by behaving badly during her sacrifice). She poured the dregs of the drink over him and turned him into a gecko (*ἀσκαλαβώτης*). Cf. Nic. fr. 56 (= Ant. Lib. 24), Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 483 (Ambas is probably a confusion with Iambe), Ov. *M.* 5. 446 ff., Lact. Plac. *Fab.* 5. 7.

In the 'Orphic' version, Iambe is replaced by Baubo (Orph. fr. 52 K.). By an indecent exposure she causes Demeter to laugh, and to accept the *cyceon*. The story is perhaps the *aition* for the handling of *ἄρρητα*, which accompanied *aischrologia* at some festivals of Demeter (e.g. Haloa, l.c. above). It has been conjectured that this is referred to in the second half of the Eleusinian *σύνθημα*, after the drinking of the

[1] E. Simon, *Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 86 ff., argues that the Niinnion pinax portrays the Haloa. I do not find her arguments convincing.

*cyceon*. But this is quite uncertain (cf. Deubner, *AF* 79 ff., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 658 f., Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 294 ff.).[1]

Call. fr. 21. 8 ff. suggests a connection between *aischrologia* and fasting at a festival of Demeter, and perhaps refers also to the rest of the *synthema* (cf. Pfeiffer ad loc.). Handling of *arrheta* goes with the eating of special 'cakes' of grain at the Haloa, Stenia, etc. (Schol. Luc. l.c. above), which could suggest a link with the *cyceon* or *κερνοφορία*.

*Aischrologia* was common in festivals of Demeter. Besides the examples already quoted, it occurred at Syracuse, where the *aition* was that during her search for Core the goddess was made to laugh (Diod. 5. 4. 6: the jesting seems to have involved obscenity here). It may be significant that Ath. 181 c mentions *ἰαμβισταί* at Syracuse. It also took place at Pallene, in the festival of Demeter Mysia (Paus. 7. 27. 9), and in Dionysiac festivals (e.g. Lenaea and Choes: *Suda* s.v. *τὰ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα*). For Rome cf. Ov. *F.* 3. 675 f., 695 (and the *Fescennini versus* at marriages: these again were in poetic form), and in general Arist. *Pol.* 7. 15, 1336ᵇ, Plut. *Def. Or.* 14 (417 c), Iamblichus, *De Myst.* 1. 11, Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 104, Frazer, *GB*³ 7. 62 f.

Stories similar to those of Iambe and Baubo, and related ritual, occur in many countries. For a study of these in relation to mourning customs cf. especially K. Meuli, *Romania Helvetica* 20 (1943), 788 ff. Professional jesters are used at funeral feasts to relieve the mourners, in many parts of the world. In Sardinia, this custom used to be explained by a story about the Virgin Mary similar to the Demeter myth. When she was mourning the death of her Son, the animals tried unsuccessfully to comfort her, until a frog made her smile by boasting that her own grief was much worse, since she had lost seven children run over by a cartwheel (cf. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 469 f.). A similar story of the Virgin being made to laugh by a frog who boasted of her latest child is quoted from Rumania by Marie Holban, *Incantations, chants de vie et de mort*, 75, 79 (cf. E. *Helena*, Budé edn. p. 106 n. 1). Here, the ugliness of the frog is emphasized. The Sardinian proverb 'non v'ha dolu senza risu' was explained by this. Cf. Philicus' *Hymn* 55 [*τοῖσι δὲ*] *σεμνοῖς ὁ γελοῖος λόγος ἆρ' ἀκερδής*[*ς*; (*vel sim.* Cf. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 546). Usener compared the use of *scurrae* at Roman funerals, and conjectured that the myth of Iambe indicated a similar custom in Attica.

In Scandinavian mythology, Skadi's grief for his dead father is relieved by the obscene jesting of Loki. A closer parallel is provided by the Egyptian myth of the goddess Hathor, who made her father laugh and resume his work, by exposing herself (cf. Lévy, *Mélanges Cumont*, 832 ff.). It has been suggested that the story of Baubo derives from this (Lévy, Meuli, o.c.; cf. H. Vorwahl, *ARW* 30 (1933), 396). Hathor's gesture was used by women in the cult of Bubastis, with

[1] For Baubo see also Emped. fr. 153; *IG* 12. 5. 227, *Praktika* 1950, p. 280 (cult on Paros and Naxos); Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 657 n. 2, Pl. 45. 3 (Priene), Picard, *RHR* 95 (1927), 220 ff.; Kern, *RE* 3. 150 ff. See also Addenda to p. 82.

*aischrologia* and dancing (Hdt. 2. 60), and a similar practice occurred in the Apis cult (Diod. 1. 85).

There are also Egyptian stories of the Sun being made to laugh and resume work (cf. Wiedemann, *Die Amulette der Aegypter* (1934), 66 ff.). In Japan, Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess, withdrew into a hole in anger, but was appeased by Uzume, who was very ugly. She danced and exposed herself so that the gods laughed, and Amaterasu, overcome by curiosity, looked out and joined in the laughter (Braun, *Japan. Märchen und Sagen*, 108 ff.). This myth was the *aition* for the ritual dances performed annually at the winter solstice and at the burial of royalty, by Uzume's descendants. The dances were supposed to cheer the souls of the dead.

In Greece, the festival of the Daedala at Plataea was explained by a similar myth (Paus. 9. 3; Plut. ap. Euseb. *PE* 3. 1. 6; Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 4. 109 ff.).

These parallels show how close such rituals of mourning are to those of festivals of fertility, and how they are explained by myths of the same type. At Eleusis, the initiates who joined in the fasting, and the *aischrologia* and dancing which ended it, were not merely participating in rituals of purification and the stimulation of fertility (cf., e.g., Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 48, 195). More important to them personally was the fact that they were sharing in the sorrow of Demeter, and its relief by laughter, song, and dance. At the same time, the return of life to the fields and the growth of the crops formed an essential background. Thus, in the version of Euripides (*Hel.* 1301 ff.), Demeter has already caused famine over the earth (cf. *Dem.* 305 ff.) when she is appeased by the music and gaiety of the Graces, Muses, and Aphrodite. Cf. also the version of Philicus. There the famine has already occurred when Iambe appears.

Laughter is often a symbol of rebirth, or of restoration of the dead to life. In myths and folklore, it can actually create or restore life (cf. S. Reinach, l.c. above, 'Le rire rituel'; E. Fehrle, 'Das Lachen im Glauben der Völker', *Zeitschr. f. Volksk.* N.F. 2 (1930), 1 ff.; F. Dölger, 'Lachen wider den Tod', in *Pisciculi Fr. J. Dölger zum 60. Geburtstag darg.* (Münster, 1939), 84 ff.; V. Cajkanović, 'Das magische Lachen', *Srpski Etnografski Zbornik* 31 (1924), 25 ff.). Laughter and obscenity, together with the drinking of the *cyceon* after the period of fasting, perhaps symbolized at Eleusis the initiate's entry into a new life (cf. Reinach, o.c. 115 f.). Hence, when he uttered the words of the *σύνθημα*, perhaps on his entry to the Sanctuary or the Telesterion itself, he signified that he was standing on the threshold of a new and transformed existence, and was qualified for the revelations that were to follow.

A similar ritual to that of *Dem.* 192–211 probably took place in the Mysteries of Isis: cf. Apul. *Met.* 6. 19–20 (especially 19. 4–5, 20. 3, and 19. 3 'ipsum limen' ~ 11. 23. 7 and *Dem.* 188), Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 69 (cf. ad *Dem.* 200), R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, 46 f.

**192.** There is a solemnity about this line which makes it a suitable introduction to the ceremonies that follow. Cf. ad *Dem.* 233 f.

The refusal of a seat is an epic motif found also in Hittite poetry: cf. the Sun-god in the tale of Ullikummi (Pritchard, *ANET*² 123).

**194. ἀκέουca:** on Demeter's silence cf. ad *Dem.* 198 f., 192 ff.

**ἔμιμνε:** hiatus after the second trochee is rare. It occurs especially after cε (*Il.* 19. 288, *Od.* 6. 251, *Ap.* 54), but also at *Il.* 2. 8 (due to a formula—transposition), 3. 46, 5. 118, 23. 263, *Od.* 3. 480, 19. 185. Meyer's First Law is also broken (Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 94). The conjecture of Voss is attractive. Cf. *Il.* 16. 363. But note *Il.* 1. 565, which also breaks Meyer's Law.

**κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦca:** this is here a sign of sorrow, in *Aph.* 156 of αἰδώς. Cf. *Il.* 3. 217 *κατὰ χθονὸc ὄμματα πήξαc* (in pretended αἰδώς), E. *IA* 1123 *ἐc γῆν δ' ἐρείcαc' ὄμμα πρόcθ' ἔχειc πέπλουc* (in sorrow; cf. *Dem.* 197), *Med.* 24 ff. *κεῖται δ' ἄcιτοc . . . οὔτ' ὄμμ' ἐπαίρουc' οὔτ' ἀπαλλάccουca γῆc πρόcωπον* (cf. *Dem.* 200). It became a motif of love stories (cf. *Aph.* 156): Theocr. 2. 112, Call. fr. 80. 11, A.R. 1. 784, 3. 22, 1022 f., *AP* 5. 252, Musaeus 160, Aristaen. *Epist.* 1. 15. In Latin cf. Virg. *A.* 1. 482, 6. 156, 469, 11. 480 ('oculos deiecta decoros': a reminiscence of *Aph.* 156?).

The motif is perfectly appropriate here. Heitsch (*Aphroditehymnus*, 39) argues that it is more suitable in *Aph.* 156, where Aphrodite feigns modesty to win Anchises, but this is unconvincing.

**195. Ἰάμβη:** cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff. Later legend made her a daughter of Echo and Pan (Philoch., *FGH* 328. 103, *Et. M.* 463. 23 ff., *Et. G.* p. 160 Rei., Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130), and a Thracian (Schol. Nic. l.c., Procl. ap. Plut. *Bibl.* 319 b 17) or a *βάκχη* (*Et. M.* l.c.). There was a sanctuary of Echo on the Sacred Way to Eleusis (*IG* ii². 1011. 7; cf. Kern, *RE* 16. 1226, Jacoby, *FGH* 3b Supp., Text, pp. 422 f.). In Philicus' *Hymn*, she comes from Halimus, on the coast near Athens (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). Schol. Heph. 214. 12 ff. makes her meet Hipponax in Ionia, and address him in iambic metre.

**κέδν' εἰδυῖα:** *ἰδυῖα* is the original form (cf. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 109 f.), but manuscripts of Homer and Hesiod regularly have *εἰδ-*, and *εἰδυῖα(ν)* is certain in *Il.* 17. 5, Hes. *Th.* 887 (cf. West ad *Th.* 264).

**196. πηκτὸν ἕδοc:** on the ritual significance of this stool (*δίφρου* 198) cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff. *πηκτόν* in Homer is used only of a plough, and *ἕδοc* normally of places (but cf. *οὐχ ἕδοc Il.* 11. 648, 23. 205). This 'jointed seat' is thus something unusual.

**ἐπ' ἀργύφεον βάλε κῶαc:** on the significance of the fleece cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff. Metzger (*Recherches*, 45 ff.) identifies the seat on which Demeter sits in some works of art with this stool (cf. Metzger, o.c., pp. 36 f., Nos. 15–18). This seems to me doubtful.

**197–201.** Demeter sits down, veiled, for a long time, in silence, in sorrow, addressing no one, unsmiling, not tasting food or drink, mourning for her daughter.

These elements are all typical of scenes of mourning. For sitting down, especially on the ground, in grief, cf. *Od.* 4. 716 ff., 20. 58, 21. 55 f. (Bühler, Moschus, *Europa*, p. 65, n. 5), Pritchard, *ANET*² 123, Psalm 137: 1, Shakespeare, *Richard II*, III. ii. 155 f. Lying or rolling on

the ground are also signs of grief: *Il.* 18. 26 f., 22. 414, 23. 58 ff., 24. 161 ff., 510. For sitting down as symbolical of death cf. L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968), 288 ff., especially 295 ff.

For the sequence 'for a long time, in silence, in sorrow, she sat, and did not speak a word to anyone' (*Dem.* 198 f.) cf. Job. 2: 13: (Job's friends) 'sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his grief was very great.' Cf. also 2 Sam. 12: 16. In later Greek poetry cf. A.R. 2. 859 ff.: *δὴν ἄρ' . . . ἀμηχανίῃσιν . . . πεσόντες, | ἐντυπὰς εὐκήλως εἰλυμένοι, οὔτε τι εἴτου | μνώοντ' οὔτε ποτοῖο· κατήμυναν δ' ἀχέεσσι | θυμόν . . . τετιημένοι* (~ *Dem.* 198). Cf. also A.R. 4. 1294 ff.: *ἐν δὲ κάρη πέπλοισι καλυψάμενοι σφετέροισιν | ἄκμηνοι καὶ ἄπαστοι ἐκείατο νύκτ' ἔπι πᾶσαν | καὶ φάος . . .* Cf. also the expressive veiled silence of the seated Niobe (which lasts for three days), and of Achilles in Aeschylus (Ar. *Ran.* 911–12, A. fr. 277 Loeb, *Vita Aeschyli* s. 6).

In A. *Ag.* 412 ff. Menelaus' silence after Helen has left him (*πόθῳ ὑπερποντίας*) is similarly described. Note the 'privative tricolon' there: cf. ad *Dem.* 200.

Cf. also Meuli, o.c. ad *Dem.* 192 ff. (Iambe), J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), iii. 71 ff., 'The Silent Widow'. On fasting and sitting on the ground (especially in the cult of Demeter) cf. ad *Dem.* 200.

**197. προκατέσχετο:** not in Homer (cf. *προέχειν, κατέχειν, προκαθίζω, (κατα)σχομένη*). The middle occurs only here, the active in Thuc. 4. 105, etc.

On the significance of the veil cf. ad *Dem.* 42, 192 ff.

**198.** The 'long silence' is 'formulaic', but later versions also make Demeter sit in sorrow for several days: cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 15, Ov. *F.* 4. 505 f. (ad *Dem.* 200).

**ἄφθογγος** does not occur elsewhere in early epic. Cf. Theognis 549, etc., and especially A. *Eum.* 448 ff. *ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος, ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ* (cf. ad *Dem.* 192–211: 1. Preliminary purification).

**199. οὔτ' ἔπεϊ . . . οὔτε τι ἔργῳ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 65, 117.

**προσπτύσσετο:** this verb means 'embrace' (*Od.* 11. 451), and so 'greet, address'. Here 'she greeted no one by word or gesture' (cf. LSJ s.v.). Cf. *Dem.* 117.

**200. ἀγέλαστος:** in Homer this occurs only as a v.l. at *Od.* 8. 307 (Ap. *Lex.*, *γρ.* Eust., interpr. schol.: *ἔργα γελαστά* codd.; cf. H. Frisk, *Kl. Schr.* 200 n. 1). Cf. Heracl. fr. 92 D.–K., A. *Ag.* 794, fr. 290, etc. (in active sense).

Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 26, argues that it should be passive as in *Od.* 8. 307, and that this shows the line to be an imitation of *Od.* 4. 788. This is unconvincing, although *Od.* 4. 788 may have been the model.

Later legend made Demeter in her sorrow sit on the so-called Agelastos Petra, and it is possible that there is a reference to it here, or else the rock may derive its name from this line of the *Hymn*. Cf.

Apollod. 1. 5. 1: he places it by the well Callichoron, and makes it the place where she sat when she first came to Eleusis. In Ov. *F.* 4. 503 ff.:

> hic primum sedit gelido maestissima saxo:
> illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant.
> sub Iove duravit multis immota diebus,
> et lunae patiens et pluvialis aquae.

Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 782 (= *Suda* s.v. Καλαμῖνος) say that it was so called either because Theseus sat on the Agelastos Petra when about to descend to the underworld, or because Demeter sat there when searching for Core (cf. Hsch. s.v.). Proclus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 319b 17 ff. (Bekker) makes the incident with Iambe occur when Demeter is sitting on the rock.

This tradition should be connected with the ritual of fasting and sitting on the ground which took place at the Thesmophoria. Cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 69 (378 e) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίαις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι (cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 48 f.; Arbesmann, *Das Fasten*, 91; Deubner, *AF* 56). Plutarch compares this with a similar practice in the cult of Isis. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 6. 19. 5 (ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). For sitting on the ground as a purification ritual cf. also Plut. *de Superst.* 3 (166 a). Demeter herself is shown seated on the rocky ground and approached by worshippers on a fourth-century B.C. Eleusinian relief: Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 200, Fig. 72.[1] Cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 15 f.:

> τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιχόρῳ χαμάδις ἑκαθίσσαο φρητί,
> αὐσταλέα ἄποτός τε καὶ οὐ φάγες οὐδὲ λοέσσα (cf. *Dem.* 49 f.).

Rubensohn (*AM* 24 (1899), 46 ff.) identified the rocky ground in the relief as the Agelastos Petra.[2] He also suggested, on the strength of Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 782 (sup.), that it was originally so called because it was an entrance to Hades. (The Hades-entrance at Colonus was connected both with Demeter and Core and also with Theseus: Schol. S. *OC* 1590, 1593.) The Ἀνακλήθρα (or Ἀνακληθρίς) πέτρα at Megara was perhaps similar. This derived its name from a ceremony of invocation in imitation of Demeter, still performed by the women of Megara in Pausanias' own day (Paus. 1. 43. 2, Methodius in *Et. M.* 96. 2). Cornford (*Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (1913), 191 f.) suggested that the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα was the original scene of the summoning-up of Core. This would agree with the supposition (cf. ad *Dem.* 99) that the well Callichoron/Parthenion was where Core was thought to have gone down to the underworld.

Rubensohn identified the Agelastos Petra with the rock over the Ploutonion, just inside the Sanctuary. Here stood the cave and temple of Pluto, and it must be this cave which is referred to in *Orph. Hy.* 18. 12 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 17) as the place where Pluto descended into the

[1] He also compares a relief in the Naples museum, Harrison, *Prolegomena*, fig. 85. But the goddess on this is identified as Aphrodite by J. Harrison, ad loc. (p. 310).

[2] See also Metzger, *Recherches*, 46 ff.

earth with Persephone. The descent, or ascent, of Core was very probably enacted here (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 146 ff.), and it may be from this rock that Euadne jumps on to her husband Capaneus' pyre, in Euripides' *Supplices*, thus taking a quick route to *Φερσεφονείας θαλάμους* (1022; cf. 987 ff., 1004 f., 1016 ff.; Mylonas, *Hymn to Demeter*, 87 f.). The Ploutonion, however, is about fifty yards from Callichoron, and the rock is too high to be suitable: Demeter sits down on the ground, not up on a hill (cf. also Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 200). Mylonas identifies the Agelastos Petra with a small outcrop near the Ploutonion (o.c. 145 f.), but this is also too far from the Well.

The rock is mentioned in an inscription (*IG* ii². 1672 = *SIG*² 587. 182) referring to transport of bricks from the Sanctuary to Athens. The wording suggests a point *outside* the Sanctuary (cf. Hiller von Gärtringen, *RE Supp.* 1. 25 s.v. Agelastos Petra). It was probably not a large rock, but simply a particular spot, near the Well, and it may have been covered by the Roman Propylaeon.

Cf. also Pringsheim, *Arch. Beiträge*, 66 n. 3, *Hermes* (1902), 136 n. 3, Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, ii. 179. Aristophanes, in his topography of Hades, has *τὸν Αὐαίνου λίθον, ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀναπαύλαις* (*Ran.* 193–4), which must be similar to the Agelastos Petra, and is also a 'resting-place'.

**ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος . . . ποτῆτος:** the use of 'co-ordinated epithets with negative prefix' is common in Greek (and in all literatures), but there are a number of examples referring to fasting: cf. *Od.* 4. 788, *Il.* 19. 346 *ἄκμηνος καὶ ἄπαστος* (~ 19. 207, 320; A.R. 4. 1295 ad *Dem.* 197 ff.), Hdt. 3. 52. 3 *ἀλουσίῃσί τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι*, S. *Aj.* 324 *ἄσιτος ἀνήρ, ἄποτος*, Phryn. Com. ap. Phot. Berol. p. 118. 25 *ἄσιτος ἄποτος ἀναπόνιπτος*, Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 53 *ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος*, Pl. *Phaedr.* 259 c *ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον*. Cf. in Latin Lucil. 599 f. Marx. For other examples of this use cf. *Dem.* 242 *ἀγήρων τ' ἀθάνατόν τε* (cf. 260, etc.); *Od.* 1. 242 *ἄϊστος ἄπυστος*, Hes. *Th.* 489, 797, 955; A. *Ag.* 412 f. (cf. ad *Dem.* 197 ff.) and Fraenkel ad loc.

The rhythm and sound of this line are unusual and striking. Cf. H. N. Porter, *YCS* 12 (1951), 39 f. (and *Il.* 2. 412 *Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε . . .*).

**201. μινύθουσα:** for 'wasting' as a result of grief cf. *Il.* 1. 491, 18. 446, etc., Onions, *Origins of European Thought*, 33, 48.

**202 ff.** Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130 (cf. Schol. E. *Or.* 964) recounts the story in full, referring it to *τοῖς εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένοις ὕμνοις* (cf. Introduction, p. 68). They make Demeter's host Hippothoon (a misunderstanding of *Alex.* 131: cf. Herter *RhM* 90 (1941), 251 n. 31), but paraphrase the *Hymn*.

Cf. also Philicus, *Hymn* 58 ff. (Körte, *Hermes* 1931, 447), Apollod. 1. 5. 1.

**202. χλεύης:** not elsewhere before the Hellenistic period. Cf. *AP* 7. 345. 4 (Aeschrio? Cf. Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*), and late Greek. N.B.: Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 15. 1 *ταῦτα οὐ χλεύη τὰ μυστήρια; χλευασία, χλευασμός*, etc. are classical. On *χλευάζων* in Ar. *Ran.* 376 cf. ad *Dem.* 192–211: 3. Iambe.

**μιν:** for the position of the pronoun cf. Wackernagel, *IF* 1 (1892), 333 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 1. 1 ff.). He showed that in early Greek the enclitic pronoun follows immediately the first accented word of the sentence, and also demonstrated (*Kl. Schr.* 70 ff.) that this is a common phenomenon in Indo-European languages. This rule is now known to apply also in Hittite.

**202 f.** We are not told the nature of Iambe's jests, but they probably involved indecency, like most *aischrologia*. The poet of the *Hymn* treats the subject with the proper epic decorum. For a similar example of possible suppression of *τὸ ἀπρεπές* cf. ad *Dem.* 254.

**203. παρὰ σκώπτους' ἐτρέψατο:** neither simple nor compound form of *σκώπτειν* occurs elsewhere in early epic. Cf. for *σκώπτειν* Hdt. 2. 121 δ', Ar. *Ran.* 395, etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). *παρασκώπτειν* does not occur before Plutarch, who uses it five times (cf. especially *Cat.* 21. 7 *χλευάζων καὶ παρασκώπτων*; *Cic.* 38. 2 *παρασκώπτειν τι . . . ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος . . .*; cf. *Dem.* 200, 202). Word division did not yet exist, and *παρά* probably goes with *ἐτρέψατο* (cf. Heyne's conjecture, and Hes. *Th.* 103, West ad loc.).

**πότνιαν ἁγνήν:** cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 774. 3 (Priene, fourth–third c. B.C.) *θεσμοφόρους ἁγνὰς ποτνίας.*

On *πότνια* cf. ad *Dem.* 39, 54. The accusative (not in Homer) occurs in Hes. *Th.* 11* (cf. West, *Theogony*, 79 and ad loc.), 926, *Aph.* 24. *ἁγνή* is used of Demeter in *Dem.* 439, Hes. *Op.* 465, [Archil.] fr. 322 West, Moschion, fr. 6. 24, Orph. *Hy.* 40. 11, 18, *IG* 12. 1. 780. 2 (Lindos), of Persephone in *Dem.* 337, etc. (cf. ad loc.), and of both goddesses in *IG* 14. 204. 43 (Sicily). Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*[9], 206 (Eng. trans. 159, 183 n. 5), on its euphemistic use of chthonic deities.

**204.** The line is progressive: first Demeter smiles, then she laughs, and finally she is in a propitious mood (cf. Voss, ad loc.). The form is that of a 'tricolon crescendo'.

**ἴλᾱον:** the *α* is long in *Il.* 1. 583, Hes. *Op.* 340, A. *Eum.* 1040, Euph. fr. 12, *Pae. Erythr.* 19, Theocr. 5. 18, verse inscription ap. Paus. 5. 24. 3 (below), *IG* 12. 2. 476. 5, Parth. fr. 4, etc., short in *Il.* 9. 639, 19. 178, *Hy.* 29. 10, and elsewhere in later poetry. The short form is rarer, according to Choerob. ad Theodos. *Can.* 252. 26.

The original forms are thought to have been *ἵληϝος*/*ἵλᾰϝος*, on the strength of *hιλε̄ϝοι* in a Laconian verse inscription of *c.* 490 B.C. (*IG* 5. 1. 1562 = Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 201 nr. 49: Paus. 5. 24. 3 quotes it with *ἱλάω*. Cf. Meister, *Hom. Kunstsprache*, 169 n. 2). Cf. Cretan *ἵλεος*, *SIG*[3] 527. 92, *GDI* 5039. 26. *ἴλᾱος* would then be formed in the epic Kunstsprache, by analogy with *ἵλᾰος*, after Ionic metathesis of *ἵληος* to *ἵλεως* (so Frisk, s.v. *ἱλάσκομαι*, Chantraine, *GH* i. 22, Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, s.v., pp. 175 ff.). But one would expect the *η* to be retained in epic (cf. *βασιλῆος*) and the Laconian verse inscription is very doubtful testimony (the *η* may be a hyper-epicism). Ionic may have had *ἵλᾰος*, and retained the *ᾱ* in epic through the influence of the other form (cf. *ἄθάνατος*, *ἐᾰγη*, *ἑᾰνός*, *ἄμάω*, *τριccοκέφᾱλος*).

The sense may be rather 'well disposed, propitious' (as she is to Iambe: cf. 205) than *ἱλαρός* (LSJ, s.v. *ἵλαος* II). Cf. *Il.* 1. 583, 9. 639, 19. 178, Hes. *Op.* 340, etc. But cf. Archil. fr. 23. 10 West *θυμὸν ἵλαον τίθεϱ*, where it means 'cheerful'.

The rhythm of the end of the line, with three spondees and a monosyllable in the second half of the fifth foot, is unusual. The triple spondee occurs usually with stereotyped formulae such as *ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις* (cf. *Dem.* 11, etc.), or with names. Cf. also *Dem.* 417. In Homer it occurs about once in eighty-seven verses in the *Iliad*, once in eighty-nine in the *Odyssey*. Cf. La Roche, *Wiener Stud.* 20 (1898), 55, 62 ff., 84 f., 87 ff., Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, ii. 331. For the word division cf. *Il.* 11. 639 (v.l. *κνέε*), *Od.* 12. 64. Spondaic endings with diaeresis after the fifth foot are very rare: cf. Meister, *Hom. Kunstsprache*, 7 ff. for examples (most of which can be 'resolved'). Spondaic endings are much commoner in this *Hymn* than in Homer: two in fifteen verses in the *Hymn*, one in eighteen in Homer (cf. Maas, *Gk. Metre*, § 83 B; and Introduction, pp. 61 f.). The rhythm here perhaps arises from adaptation of a formula such as *Il.* 9. 639.

**205. εὔαδεν:** in Homer this is always used with reference to the present, i.e. as a perfect, which does not quite fit *ἔπειτα*.

**οἱ . . . ὀργαῖς:** 'was also afterwards in later times pleasing to her spirit (?)'.

The double dative is common with *ἀνδάνειν*: cf. *Il.* 1. 24, *Od.* 16. 28, 14. 337, 20. 327, *Ap.* 220; also *Il.* 8. 129, 13. 82, Hdt. 7. 16. 1, etc.

*ὀργή* is not found in Homer. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 304, Theognis 98, 214, 964, etc., Semon. 7. 11 D.$^3$, etc. The plural occurs in Pi. *I.* 5. 34, *P.* 2. 77, etc., and is used of one person in Thuc. 8. 83, etc. Its sense in early poetry is 'disposition, character' (especially used of animals: cf. Hes. l.c., Theognis 215, Semon. l.c., Pi. *P.* 2. 77, A. *Supp.* 763). From this it comes to mean 'anger' (cf. the development of *θυμός*). It is perhaps used here instead of *θυμῷ* to avoid repetition after 204 (but cf. 434–6). It is not equivalent to *θυμός* in sense, as it refers not to feelings but more to one's tendencies or way of behaving, and its use here (especially in the plural) is odd. It has been referred to Iambe, who pleased Demeter 'by her ways' (e.g. A. Weiher, *Homerische Hymnen*, Tusculum-Bücherei, Munich, 1961: 'Später noch mochte sie Iambe ob ihres lebendigen Treibens'). But there is nothing to indicate that it should be taken this way. One should perhaps read *ὀργῇ*?

The line certainly refers, implicitly or openly, to Iambe's place in the cult. Hence the attempts of Voss and Mitscherlich to make this explicit by emendation. One might postulate a word *ὀργή* related to *ὄργια*, *ἔργον*, *ἔρδω*, etc. (cf. ad *Dem.* 273), and meaning '(sacred) rite'. The form would be normal and has been suggested (cf. Mlle Bader, *Les Composés grecs du type demiourgos* (Paris, 1965), 17 ff.), but there is no evidence for it, and one would have to read *εὔαδ' ἐν ὀργαῖς* (with unusual rhythm?). It is best to accept the generally held interpretation.

On the etymology, still uncertain, of *ὀργή* cf. Frisk, s.v., F. Specht, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 59 (1932), 91 f., O. Szemerenyi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European* (Naples, 1964), 219 ff.

On the termination *-αις* cf. ad *Dem.* 40 f.

**207. θεμιτόν:** not elsewhere in early epic. Cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 42 *οὐ θεμιτὸν ψευδεῖ θιγεῖν* etc., and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 13, 19 n. 56, 20 n. 57. Wherever *οὐ θέμις* occurs in Homer the context always refers explicitly to a divine sanction (*Il.* 14. 386, 16. 796, 23. 44, *Od.* 10. 73, 14. 56). The positive *ἣ θέμις ἐστίν* (etc.) is used more widely to mean 'the done thing' in any situation, but again usually with reference to institutions and customs subject to some form of divine regulation (e.g. *ἀγορά* and *βουλή*, the relations between man and woman, father and son, host and guest, oath-taking). R. Hirzel (*Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1907), 39 ff.) interprets (*οὐ*) *θέμις, θεμιτόν* in Homeric poetry as '(not) proper, fitting' (cf. *Et. M.*, Hsch. s.v. *θέμις*). But the basic idea underlying it is of an 'order of nature' which should not be contravened. Cf. H. Vos, *Themis* (Assen, 1956), 22 ff. (and 15 f.: 'Weil *θέμις* für das Handeln der Menschen den Mitmenschen und den Göttern gegenüber die Grenze zieht'). Cf. also E. Ehnmark, *The Idea of God in Homer* (Uppsala, 1935), 93 ff.

Here, Schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130 (cf. ad 206 ff.) says that Demeter refused to drink wine because of her grief. A. Delatte (*Le Cycéon, Breuvage rituel d'Éleusis*, 43 f.) objects that abstention from wine is not required by Greek mourning customs. But it is part of her general abstention. In the context of the myth, the explanation is natural. Cf. *Il.* 23. 43 ff., where Achilles swears by Zeus that it is *οὐ θέμις* for him to wash as long as Patroclus is unburied. It might be said that Demeter, as a goddess, creates a divine sanction by imposing it on herself. For the initiates who followed her example, it was *οὐ θεμιτόν* to take wine because Demeter had abstained. Cf. ad *Dem.* 211 (*ὅσίης ἕνεκεν*), also 196.

The incident is commonly taken as the aition of the custom of *νηφάλια* (wineless offerings) which was widespread in the cult of Demeter and Core (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc.; Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, 109, for examples, and Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 102, for exceptions). Presumably it implies also abstention from wine by the mystae (cf. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten*, 76, and perhaps Ar. *Nub.* 417). If this is the case, the prohibition is unlikely to have extended over the whole period of the Mystery celebrations, since Chabrias distributed wine on Boedromion 16 (the second day of the festival) in commemoration of his victory at Naxos (Plut. *Phoc.* 6; Polyaen. 3. 11. 2). He chose the day for the battle *ὅτι ἦν μία τῶν μυστηρίων* (Polyaen. l.c.), and so is unlikely to have contravened the rules for the festival. Possibly the prohibition referred to the day of full *νηστεία* (cf. ad *Dem.* 47 ff.) and what followed: the mystae might break their fast by means of the *cyceon*, but not with wine. At the Roman festival of the *sacra Cereris*, which was Greek in origin, wine was also forbidden. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 47 f., H. Le Bonniec, *Le Culte de Cérès à Rome* (Paris, 1958), 416 f.

**οἱ:** M's τοι is perhaps due to a wish to 'correct' the scansion. Ruhnken's γ' is unnecessary: neglect of the digamma of οἱ is very rare (cf. Maas, *Gk. Metre*, § 133, West, *Theogony*, 100).

**208 ff.** On the *cyceon*, its constitution and purpose, see Appendix IV.

**208. ἄλφι:** not elsewhere in early epic (Homeric ἄλφιτον, usually plural, but singular *Il.* 11. 631, *Od.* 14. 429). Cf. Antim. fr. 109 W. (Wyss ad loc.). It was explained as an apocope (Str. 8. 5. 3, 364; cf. *Suda* s.v., *Et. M.* 769. 39), but is probably the original form, from which ἄλφιτον was derived via the neuter plur. *ἄλφατα > ἄλφιτα (cf. Hsch. ἀλίφατα· ἄλφιτα ἢ ἄλευρα). Cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 518[1] (458[7]), Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 5, Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 57 (and 60 n. 62, suggesting that the phrase ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ might 'come from sacral Eleusinian language').

L. A. Moritz (*CQ* 42 (1948), 113 ff.) argues that originally the word was used of any type of grain, and indicated that it was prepared by a rough pounding (cf. Appendix IV), whereas ἄλευρα meant meal or flour. Later it acquired the specialized sense 'barley', and ἄλευρα that of 'wheat' (e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 372 b). He suggests that the nearest English equivalent would be 'groats'. But the Albanian *el'p*, *el'bi*, and Turco-tatar *arba* (< **arbi*), which are probably parallel forms, mean 'barley'.

**209.** The word order is a little involved and 'unformulaic'.

**γληχῶνι τερείνῃ:** this is not found in Homer. γληχών is Ionic, the Attic form being βληχών, and Doric and Boeotian γλαχώ(ν) (cf. Phryn. *PS* p. 53 B.). The phrase is formulaic (Hes. fr. 70. 21): hence there is no need to assume that the herb was fresh (cf. Delatte, *Le Cycéon*, 38 f.). Foucart (*Les Mystères*, 378), Pettazzoni (*I misteri*, 49), and others supposed that the dried herb was used. The accent is oxytone in Hes. l.c., Hippon. 84. 4. Cf. West, *Glotta* 1963, 284.

**210. κυκεῶ:** in Homer the accusative is κυκεῶ, κυκειῶ, later κυκεῶνα (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 212). Synizesis of εω is common in Homer (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 63 ff.). Note the inversion of the Homeric word order: cf. τεῦχε κυκειῶ, τεύξει τοι κυκεῶ, τεῦχε δέ μοι κυκεῶ, and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 52.

**211. ὁσίης ἕνεκεν:** ὁσίη occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, in the phrase οὐχ (οὐδ') ὁσίη (*Od.* 16. 423, 22. 412), and three times in the *Hymn to Hermes* (130, 173, 470). Translate here 'for the sake of the rite'. Cf. E. *IT* 1461 ὁσίας ἕκατι θεά θ' ὅπως τιμὰς ἔχῃ (of those who will in future perform the ritual which is at that moment being founded). Later ὁσίας ἕνεκα comes to mean 'for form's sake' (Eub. fr. 110. 2 K., Ephipp. 15. 4 K., Marinus, *Vit. Procl.* 19, etc.). ὁσίη means 'what may be (or is) done (according to divine regulation)', and hence 'rite'. On the development of the sense cf. J. C. Bolkestein, *Ὅσιος en Εὐσεβής* (Amsterdam, 1936); M. H. van der Valk, *Mnemosyne*, 3[e] sér. 10 (1942), 113 ff.; *RÉG* 64 (1951), 417 ff.; H. Jeanmaire, *RÉG* 58 (1945), 66 ff.

Allen and Halliday translate 'to save the rite', Humbert 'pour fonder la rite' (cf. Jeanmaire l.c.), van der Valk (*RÉG* 64, 417) 'à cause du rite solennel (sacré)'. There is an apparent difficulty in Demeter's

doing something for the sake of a rite which she is at the same time founding. Cf. Delatte, *Le Cycéon*, 42 f., on the awkwardness of the expression. But his suggestion that the missing line(s) may have eased the situation is unconvincing. Demeter, in founding the rite, is also acting as the prototype of the initiates, and observing the prescription which she herself has created. Cf. ad *Dem.* 207 *οὐ θεμιτόν*.

*ἕνεκεν* occurs only twice in Homer (*Od.* 17. 288, 310). Cf. Hes. fr. 280. 23.

**πολυπότνια:** cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 1155 f. *ὦ Θεσμοφόρω πολυποτνία*, *Orph. Hy.* 40. 16, A.R. 1. 1125, 1151 (of Rhea/Cybele). The poet is fond of compounds with *πολυ-* (cf. Introduction, p. 61).

A lacuna is necessary after 211, and the conjectures designed to avoid it are unconvincing. *ὅσ(σ)ης ἕνεκεν* and *πολυπότνια* should not be altered. Two lines may have been lost: (1) 'she drank it', (2) 'but when she had drunk it'. The lacuna is presumably due to the same cause as that after *Dem.* 137, 236: cf. Introduction, p. 66.

**212–30.** Metaneira welcomes and consoles Demeter, and asks her to look after her child, promising a rich recompense. Demeter replies, guaranteeing that she will protect him against all harm from sickness or from magic spells.

**213 ff.** This form of address to a stranger (greeting, compliment on his appearance, *consolatio*, and offer of assistance) is a kind of counterpart to the type of *Dem.* 135 ff. (cf. ad *Dem.* 137 f.). For a shorter form cf. *Dem.* 147 ff. (147–8 ~ 216–17: *consolatio*; 149 ff.: information and 157–9 promise of help; 159a ~ 213–15: compliment).

In the parallel scene in *Od.* 6. 148 ff. (cf. Appendix III) cf. Nausicaa's reply to Odysseus (187 ff.):

*ξεῖν' ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῷ οὔτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας,* ~ *Dem.* 213
*Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν,*
*ἐσθλοῖς ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν, ἑκάστῳ·* } ~ *Dem.* 216–17
*καί πού σοι τάδ' ἔδωκε, σὲ δὲ χρὴ τετλάμεν ἔμπης.*
*νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἡμετέρην τε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἱκάνεις,*
*οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσεαι, οὔτε τευ ἄλλου . . .* } ~ *Dem.* 218

Cf. *Ap.* 464 ff.:

*ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητοῖσιν ἔοικας*
*οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,*
*οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.* ~ *Dem.* 225

Cf. also *Od.* 18. 125 ff. (122 f. ~ *Dem.* 225):

125–8 ~ *Dem.* 213–15
129–42 ~ 216–17 (cf. ad *Dem.* 256 ff.),

and *Od.* 20. 194 ff., 199 ff.:

194 ~ *Dem.* 213–15
195–6 (*ἀλλὰ θεοί* 195 ~ *Dem.* 216a) ~ 216–17
199a ~ 213a (199 f. ~ *Dem.* 225)

(*Od.* 20. 227 ~ 6. 187 above).

For the form cf. also *Od.* 11. 248 ff.: *χαῖρε γύναι . . . ἐπεὶ οὐκ . . . νῦν δ' . . .*

**213 f.** For this type of sentence ('not *x* but the opposite') cf. ad *Dem.* 114 f.

**214 f.** *αἰδώς* and *χάρις* were thought of as having their seat in the eyes. Cf. for *αἰδώς* Sappho, fr. 137. 5, Aesch. fr. 355. 21 ff. M., E. *Hec.* 970–2, fr. 457, Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 3. 5 ap. Longin. 4 § 4 (cf. Russell ad loc.), Ar. *Vesp.* 446 f., Arist. fr. 96 (Rose) ap. Ath. 564 b; also [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 807$^{b}$28, Call. *Aetia* fr. ap. P. Antinoop. 3. 113. 7 (on which see A. W. Bulloch, *CQ* 20 (1970), 270 f.), 2 Peter 2: 14, etc. *αἰδὼς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* was proverbial: Eust. *Il.* 13. 121 (923), *Od.* 14. 145 (1754). Already in Homer shamelessness is located in the eyes: *Il.* 1. 225 (cf. *Il.* 1. 159 etc.). For *χάρις* cf. Sappho 138. 2, E. *Ba.* 236, etc. Cf. also M. Treu, *Von Homer zu Lyrik* (Zetemata 12, Munich, 1955), 248, 62, 252, etc.

*αἰδώς* in Homer is normally felt by a person towards someone else, or in a situation of which he is 'ashamed'. Here it is a quality distinguishing those who are royal. This suggests that it is the reverence which they arouse in others, and which makes them 'reverend'. Cf. perhaps *Od.* 8. 172, and *αἰδοῖος* of a king or queen: *Il.* 4. 402, *Od.* 18. 314, Hes. *Th.* 80, 434, frr. 43 (a). 89, 361 (cf. *Il.* 10. 237 ff., *Th.* 92; West, ad *Th.* 84 ff., argues that *αἰδώς* is more suitably used here than in *Od.* 8. 172; cf. also Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 168 f.). Demeter and Persephone are *αἰδοῖαι* (*Dem.* 343, 374, 486), and Demeter's epiphany arouses *αἰδώς* in Metaneira (190). Cf. also notes to *Dem.* 190, 478 f.

The whole sentiment of 213–15 ('the dignity displayed in your look declares a royal ancestry') is perhaps paralleled by Pi. *P.* 5. 15–19 *ὅτι βασιλεύς ἐσσι . . . · ἔχει συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας τεᾷ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί* (cf. R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes*, 141).

**215. ὡς εἴ πέρ τε:** not found elsewhere. Cf. Homeric *ὡς εἴ τε, ὡςεὶ . . . περ* Hes. *Sc.* 189, *ὡςείπερ* Theocr. 25. 163 cod. (*εἰ περὶ σεῦ* Wilamowitz).

**θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων:** cf. ad *Dem.* 103. In the parallel passages *Od.* 4. 63, *Hy.* 7. 11 (cf. ad *Dem.* 213 ff.) the Homeric doublet *διοτρεφέων βασιλήων* is used.

**216–17. ἀνάγκη τέτλαμεν . . . ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸς αὐχένι κεῖται:** this suggests the 'yoke of necessity'. The phrase does not occur in Homer, but cf. *Il.* 6. 458 *κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη*. For examples in later literature cf. A. *Ag.* 218, Fraenkel ad loc., and also Orph. *Hy.* 61. 5 (to Nemesis), E. *Heracl.* 886, Hdt. 1. 11, 9. 16, Pl. *Menex.* 240 c, Moschion fr. 2, Lucian, *Erotes* 38. H. Schreckenberg, *Ananke* (Zetemata 36, Munich, 1964), argues that *ἀνάγκη* originally meant 'band, yoke'. Although his main argument is not convincing, he has a useful collection of material (esp. pp. 18 n. 16, 36 ff., 79 n. 20). Cf. reviews by Adkins, *CR* 80 (1966), 68 ff., Gottschalk, *JHS* 86 (1966), 213 f. For the idea of 216–17 cf. also Pi. *P.* 2. 93 *φέρειν δ' ἐλαφρῶς ἐπαυχένιον*

*λαβόντα ζυγὸν ἀρήγει*, with the whole of 88 ff. (*χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν, ὃς . . .*).

**217. ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . κεῖται:** cf. Hes. *Op.* 815, Theognis 1357, Call. fr. 4 Pf., *Orph. Hy.* 61. 5, and other parallels ap. Rzach ad Hes. *Op.* 815.

**ζυγός:** this form is first used here, but occurs as a v.l. in *Il.* 9. 187. Cf. Pl. *Tim.* 63 b (where it means 'balance'), Theocr. 30. 29, etc. It is perhaps the original form of the singular (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 581[5], ii. 37[3], Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 5. But cf. Debrunner, *Rev. ét. Indoeur.* 3 (1943), 172–4).

Ammon. *de adf. voc. diff.* 214 (Nickau) distinguishes the sense of masculine and neuter: *ἀρσενικῶς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βοῶν, οὐδετέρως δὲ (θηλυκῶς δὲ* codd.) *ἐπὶ τοῦ σταθμοῦ.*

**219. ὀψίγονον:** cf. ad *Dem.* 165.

**ἄελπτον:** not in Homer. Cf. *Ap.* 91, Hes. fr. 204. 95 (*ἄελπτον*). Cf. ad *Dem.* 164.

**220. πολυάρητος:** cf. *Dem.* 165 *πολυεύχετος*. *Πολυάρητος* is found as a name in Paros (N. Kontoleon, *Archiloque*, Fond. Hardt, vol. X (1963), 68), and Tanagra (Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 377).

**221–3.** These lines virtually repeat *Dem.* 166–8.

**221. γ' ἐκθρέψαιο:** Hermann's correction is probably right. The prefix conveys the verbal aspect, and is supported by *Dem.* 166.

**223. δοίην:** the first person is right, as it is Metaneira who rewards the nurse. Cf. ad *Dem.* 168.

**224. ἐϋστέφανος:** used of Artemis, Aphrodite, the heroine Mycene, and Thebes (*Il.* 19. 99 ~ *Od.* 2. 120) in Homer, of Demeter in Hesiod, *Op.* 300. Demeter has a crown of corn in later representations (cf. Bömer ad Ov. *F.* 4. 616), but the epithet is probably general.

**225.** The reply is traditional, but here there is an irony in its use by Demeter. Cf. ad *Dem.* 147 f.

**ἐσθλά:** 'good things, gifts'. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 116, 119, Solon, fr. 23. 2, Theognis 4, etc.

**226. πρόφρων:** this is used especially of a favourable deity. Cf. *Dem.* 487, 494, West ad Hes. *Th.* 419 (also for its use with *ὑποδέχεσθαι*), Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 89, Zuntz, *Persephone*, 317 n. 2 (on *IG* 14. 641. 2. 7).

**227. θρέψω:** the asyndeton is striking, but should not be removed. *θρέψω* resumes *ὑποδέξομαι*, and is also emphatically placed, in contrast with the following clause. Cf. K–G ii. 339 ff. (especially § 546. 4 and 5*β*), Chantraine, *GH* ii. 351. For *ὑποδέξομαι . . . θρέψω* cf. Hes. *Th.* 479 f., frr. 30. 30, 165. 6 f., *Hy.* 26. 3 f.

**κοὐ:** this crasis does not occur in Homer. Cf. perhaps Hes. fr. 62. 3 (*καὶ οὐ* Eust.: *κοὐ* Rossbach: but see West, Merkelbach ad loc.), Parm. fr. 6. 7 D.–K.

**κακοφραδίῃσι:** not in Homer (except as v.l. at *Od.* 2. 236). Cf. Nic. *Ther.* 348, Q.S. 12. 554. The plural occurs only here. Homer has *κακοφραδές* (*Il.* 23. 483), *ἀφραδίῃ* (*Il.* 2. 368), *κακορραφίῃσι* (*Od.* 2. 236).

For Demeter as *κουροτρόφος* cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff. In the Sicyonian version she nurses Orthopolis, son of Plemnaeus, king of Aegialeia

(Paus. 2. 5. 8). Cf. Demeter 'Europa', the nurse of Trophonius (Paus. 9. 39. 5). For Athens cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 333 n. 109, and Triptolemus' title *Θρεπτός* (cf. ad *Dem.* 153).

**228–30.** Demeter promises to protect the child against illness and magic. The language is similar to that of magical formulae. Cf. the Phalasarna lead tablet (fourth century B.C.) in Maas, *Hesp.* 13. 1 (1944), 36 f. He emends verses 11 f. to read: *οὔ με καταχρί[στω]ι δηλήσεται οὔτ' ἐπενίκτωι οὔτε πότωι*, comparing *Dem.* 228, and suggests that both may depend on a hexameter charm similar to those of the Philinna papyrus (*JHS* 62 (1942), 33 ff.).

The 'incantatory' character is emphasized formally by repetition and balanced, chiastic arrangement. *Dem.* 229 f. takes up the subjects of 228 in reverse order, with anaphora of *οἶδα* (cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 27 f. for anaphora of parts of *εἰδέναι*. *Th.* 27 f. and *Od.* 12. 189–91 are sung by the Muses and Sirens, and *Il.* 7. 237 f. might be part of an archaic war-chant. Cf. also Pi. fr. 137 (a) Sn., ad *Dem.* 480–2). For magic formulae with antithetical repetition cf. Sappho, fr. 1. 21–4, A. Cameron, *HTR* 32 (1939), 8.

There is also repetition in *ὑποταμνόν . . . ἀντίτομον . . . ὑλοτόμοιο*, and double chiasmus in 229 f.:

A B
*ἀντίτομον . . . ὑλοτόμοιο* ~
B b a A
*ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν*

For a similar 'incantatory' effect due to rhyme cf. *Dem.* 238 (n. ad loc.). See also Introduction, p. 61.

For Demeter as a goddess of healing and health cf. Call. *Hy.* 6. 124 f., *Orph. Hy.* 40. 20, *AP* 9. 298, Artemid. *Oneir.* 2. 39 (p. 144 Hercher), Ov. *F.* 4. 547 ff. Ex-votos from Eleusis and elsewhere record restoration of sight: cf. Kern, *Eph. Arch.* 1892, 114 ff., *Ann. d. Inst.* 33 (1861), 380 ff., P. Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne*, 244. In general, cf. O. Rubensohn, *AM* 20 (1895), 360 ff., 'Demeter als Heilgottheit'. The connection of Demeter and Core with Asclepius is perhaps due to this (but Rubensohn has doubts).

Demeter's antidotes may be either herbs or spells. In Ov. *F.* 4. 547 f. she heals the sick child Triptolemus by incantation and also by giving him poppy-juice and warm milk to make him sleep. In Homer, both spells (*Il.* 19. 457 f.) and herbs (*Il.* 11. 740) are used in medicine. Cf. also *Il.* 4. 218 (etc.), *Od.* 10. 302 ff.

**228. ἐπηλυσίη:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Dem.* 230, *Herm.* 37; Hsch. s.v. . . . *ἐπῳδὴ φαρμάκων, ἢ ἔφοδός τινος*; Poll. 4. 187 (in list of diseases, between *πλευρῖτις* and *στραγγουρία*); Nonn. *D.* 14. 328 (= 'attack' of a god, in battle). Cf. *ἐπήλυσις* (Call. fr. 331 etc.) 'assault, attack'.

It must refer here to the 'attacks' of pain, fever, etc. suffered by children, which were ascribed to the *ἐπηλυσίη* of some demon. Cf. the *ἔφοδοι* of heroes and Hecate (Nilsson, *Gesch.*, i[3]. 182 ff., 723 f.) or

the Erinyes (A. *Eum.* 370), Ephialtes the nightmare demon (cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 80 n. 45), *ἐπίληψις* etc.

**ὑποταμνόν:** on this, *ἀντίτομον*, and *ὑλοτόμοιο* cf. A. Delatte, *Herbarius*[3], 10 ff., 23 ff., Pfister, *RE* 19. 1446 f., *Byz. Zeitschr.* 37 (1937), 382. They must all refer to the same thing, namely the cutting of herbs for magical purposes. *ὑποτάμνω* (once in Homer, *Od.* 23. 204) = *succidere*. It refers to the cutting of the root (hence *ῥιζοτόμος* of someone who does so for magic purposes). Cf. Luc. *Tim.* 8 *τὰς ῥίζας ὑποτετμημένον*, Ov. *M.* 7. 226 f. (of Medea) 'et placitas herbas partim radice revellit, partim succidit curvamine falcis aenae'; Sen. *Med.* 729 'illius alta nocte succisus frutex'; Ps. Apul. *de herbis* 92. 8, *Antidotarium Bruxellense*, 2. 157. The root was cut in order to tap the juice. Cf. Soph. *Ῥιζοτόμοι* fr. 534, and Pearson ad loc.

*ὑποταμνόν* (M's reading) occurs nowhere else in Greek. There are many plant-names with a similar termination (cf. Chantraine, *La Formation des noms*, 216 on the *-mn-* group of nouns. Some of these may be prehellenic, e.g. *δίκταμνον*, but *ῥάδαμνος* is apparently connected with *ῥάδιξ*, *ῥίζα*, etc.). *ὑποταμνόν* might be influenced by these. But a specific plant is not what is wanted here. Either the action of 'undercutting' or the agent (an 'undercutter') should be referred to (cf. on *ὑλοτόμοιο* 229). To take *ὑποτάμνον*, the neuter participle, as a noun ('cutting') is difficult. (There are no examples of this in Homer: cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 408.) Delatte (l.c.) prefers *ὑποτάμνων* ('cutter'), and for the participle compares Chantraine, *GH* ii. 321. But the examples quoted there are not parallel. The form of the word remains unexplained.

**229. ἀντίτομον:** this occurs first here. Cf. Pi. *P.* 4. 221 *ἀντίτομα ὀδυνᾶν* (cf. Schol.); Hsch. s.v.: *φάρμακον ἀντιπαθές, ὅπερ ὁ πιὼν οὐ βλάπτεται ὑπό τινος· ἀλεξιφάρμακον*. Cf. A. *Ag.* 17 *ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος* (Fraenkel ad loc.), E. *Alc.* 971 *φάρμακα πολυπόνοις ἀντιτεμὼν βροτοῖσιν*. It means a herb or root cut to counter a disease or spell, hence any antidote or remedy. Cf. Delatte, *Herbarius*, 11.

**ὑλοτόμοιο:** in Homer *ὑλοτόμος* means 'woodcutter' (as epithet of an axe, *Il.* 23. 114; as a noun *Il.* 23. 123). LSJ suggest here *ὑλότομον*, meaning 'plant cut in the wood', but it is hard to see how it can have this sense. *ὕλη* can, however, refer to all kinds of plants: it is used of undergrowth (*Il.* 12. 148 etc.), and in Theophr. *HP* 4. 4. 5 *ὑλήματα* are classed between *δένδρα* and *ποώδη*, and include (4. 5. 1) *τὰ φαρμακώδη ταῖς ῥίζαις καὶ τοῖς ὀποῖς, οἷον ἐλλέβορος ἐλατήριον σκαμμωνία, σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ῥιζοτομούμενα*. A *ὑλοτόμος* then could be a *ῥιζοτόμος* (cf. Delatte, o.c. 23 ff.). For the brachylogy 'an antidote more powerful than the herb-cutter' cf. K–G ii, § 597κ ff.

**230. πολυπήμονος:** this does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Od.* 24. 305 *υἱὸς Ἀφείδαντος Πολυπημονίδαο* (the name may have been related to *πολυπήμων* by a misunderstanding. Cf. *Il.* 4. 433 *πολυπάμονος ἀνδρός* 'very wealthy', which fits *Ἀφείδας*; K. Meister, *Hom. Kunstsprache*, 168 f.). Cf. also *Herm.* 37.

In Alcm. *PMG* 5 fr. 2 i 9 *πολυπήμων* perhaps means 'hurtful' (cf.

Lobel ad loc.; West, *CQ* 15 (1965), 188). Cf. Pi. *P.* 3. 46 *πολυπήμονας ἰᾶσθαι νόσους*, Opp. *C.* 2. 287 *φάρμακον . . . πολυπήμονος ἄτης*.

**ἐρυσμόν:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *ἔρυμα* (*Il.* 4. 137). In Paus. Gr. fr. 182, it is the name of a vegetable whose seed was eaten by women to relieve them in childbirth. Cf. perhaps *ἐρυθμός* (Ps. Dsc. 2. 167), the name of a plant also called *ἐφιάλτιον*, used against an *ἐφιάλτης* (cf. ad *Dem.* 228), and *ἐρύσιμον* (Ps. Dsc. 2. 158).

**231–55.** Demeter takes the child in her arms, and nurses him. He grows wonderfully, being anointed by her with ambrosia. She breathes on him and holds him in her bosom, and at night she hides him secretly in the fire like a brand. His parents are amazed at the way he is growing. She would have made him immortal, if Metaneira had not watched her, and cried out in terror for her child. Demeter was terribly angry, and taking him from the fire she threw him on the floor, and addressed Metaneira.

Demeter's nursing of Demophon, and her attempt to make him immortal, form the centre-piece of her visit to Eleusis. It is natural that attempts have been made to find in the story an *aition* for part of the ritual of the Mysteries.

1. *Demophon in the fire*

The most striking element is Demophon's 'baptism of fire'. Frazer (*Apollodorus*, ii. 311–17, Appendix I) explained the story by reference to the practice, common in many countries, of passing children across or taking them round the family hearth soon after birth. Various reasons are given for this: to protect them from evil spirits, give them strength, or see if they are changelings. In Greece it was the custom (called *Ἀμφιδρόμια*) for those who had had contact with the birth to purify their hands, and taking the baby to run with it round the hearth. This took place a few days after the birth (cf. *Suda* s.v. and Schol. Pl. *Theaet.* 160 e: on the fifth day; Hsch. s.v. *δρομιάμφιον ἦμαρ*: seventh day; Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 758: tenth day). One authority (Schol. Ar. l.c.) says that the child was laid down, presumably on the ground, and they ran round it (*περιδραμόντες κειμένους*). On the seventh or tenth day the child was given his name (*Suda*, Hsch. *ἀμφιδρόμια*, Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 758, Harpocr. s.v. *ἑβδομευομένου*, Arist. *HA* 7. 67, etc.).

It is clear from the reference to this ceremony in Plato (*Theaet.* 160 e) that it was primarily an adoption-ritual, similar to that used on the introduction of a bride to her new home, or of a new slave (cf. E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), 61 f.). The child is made a part of the new household by contact with the hearth. There may, of course, also be an idea of purification (Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta* (Tübingen, 1864), 53 ff.). Plato (l.c.) suggests that the ritual is actually a test of the child, to see whether it is genuine (*τὰ ἀμφιδρόμια αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθρεκτέον, σκοπουμένους μὴ λάθῃ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὂν τροφῆς τὸ γιγνόμενον*). This is the case in some

other similar rituals, where if the child is a changeling it disappears when placed on the fire (cf. Frazer, l.c. Cf. also Dietrich, *Mutter Erde*, 6 ff.).

That the child may have been placed *on the ground* (Schol. Ar. l.c.) is supported by the parallel Roman custom of doing this at birth (e.g. Ovid, *Tr.* 4. 3. 46 f.), and that of other countries (cf. Samter, o.c. 63 ff., and *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig, 1911), 1 ff.). Probably it was placed by the hearth (as was done with new slaves: cf. Samter, *Familienfeste*, 1 ff.). J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra* (Giessen, 1911), 47, cites two examples from Roman art where a child is shown on the ground, probably in a similar context.

In the story of Demophon, the child is actually placed in the fire, and after Demeter has been discovered, she throws it on to the ground (*Dem.* 253). The purpose of the fire-baptism is, of course, immortalization, but the child is also adopted by Demeter, as its τροφός (see below). There are thus some similarities to the Amphidromia, but there are also differences, and one therefore hesitates to say that the Demophon story refers primarily to this custom.

Allen and Halliday (ad *Dem.* 237 ff.) follow Frazer, concluding that 'the reference is to a domestic rite of infancy, and not to any part of the ritual of the mysteries.' Halliday, however, in a general discussion of this and related stories, in *CR* 25 (1911), 8 ff., was more open-minded. He compared myths of immortalization by immersion in water, and saw the main purpose as 'union with a magical or divine power', but added that the ideas of an initiatory 'death to new life', of ordeal, and of purification might play a part.

The close similarity of domestic 'rites of passage', connected with birth, marriage, and death, to those of mystery-cults, has often been remarked (cf. e.g. Samter, *Familienfeste*, 97 ff.), and one is therefore inclined to take the similarity to the Amphidromia as indicating a reference to an actual Eleusinian ritual, rather than a domestic rite. Torches are used in the purification of Heracles (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.) on the Torre Nova sarcophagus, just as they are used in marriage-ceremonies. On the Lovatelli urn, a λίκνον is used, as also in marriage- and birth-rites (Samter, *Familienfeste*, 1 ff., 98 ff.), and the use of the Διὸς κῴδιον and veiling of the head has parallels in marriage-ritual (Samter, o.c. 100 ff.). These similarities may be explained by the character of the mystic initiation as a rite of adoption, with which the idea of purification is also associated.

A link between the Demophon myth and that of Heracles is provided by the fifth-century B.C. Attic relief from the Este collection, which shows a child seated on the ground, between two women and a man. One of the women holds two torches, one raised and the other lowered and held out towards the child (cf. O. Walter, *Öst. Jahresh.* 30 (1936), 50 ff., Nilsson, *ARW* 34 (1937), 108 ff. and Pl. I = *Op. Sel.* ii. 624 ff.). The gesture of holding a raised and lowered torch occurs on Eleusinian monuments (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Figs. 67, 88) and one can compare the priestess holding torch(es) on the Torre Nova sarcophagus. Nilsson

saw the scene as a portrayal of the Demophon story, and identified the figures as Metaneira, Demeter, Demophon, and Celeus. This is obviously conjectural, but the resemblance to the Demophon and Heracles myths is notable.

A further clue may be provided by the mysterious *παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς*.[1] This was a child chosen from a leading Athenian family, and *δημοσίᾳ μυηθείς* (Bekker, *Anecd.* I, p. 204). According to Porphyry (*de Abstin.* 4. 5) *ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις . . . ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν μυουμένων ἀπομειλίσσεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀκριβῶς δρῶν τὰ προστεταγμένα*. This suggests some form of purification ceremony (*ἀπομειλίσσεται*), in which evidently the child represents the community.

The *ἑστία* is normally explained as the State hearth, that of the Prytaneum. One may note that this was said to have been founded by Celeus (Plut. *Mor.* 667 d), and that Celeus' descendants, the Croconidae, had a cult of *Ἑστία* (*IG* ii². 1229).

This suggests that the Demophon story may have reference to part of the preliminary ritual of purification (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). It follows directly after the ritual of the *Διὸς κῴδιον* and *κυκεών*, and precedes Demeter's promise to teach her *ὄργια* (273–4). The fact that it occurs in the poem at all may suggest that it is not directly related to the central part of the Mysteries, whose secrecy was absolute (*Dem.* 478–9).

A connection has, however, been seen between Demophon, hidden *πυρὶ ἐνὶ πολλῷ* (248), and the announcement which according to Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.* 5. 8. 39 p. 96 W.) was made by the hierophant at the climax of the Mysteries, *ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί*, when he cried *ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον, βριμὼ βριμόν* (cf. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 91 ff., Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* ii. 142 f.). Demeter as nurse of the child is thus compared to the mother of the *κοῦρος* in the mystic formula. The role of fire inside the Telesterion is stressed by several ancient authors. But *ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί* probably means 'with the accompaniment of a great fire', and refers to the sudden blaze of torches, contrasting with the former darkness (Kern, *RE* 16. 124. 3 f.). One should therefore hesitate to speak of the child as born 'in the fire'. Ingenious attempts have also been made to show a pattern of stories of 'apotheosis by fire' at Eleusis (Ch. Picard, 'Les bûchers sacrés d'Éleusis', *RHR* 107 (1933), 137–54). In Euripides' *Supplices* the pyres of the Seven against Thebes are at Eleusis, and the body of Capaneus, killed by Zeus' thunderbolt (a form of apotheosis: cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i². 71 ff., Burkert, *Glotta* 39 (1960–1), 208 ff.), was burnt within the sanctuary. His wife Euadne threw herself on to the pyre (cf. ad *Dem.* 200). A historical parallel is the story of the Brahman Zarmarus, or Zarmanochegas, who was initiated with Augustus at Eleusis, and then immolated himself 'according to his ancestral custom' (Str. 15. 1. 73; Dio Cass. 54. 9. 10; cf. Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 100 f.). The parallels are interesting, but cannot be said to prove anything. Picard's theory is criticized by C. M. Edsman, *Ignis Divinus* (Lund, 1949), 227 ff.

[1] Cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste*, 273 ff., Töpffer, *Att. Genealogie*, 107 ff., G. Murray *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Appendix G, K. Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 80 ff.

A difficulty in such theories is that Demophon does not in fact become immortal, and Demeter's attempt fails. The honour promised to Demophon is in fact associated with his mortality, since he will die and receive a festival in his honour (*Dem.* 260–7). The initiates, however, receive the promise of happiness after death (*Dem.* 480 ff.).

Eitrem (*Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 148 ff.) has a possible answer to this. The initiates are not in fact promised immortality, and the *Hymn* explains why: it is our fault for spoiling the gods' work (*Dem.* 256 ff.). But they do receive the Mysteries, which promise a better fate. Man does not become θεός or θεῖος, but rather ὄλβιος, and freed from fear of death.

This interpretation would fit the view that the myth is connected with a preliminary ritual. At the same time one should remember that one cannot expect the relations of myth to ritual to follow the rules of strict logic and it may be wrong to press the details of the story too far. Heroes in general are notably ambiguous when it comes to their status after death. One thinks above all of Heracles' dual status, and his apotheosis by fire on Mt. Oeta, as well as of other heroes such as Melicertes 'immortalized in the cauldron' (cf. ad *Dem.* 265–6), Pelops, who enjoyed the same fate, and Achilles (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.). In all such cases, myths of their death alternate with stories of immortalization, partial or complete. (Cf. also the dual position of the Dioscuri.) One is thus reluctant to deny all possible connection between Demophon and the central part of the Mysteries, with its message of the birth of a κοῦρος.

2. *Demophon and Erichthonius*

Demophon is the Θρεπτός of Demeter, a title which occurs in Eleusinian cult (cf. ad *Dem.* 153). He is thus very similar above all to the nursling of Athene, Erichthonius-Erechtheus, child of Earth, who received annual sacrifices at Athens (*Il.* 2. 547–51; cf. ad *Dem.* 265–6), and instituted the Panathenaic Games. The birth of Erichthonius is portrayed in art in an exactly parallel form to that of the birth of a divine child at Eleusis, who is usually identified as Ploutos, the son of Demeter (cf. ad *Dem.* 489). In the cult, this child is nameless: he is simply the Κοῦρος (or Θρεπτός).

The myth of Erichthonius is commemorated by the ritual of the Arrephoria, and the parallels between this and Eleusinian ritual have been studied by W. Burkert, in *Hermes* 94 (1966), 1 ff. The child was entrusted by Athene to the daughters of Cecrops, on the Acropolis at Athens, in a κίστη which they were forbidden to open. Like Metaneira, they were overcome by curiosity (*Dem.* 244), and looked inside. The result was disastrous: two, or all of them, killed themselves, or were killed by the snake(s) which they found coiled round the child. The ἀρρηφόροι were four girls, aged between seven and eleven, who lived for a time on the Acropolis, of whom two were entrusted with the weaving of the πέπλος offered to Athene at the Panathenaea. At the Arrephoria two of them were given some sacred

objects in κίσται by the priestess of Athene, which they took down a secret path to the περίβολος of Aphrodite under the Acropolis. Here they left them, and brought back another sacred object, wrapped up (Paus. 1. 27. 3).

The ἀρρηφόροι were chosen from noble families, and dedicatory inscriptions survive, testifying to those who performed this office, which may be compared with those commemorating the παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας at Eleusis (Burkert, o.c. 5 n. 3). In both cases, the children represent the whole community, and are well-born. The preliminary rites at Eleusis probably involved the κίστη and κάλαθος (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). At Eleusis, Demophon was honoured with contests (*Βαλλητύς*: cf. ad *Dem.* 265 ff.), which may have developed into the Eleusinian Games, as Erichthonius is connected with the Panathenaea.

There may also be a parallel to be drawn between the Cecropids (and ἀρρηφόροι) and the daughters of Celeus, who were the first priestesses at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.). It was the priestesses who carried the κίσται containing the sacred objects from Eleusis to Athens. At Eleusis the Caryatids of the Lesser Propylaea show girls carrying such κίσται (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 245), and may be compared to the Caryatids of the Erechtheum. The dancing-ground of the Cecropids (Eur. *Ion* 495 ff.; cf. Plut. *Vit. X Or.* 839 c) suggests comparison with the 'well of the fair dances' where Celeus' daughters met Demeter. In both cults, the role of the ephebes was also important. In Athens they took their oath at the sanctuary of Aglauros, escorted the Panathenaic procession, and competed in the games. At Eleusis they took part in the sacrifices (cf. ad *Dem.* 265–7), at least in the Roman period, escorted the ἱερά to Athens (Mylonas, o.c. 246; cf. Burkert, o.c. 12), and probably were the παῖδες *Ἐλευσινίων* who took part in the *Βαλλητύς* (cf. ad *Dem.* 266).

To the parallels which Burkert adduces, one could add the recent discovery of a theatre court on the north side of the Erechtheum, with steps round it and an altar in the centre. Such 'theatral areas' have been found in sanctuaries of Demeter, at Lycosura (Berve and Gruben, *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (London, 1963), 389), and Corinth (R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* 37 (1968), 299 ff.), and were presumably used for displays of secret rites, like the Telesterion at Eleusis (and perhaps the platform by the Sacred Way, next to the Ploutonion: Mylonas, o.c. 143 ff.).

The parallels with Erichthonius strengthen the supposition that Demophon is one name for the Eleusinian κοῦρος, and that the story of his nursing by Demeter may have relevance not only to the preliminary rites but also to the Mysteries proper.

### 3. *Demophon's 'adoption'*

Demophon's projected immortalization is to be brought about not only by fire, but also by (*a*) anointing with ambrosia, (*b*) breathing on him with divine breath, (*c*) holding him in the bosom of the goddess. These are all ways of imparting divine strength (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.),

and with the fire, they suggest comparison with later cults. The use of divine breath and fire may perhaps be compared with the Christian 'baptism in the holy Spirit and fire' (Matt. 3: 11, Luke 3: 16), and in Acts 10: 38 'the Lord *anointed* him with the holy Spirit and with strength' (cf. Pfister, *Würzb. Jahrb.* 3 (1948), 273 ff.). On the gold-leaf plates found in graves in various parts of the Graeco-Roman world (Orph. fr. 32) the dead man claims

*Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας*

(cf. fr. 32 (c). 8, and also fr. 31. i 24, fr. 52 v. 3, *Orph. Hy.* 52. 11), indicating that he has come into the protection of the goddess, if not that he has actually been adopted by her.[1] At Eleusis, the announcement of the birth of the child is explained by the Gnostic source of Hippolytus as referring to a spiritual or heavenly rebirth. These testimonies are much later, and must be used with caution. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the nursing of Demophon is relevant to the promise made to the initiate in the Mysteries, not of immortality but rather of divine favour and protection after death (cf. *Dem.* 260 ff., 480 ff.).

That the initiate stands in the same relationship to the Eleusinian goddesses as Demophon to Demeter is also suggested by Soph. *OC* 1050–1 (cf. ad *Dem.* 142, and Kern, *RE* 16. 1239. 38 ff.): 'the torch-lit shores, where the Potniai are nurses (*τιθηνοῦνται*) of the dread rites for mortals . . .'

In conclusion, we may say that whilst we have found some indications of a connection between the Demophon myth and the preliminary ritual of purification, it is also possible to see in it a wider relevance, and to link it with the central significance of the Mysteries (cf. Introduction, pp. 26 ff.). See also notes to *Dem.* 265–7.

**231. θυώδεϊ . . . κόλπῳ:** this poet is fond of *θυώδης*: cf. 244, 288, 331, 355, 385; also *θυόεις* 97, 318, 490, *θυήεις* 277.

**232. χερσίν τ' ἀθανάτῃσι:** M has *ἀθανάτοισι*. The adjective is normally three-termination in Homer (but cf. *-οις(ι)* as v.l. in *Il.* 7. 32, 16. 704, *Od.* 24. 47, 55, *Ap.* 130, *Aph.* 190; cf. *ἀκαμάτῃσι/-οισι* Hes. *Th.* 519, 747). So also in later poetry in the sense 'undying, immortal' (cf. LSJ s.v.). The two-termination use is ancient (cf. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 32), but *-ῃσιν* is probably to be read here. Cf. especially *Dem.* 253.

**233 f.** Demophon receives a stately two lines, in which both his parents are named, as an introduction to the passage describing his nursing. Cf. ad *Dem.* 192.

**234.** The child is named here for the first time. The name was originally *Δημοφάων*: cf. Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschr.* 142, no. 126 *ΔΕΜΟΦΑΟΝ*. Priscian (*Inst. Gramm.* 1. 22, 6. 69) read *ΔΗΜΟΦΑϜΩΝ* 'in tripode vetustissimo Apollinis, qui stat in Xerolopho Byzantii'. Elsewhere on vases it is always *Δημοφῶν*. Cf. Kretschmer, l.c., Cauer,

[1] Cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1910), 124, 135 ff., for comparison to adoption ritual, and Zuntz, *Persephone*, 319, for criticism of this view. See also Festugière, *Rev. Bibl.* 44 (1935), 371 n. 9, 381 ff.

*Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (Leipzig, 1909), 109, Wackernagel, *Spr. Unters.* 176.

His name, like that of his sister Demo, suggests comparison with Demeter (cf. ad *Dem.* 109). The name may have been given to him by the epic poet (cf. ad *Dem.* 109 f.). Körte (*Glotta* 25 (1936), 137 ff.) suggested that the child was originally nameless (cf. ad *Dem.* 153). He never appears in Eleusinian inscriptions or in art. Later his role is usurped by Triptolemus. Apollodorus (1. 5. 1) keeps Demophon as the child (he follows the *Hymn* fairly closely for the most part), but makes him die in the fire (cf. ad *Dem.* 254).

**235.** Cf. *Dem.* 241.

Gods, giants, and heroes grow miraculously as children. Cf. *Ap.* 127 ff. (ad *Dem.* 237), *Herm.* 17 ff., *Hy.* 26. 5, Hes. *Th.* 492 f., Call. *Hy.* 1. 55 ff., Apollod. 1. 7. 4, 3. 7. 6, Conon, *FGH* 26. 44, Q.S. 6. 205 ff. For other examples from Greek and other legends cf. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 127 ff. C. Fries, 'Zum homerischen Hermeshymnos', *PhW* 1938, 879 f., compares stories of the child Heracles, the young Buddha, and the amazement of Christ's parents at his early wisdom.

**236.** The sense is broken and a line is required indicating that Demeter gave the child ambrosia by day (cf. A.R. 4. 870, ad *Dem.* 237). The lacuna is probably due to loss of a line at the foot of a page (cf. Introduction, p. 66). There is therefore no need to assume a homeoteleuton (cf. Hermann's supplement to 236). After loss of 236A *Δημήτηρ* may have been added to give a subject to 237, replacing the original end of 236. *γάλα* or *μαζόν* presumably came here (cf. formulae, ad loc., and Call. *Hy.* 1. 48, fr. 384. 26). *γάλα μητρός* is out of place. *γάλα λευκόν* (cf. E. *Ba.* 700) would be possible, or *ποτε μαζόν*. In 236A either *ἠματίη* (cf. *Od.* 2. 104 f., etc., *Il.* 9. 72) or *ἤματα* (cf. *Od.* 5. 154 ff., 10. 11, 16. 365 ff., 19. 513 ff., 20. 84 f., A.R. 4. 870) is possible.

**οὔτ' οὖν . . . οὐ:** cf. Denniston, *GP* 419: '*οὔτ' οὖν* emphasizes the duality, or plurality, of the ideas negatived.' Cf. *Il.* 17. 20, 20. 7, *Od.* 17. 401.

If there were an early epic version of Achilles' childhood (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.) a similar line may have occurred in it. Cf. the etymology of his name in Apollod. 3. 13. 6 *ὅτι τὰ χείλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσήνεγκε*; *Et. M.* 181. 27 ff. *ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ θιγεῖν χείλεσι χιλῆς, ὅ ἐστι τροφῆς· ὅλως γὰρ οὐ μετέσχε γάλακτος, ἀλλὰ μυελοῖς ἐλάφων ἐτράφη ὑπὸ Χείρωνος.* Cf. Euph. fr. 57 ad loc., Schol. *Il.* 1. 1, Eust. p. 15. 9, A.R. 4. 813.

**237 ff.** The story resembles very closely that of Thetis' attempt to immortalize Achilles. Cf. A.R. 4. 869 ff., where the description is so close to that of the *Hymn* that either both must be following the same model (an early epic version of the childhood of Achilles), or Apollonius is imitating the *Hymn*. For the first view cf. Knaack, *RE* 5. 148, Preller–Robert ii. 67 (suggesting the *Cypria*). Schol. A ad *Il.* 18. 57, 60, 16. 222 ascribe the story to *οἱ νεώτεροι*, adding that it took place on the twelfth day after Achilles' birth (a detail which is not in Apollonius). A different version was told in the *Aegimius* (Hes. fr. 300). Cf. also ad *Dem.* 236.

In favour of the second view is the fact that in Apollonius' version there are features which occur also in the *Hymn*, but at a different point in the story. Thus A.R. 4. 873 ~ *Dem.* 285 (and 245). In Apollonius Peleus leaps out of bed and sees what is happening. In the *Hymn* it is the girls who do this after Demeter's departure (Moschus, *Eur.* 16 probably echoes this line: cf. ad loc.). Similarly A.R. 4. 874 ~ *Dem.* 252, 261, 289 (*ἀσπαίροντα*), 245, A.R. 4. 876 (*κεκληγῶτα*) ~ *Dem.* 284, A.R. 4. 878 ~ *Dem.* 302, 281, A.R. 4. 879 (*χωσαμένη*) ~ *Dem.* 251, 91. Also A.R. 4. 880 (which refers to a quite different occasion) ~ *Dem.* 281 ff., 881 ~ 294 f.; 866a ~ *Dem.* 40, 90.

There are several other possible echoes of this episode of the *Hymn* in Apollonius: *Dem.* 231+254 ~ 3. 867 (4. 1135 f.)?; 259 ~ 3. 714*; 269 ~ 4. 936*; 274a ~ 2. 699*, 3. 1204*; 281 ~ 3. 158*; 282 ~ 3. 811? (Mosch. *Eur.* 18); 293 ~ 4. 752* (Mosch. *Eur.* 16 f.) [304 (201) ~ 1. 286*; 308 ~ 1. 686 f. ?] Cf. Introduction, pp. 69 f.

A parallel story is told of Isis and the son of the king of Byblos. Cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 15 f. (357 a ff.). There is no mention of it in the earlier Pharaonic sources and it is probably due to Greek influence. Cf. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 292; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912), 25 ff.; T. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*, ad loc.; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride*, pp. 319 ff.; and see on *Dem.* 40 ff., 99.

Fr. Marx (*Arch. Zeit.* 43 (1885), 169 ff.) identified the scenes on a cista from Praeneste and two Etruscan mirrors as portraying a myth of the same type. On the cista, Athena holds the infant Ares over a cauldron from which flames emerge, and which probably represents the Water of Styx. Above it Cerberus is depicted. She also touches his mouth with a pencil-like object, i.e. probably anoints him with ambrosia (cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 61, Ov. *M.* 14. 601 f.). On one of the mirrors she has her breast bare, i.e. to suckle the child.

For other parallels cf. P. Roussel, *RÉA* 22 (1920), 157 ff., Ch. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* 35 (1932), 225, N. Kontoleon, *Kret. Chronika* 15–16 (1) (1961–2), 283 ff., P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, 106, 132 f., L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968), 382 ff., especially 387 f.

**237–41.** For the accumulation of forms in *-σκε* cf. *Od.* 11. 586–7, 596–9, Hes. *Th.* 157, frr. 67b, 204. 125–8.

**237.** Ambrosia (as its name implies: cf. *amṛta* in Indian mythology) gives divine strength or immortality. Thus it is given to the infant Apollo (*Ap.* 123 ff.: cf. ad *Dem.* 236), and has an immediate effect (127 ff.; cf. ad *Dem.* 235). Cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 63: Aristaeus as a baby is to be fed on nectar and ambrosia and so made immortal. Tithonus is fed on it (*Aph.* 232), although it does not make him ageless (cf. ad *Dem.* 242). Cf. Hes. fr. 23 (a). 21 ff.: Artemis makes Iphimede (= Iphigeneia) immortal by pouring it over her head. Cf. Pi. *O.* 1. 60 ff., Theocr. 15. 106 ff., Virg. *G.* 4. 415 ff. (here it is a perfume), Ov. *M.* 14. 605 ff. (Aphrodite anoints Aeneas and also touches his lips with

ambrosia and nectar, to make him immortal). For its use as an unguent, or to embalm, cf. *Il.* 16. 670, 680, 19. 38 f., 23. 186 f. In *Il.* 14. 170, *Od.* 18. 192 it is a soap. It is liquid also in *Il.* 19. 347, *Od.* 9. 359, *Aph.* 232, Sapph. 141. 1, E. *Hipp.* 748, Anaxandr. fr. 57, otherwise usually solid. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 639 ff. (West ad loc.), 793 ff., *Dem.* 49 f., Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 292 ff., Roscher, *Nektar und Ambrosia*, 39 ff., E. Lohmeyer, 'Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch', *Sb. Heidelb.* 1919, Ph.-hist. Klasse, Abh. 9, 12 ff.

In A.R. 4. 869 ff. the ambrosia is to make the child immortal (871 f.), and the fire burns away his mortal parts (869 f.). Cf. Ov. *M.* 14. 600 ff., where Aphrodite washes away Aeneas' mortality in the river Numicius, and then gives him ambrosia and nectar.

**238.** The internal rhyme could be unconscious, or alternatively it might be deliberate, as in magic. Cf. *Il.* 2. 484 (*Μοῦσαι . . . ἔχουσαι*), *Od.* 12. 70 (*μέλουσα . . . πλέουσα*), 13. 281 (*ἀποβάντες . . . ἅπαντες*), Hes. *Th.* 276, Platt, *CR* 35 (1921), 141, Shewan, *CP* 20 (1925), 200. In *Il.* 2. 484 it may be conscious. Cf. *Il.* 2. 485–6 (elaborate rhyme and anaphora), and ad *Dem.* 228–30. Ovid couples the divine touch with a magic incantation: *F.* 4. 550 f. (ad *Dem.* 231). For another magic rhyme cf. Virg. *E.* 8. 80 'limus ut hic durescit, et haec ut cera liquescit'.

**ἡδὺ καταπνείουσα:** *καταπνεῖν* does not occur in Homer (but cf. *ἀνα-/ἐπι-/παρα-/πνεῖν* etc.).

The divine breath (*ἐπίπνοια*) in Homer gives strength (*μένος*), e.g. *Il.* 10. 482, *Od.* 24. 520; Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 50 ff. Cf. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit* (Giessen, 1910), 86: 'with the breath the divine strength of the god himself enters into men.' Eitrem, *Opferritus*, 212: 'Die Götter atmen selbst, sozusagen, die reine Göttlichkeit aus — der "Atem" ist ja die "Seele".' *καταπνεῖν* is later used especially of the beneficent or harmful breath of a deity: cf. A. *Ag.* 105 *θεόθεν καταπνείει*, where Fraenkel ad loc. suggests that the phrase belongs to epic or oracular language (cf. Pl. Com. 173. 14 K.); E. *Med.* 389, *Rhes.* 387, Ar. *Lys.* 552, Ael. *NA* 12. 2. 7.

The divine breath can also give poetic and oracular inspiration, or breathe love and desire into a person (cf. Fehrle, o.c. 85 ff., Fraenkel, l.c.). In Virg. *A.* 1. 589 ff. Venus breathes beauty over Aeneas. Cf. Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 1. 208 ff., where it rejuvenates; *Orph. Hy.* 84. 8 *ὄλβον ἐπιπνείουσα καὶ ἠπιόχειρον ὑγείαν*. In Ov. *F.* 4. 540 Ceres 'iungere dignata est os puerile suo'.

In the story of Isis at Byblos cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 15 (357 a–b) *καὶ τῷ χρωτὶ θαυμαστὴν τὴν εὐωδίαν ἐπιπνέουσαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς . . . ἵμερον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς ξένης τῶν τε τριχῶν τοῦ τε χρωτὸς ἀμβροσίαν πνέοντος . . .* On the fragrance of the divine breath cf. ad *Dem.* 277.

**ἐν κόλποισιν ἔχουσα:** cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.

**239. κρύπτεσκε:** cf. *Dem.* 249 *κρύπτει*, Apollod. 1. 5. 1 *εἰς πῦρ ἐγκεκρυμμένον*, 3. 13. 6 (Thetis and Achilles) *κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβουσα τῆς νυκτός*, Paus. 2. 3. 11 (Medea and her children) *τὸ δὲ ἀεὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν φέρουσαν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσαν*. Cf. *Od.* 5. 488.

**ἠΰτε δαλόν:** cf. the similes in *Od.* 5. 488 ff., *Herm.* 237 ff., Sotades *Ἐγκλειόμεναι* fr. 1. 29 K. *ἐνέκρυφά θ' ὥcπερ δαλὸν εἰc πολλὴν τέφραν*, Archestr. fr. 35. 9 (Brandt). In the Meleager story the fire-brand is *παιδὸc δαφοινὸν δαλὸν ἥλικα* (A. *Cho.* 607 f.).

Most stories of this type speak of 'burning away or purging the mortal parts': cf. A.R. 4. 869 f., Apollod. 1. 5. 1, Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 16, Ov. *F.* 4. 554. Cf. the apotheosis of Heracles: Theocr. 24. 83, Ov. *M.* 9. 250 ff., 262 ff., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1966 ff., Plin. *NH* 35. 139, Luc. *Hermot.* 7, Minuc. *Oct.* 22. 7, Housman, *CR* 32 (1918), 162 f. Fire released the divine part in man: cf. Eust. *Il.* 1. 52 (p. 43. 1); Iamblich. *de mysteriis* 5. 12. Cf. also the death of Empedocles (Hor. *AP* 465 ff., D.L. 8. 68), the fire-births of Dionysus and Asclepius (Pi. *P.* 3. 38 ff.), and in general Frazer, *GB*³ 179 ff., Edsman, *Ignis Divinus* (Lund, 1949).

**240. λάθρα:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *κρύβδα*, *λάθρῃ* with genitive (*Il.* 18. 168; 5. 269, 24. 72). It appears to be a *hapax legomenon* (E. fr. 1132. 28 is spurious; in E. *Hel.* 829 *λάθρᾰ* does not scan). It is perhaps by analogy with *κρύβδα* (Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 27). Cf. the alternative forms *ἅμα*/*ἁμᾷ*, *κρύφα*/*κρυφῇ*, *δίχα*/*διχῇ*, *τρίχα*/*τριχῇ*, *cῖγα*/*cιγῇ*; K–B ii. 306.

**γονέων:** not in Homer. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 235, 331, etc.

**241. προθαλής:** this occurs only here. Cf. *ἀμφιθαλής* (*Il.* 22. 496 etc.), *εὐθαλής* (A. fr. 300. 5 etc.).

**θεοῖcι δὲ ἄντα ἐώκει:** cf. ad *Dem.* 235.

For the hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis cf. Monro, *HG*² § 382; van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 79, § 15. The majority of examples with *-ε in hiatu* at the diaeresis are with *τε*.

**242. ποίηcεν:** Voss considers this use of *ποίηcεν* Attic, as the Homeric expression is *ἀθάνατον* (etc.) *τιθέναι*. Dittmar, however, compares *Od.* 1. 235, 13. 42, 23. 11 ff.

**ἀγήρων τ' ἀθάνατόν τε:** these are normally in reverse order. Cf. *Dem.* 260, etc. (for examples cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 277). But *ἀγήρωc* is always in this position in the verse, except in *Od.* 5. 218 and Hes. l.c.

In *Dem.* 260 M has *ἀγήραον*. Cf. *ἀγήραοc* (etc.) vulg. *Il.* 2. 447, 8. 539, 5. 136, 7. 257, 23. 336, Hes. *Th.* 305, 955, fr. 23 (a). 24. The contracted form is required by the metre at *Il.* 12. 323, 17. 444, *Od.* 5. 218, 7. 94, *Ap.* 151, Hes. *Th.* 277, 949. Cf. Hes. fr. 25. 28 *ἀγή*]*ροc*.

Deathlessness was of little value if it was not accompanied by agelessness: cf. Tithonus (*Aph.* 220 ff.), and the legend of the Sibyl, Ov. *M.* 14. 132 ff.

**242–3. καί κεν . . . εἰ μὴ ἄρ' . . .:** on this pattern cf. ad *Dem.* 310–13.

**244. νύκτ' ἐπιτηρήcaca:** the verb does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Dem.* 142 (*τηρεῖν*), Ar. *Ach.* 197 etc. It usually means 'look out for'. Presumably one must take *νύκτα* as the object here. But one might note Apollod. 1. 5. 1 *ἐπετήρηcεν ἡ Πραξιθέα, καὶ καταλαβοῦcα . . . ἀνεβόηcε* (Praxithea is unknown elsewhere: cf. the emendations

ap. Frazer ad loc.). At 2. 13. 6 he also has *Πηλεὺς δὲ ἐπιτηρήσας καὶ σπαίροντα τὸν παῖδα ἰδών.*

**θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο:** her bedroom adjoined the megaron. Cf. Odysseus' palace: *Il.* 1. 328, 17. 492 ff., 541 f., 20. 92 ff., 387 ff.; Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 414 f.; Bassett, *AJA* 23 (1919), 293.

In some late versions it is either the child's father, or both parents, who see Demeter. Cf. Hyg. *fab.* 147, Serv. ad Virg. *G.* 1. 19, Lact. ad Stat. *Theb.* 2. 382, Myth. Vat. 2. 97.

The original point was probably that the magic could only be worked in secret. The poet perhaps misunderstood this: he stresses only Demeter's anger at discovery (*Dem.* 251, 254). Cf. however Apollod. 3. 13. 6 *Θέτις κωλυθεῖσα τὴν προαίρεσιν τελειῶσαι.*

The motif of curiosity to see a forbidden sight is common in folk-tales and mythology. Cf. Cupid and Psyche: Apul. *M.* 5. 6. 6 etc., 6. 19. 7, 20. 5 f. Merkelbach (*Roman und Mysterium*, 18 ff., 47 f.) sees a connection with the Isis-mysteries here, and compares the myths of Erichthonius and the daughters of Cecrops (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.), and of Orpheus and Eurydice (cf. Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 637 f.), as well as those of Thetis and Achilles, and Medea's children. His interpretation of the Demophon myth as designed to warn initiands' parents against trying to witness the initiation (o.c. 22) seems more doubtful.

One might also mention the story of Pandora, and the Hittite myth in which a mortal is killed by the goddess Inara because he breaks the prohibition against seeing his wife and children (Pritchard, *ANET*² 125; cf. G. S. Kirk, *Myth* (Cambridge, 1970), 220. Kirk, o.c. 258–9, has some good remarks on such mythical themes).

**245.** On this line see Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 50 f. He points out that the sigmatic aorist middle of *πλήττω* occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 16. 125 *πληξάμενος*), but is substituted here for the Homeric *πεπλήγετο.*

**246. δείσασ' ᾧ:** elision before *ὅς* (etc.) is rare in Homer, and the elided word is always *δέ, γε, τε, ἄρα*, which can often be suppressed (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 147 f.).

**ἄᾶσθη:** cf. *Il.* 1. 340, *Od.* 10. 68 *ἄᾶσαν.* The initial *α* is short in *Dem.* 258, *Il.* 8. 237, etc.

**248 f.** Such short speeches are more a feature of Hesiodic than Homeric style (cf. West, *Theogony*, 74).

**248. πυρὶ ἔνι πολλῷ:** for the lengthening of dat. sing. *-ι* and hiatus cf. ad *Dem.* 99. Hermann's bridge is neglected here (cf. Introduction, p. 63, and *Dem.* 17). On the comparison that has been made between this and Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 5. 8. 39 (*ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί*) cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff. The phrase is an 'inversion' of the Homeric (*ἐν*) *πυρὶ πολλῷ* (*Od.* 12. 237, *Il.* 21. 362 ~ 18. 346 etc.). Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 51, L. E. Rossi, *Gott. gel. Anz.* 223 (1971), 171. *πυρῇ*, which is assumed to be the reading of the papyrus, is always used of a funeral pyre in Homer and usually so later. It is occasionally confused with *πῦρ*, especially in late Greek. The same papyrus has *πυράν* twice (Orph. fr. 49. 85, 91). (Cf. Philo, *de confus. ling.* 157; Acts 28: 2 and 3.) The

two are confused in manuscripts: cf. *Dem.* 287, also *Il.* 23. 165, 172, 216 (where πυρί is v.l. for πυρῇ). The sense requires πυρί here.

**249. κρύπτει:** cf. ad *Dem.* 239.

**251–5.** This sentence is rather involved and repetitive (251a ~ 254b). The change of subject in 252 is slightly awkward (cf. ad loc.) and there is a ὕστερον πρότερον in 253–4. But there is no need to alter the text.

**251. τῇ δὲ χολωσαμένη:** cf. *Il.* 1. 9 etc.

**καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ:** the epithet does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. ἐϋστέφανος (*Il.* 19. 99 etc.; of Demeter *Dem.* 224 etc.), φιλοστέφανος (*Dem.* 102), χρυσοστέφανος (Hes. *Th.* 17, 136, *Hy.* 6. 1), and καλλιπλόκαμος (of Demeter *Il.* 14. 326). καλλιστεφάνο Ἀφροδίτες is found on the 'Cup of Nestor' (*Rendic. Linc.* 10 (1955), 215–34). Cf. also Tyrt. fr. 2 (of Hera); E. *Ba.* 376 (εὐφροσύνας); Orac. ap. D.S. 8. 29 (of Libya).

**252.** The line, with its change of subject, is slightly awkward, and seems unnecessary at this point. Wegener, *Philol.* 35 (1876), 243, suggests that it (without ἄελπτον) derives from a version of the Achilles story, where Thetis is also the mother. But it is more probably a 'fill-line'. Cf. also ad *Dem.* 233 f.

**253. θῆκε πέδον δέ:** cf. *Od.* 21. 136. ἧκε would be more suitable here. Cf. A.R. 4. 876 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἁρπάγδην χαμάδις βάλε κεκληγῶτα. πέδον δέ in Homer is used of a storm coming down on to the earth from heaven (*Il.* 13. 796), and of a stone rolling downhill to the level ground (*Od.* 11. 598). Cf. S. *Ant.* 786 ἐσπᾶτο γὰρ πέδον δὲ καὶ μετάρσιος. In tragedy πέδῳ is normally used (A. *PV* 749 etc.). Voss calls the use of πέδον δέ here Attic, but there is no need to assume this.

**254. ἐξανελοῦσα:** this compound does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. Homeric ἀναιρέω, ἐξανίημι. Cf. A.R. 3. 867 τό ῥ' ἧ γ' ἐξανελοῦσα θυώδεϊ κάτθετο μίτρῃ (~ *Dem.* 231); E. *Ion* 269 (middle).

In Apollod. 1. 5. 1 and Orph. fr. 49. 100 f. the child is consumed by the fire (cf. 2 Vat. Myth. 96 f.). The two accounts are similar: Orph. fr. 49. 100 f. τὸ παι]δίον . . . καίει καὶ ἀποκτείνει [κ]αὶ ὀ[ρθ]ῶς αὐτὴν δια[καλύπτει, Apollod. l.c. τὸ μὲν βρέφος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνηλώθη, ἡ θεὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξέφηνε.

This version may have been the original one, suppressed as ἀπρεπές by the Homeric poet (cf. G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Appendix G; Wünsch, *RE* 9. 155. 32 ff.). Demophon, like other 'agonic' heroes (cf. ad *Dem.* 265 ff.), might be expected to die young. Cf. also the stories of Thetis and Achilles, and Medea and her children. In one version of the former, Thetis kills six children before Peleus discovers her and saves Achilles (Hes. fr. 300, Schol. *Il.* 16. 37, Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 1068, Lycophr. 178 f.). In the story of Medea, most or all of the children probably died: cf. Roussel, *RÉA* 22 (1920), 161. For a similar case of probable suppression of τὸ ἀπρεπές cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.

3. Iambe.

**256–74.** Demeter reproaches mankind with their folly, and swears that she would have made the child ageless and immortal. Now he

will die, but an annual festival will be held in his honour. She reveals her true identity, and commands that the people of Eleusis build her a temple and altar outside the city wall. She promises to teach them her sacred rites, so that they may propitiate her in future.

Demeter's speech is in the traditional form for the self-revelation of a deity. For examples of the derogatory address to mankind by a deity or prophet cf. ad *Dem.* 256 ff. This and the self-revelation (268 f.) also occur together in Hes. *Th.* 26 ff., where they are followed by the gift of the poetic staff and command to sing of the gods (see below; and Schwabl, *Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc.* 2 (1959), 26). Cf. Emped. frr. 112. 4, 124, 141. The references to the power of the deity and the benefits which she confers (268 f.) are features which belong to the self-revelation, and contrast with the condemnation of the helplessness of men. Cf. especially A. *PV* 436 ff., where Prometheus recounts the blessings he has brought to men, and describes their previous helpless state (447 ff. ~ Orph. fr. 233, ad *Dem.* 256 ff.). For the form of 268 f. cf. ad loc. This leads on naturally to the command to build her a temple (cf. ad *Dem.* 268 ff., 188 ff.), and the promise to institute her rites. Cf. Isis' address to Lucius in Apuleius (*M.* 11. 5, A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (Univ. of California Press, 1960), 159 n. 6):

1. 'En adsum . . .'
2. Isis reveals her nature } cf. *Dem.* 268 f.
3. She encourages Lucius (5. 4): contrast *Dem.* 256 ff.?
4. She gives orders (5. 4 ff.): cf. Dem. 270 ff.
5. She makes promises for this life and the next: cf. *Dem.* 273 f.

Cf. Festugière, *HTR* 42 (1949), 209 ff., and P. Oxy. 1380.

**256 ff.** 256–62 are cited by the 'Orphic' papyrus (Orph. fr. 49. 95 ff.) with a variant text, part of which is fragmentary and unintelligible but evidently differed completely from 258b–61.

The derogatory address to mankind by a deity or prophet was traditional in both Greek and Jewish literature. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 26 ff. West ad loc. compares Epimenides fr. 1, Isaiah 6: 9, Parmen. 6. 3 ff., Emped. 2, Ar. *Av.* 685 ff., Ov. *M.* 15. 153, Orph. fr. 233, [Pythag.] *Carm. Aur.* 54 ff. Cf. also *Ap.* 532 ff., Emped. 124, 141, *Orac. Sib.* 1. 174 ff., 3. 8 ff., 14. 1 ff., fr. 1. 1 ff. Rz., Poimandres, *Corpus Hermeticum* 1. 26 ff., and for an address to one individual Hes. *Op.* 286 (~ Orac. ap. Hdt. 1. 85 vs. 1), and Pi. fr. 157 Sn. (= 143 Bo.). In general, cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 132.

The form of words is also traditional. For *Dem.* 256, cf. (cited ad loc.) *Od.* 21. 85, *Ap.* 532, Theognis 10. 39, 1069 *ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι*, Ar. *Pax* 1063 f. (in a parody) *ὦ μέλεοι θνητοὶ καὶ νήπιοι . . . οἵτινες ἀφραδίῃσι θεῶν νόον οὐκ ἀίοντες . . .*, Call. fr. 318 *σχέτλιαι ἀνθρώπων ἀφραστύες*, Triphiod. 310 ff. (exclamation by the poet) *σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος, οἷσιν ὀμίχλη | ἄσκοπος ἐσσομένων . . .* and Pi. fr. 157 (Silenus to Olympus) *ὦ τάλας ἐφάμερε, νήπια βάζεις . . .*

For the wording of *Dem.* 256–8 cf. especially Orph. fr. 233 *μηδαμὰ μηδὲν | εἰδότες, οὔτε κακοῖο προσερχομένοιο νοῆσαι | φράδμονες, οὔτ' ἄποθεν μάλ' ἀποστρέψαι κακότητος, | οὔτ' ἀγαθοῦ παρεόντος ἐπιστρέψαι τε καὶ ἕρξαι*, [Pythag.] *Carm. Aur.* 54–6 *γνώσῃ δ' ἀνθρώπους αὐθαίρετα πήματ' ἔχοντας, | τλήμονας, οἵ τ' ἀγαθῶν πέλας ὄντων οὔτ' ἐσορῶσιν, | οὔτε κλύουσι, λύσιν δὲ κακῶν παῦροι συνίασιν.*

In *Ap.* 189 ff. the Muses sing of *ἀνθρώπων | τλημοσύνας, ὅς' ἔχοντες . . . ζώους' ἀφραδέες καὶ ἀμήχανοι . . .* (because they cannot find a cure for death and old age: cf. *Dem.* 259–62, and ad *Dem.* 147 f.). Cf. Virg. *A.* 10. 501 f. (exclamation by the poet):

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae,
> et servare modum rebus sublata secundis.

A similar thought is expressed in *Od.* 18. 129 ff. (and cf. Pindar, *O.* 12. 1–12). Cf. also Mimn. fr. 2. 4–5 *πρὸς θεῶν εἰδότες οὔτε κακὸν | οὔτ' ἀγαθόν . . .*

*Dem.* 256 ff. can be taken either as an address or a general statement (cf. West, l.c., p. 160). As in Hes. *Th.* 26 ff. and probably Epimen. fr. 1, there is an audience of one but the plural is used. Schwabl (o.c. 27), observes that 'the plural in front of a single person strikes a note of contempt and disapproval', and the address serves 'to drive home the contrast between mortal and god' (o.c. 25).

The case against men rests on their folly and inability to foresee the future. Because of this, they cannot improve their lot, and especially find a cure for death and age (cf. *Ap.* 189 ff. above). Here, Demeter says that she would have given this to Demophon, had not the folly of Metaneira prevented her. Her words supply the traditional 'answer' of the gods to the 'accusation' of *Dem.* 147 f., 216 f. (cf. ad loc.).

**256.** The structure of the verse is similar to that of Hes. *Th.* 26, Epimen. fr. 1, *Ap.* 532, etc.

**καὶ ἀφράδμονες:** correption before *-φρ-* normally occurs only where it is metrically necessary in order for the word to fit the hexameter (cf. Monro, *HG*² § 370, Chantraine, *GH* i. 108 f.). In the phrases parallel to *Dem.* 256 there is normally no copula (but cf. Theognis 1039, 1069). *ἀφράδμων* does not occur in Homer or Hesiod (*ἀφραδής Od.* 2. 282, 11. 476, etc.; *φράδμων Il.* 16. 638). Cf. A. *Ag.* 1401, S. fr. 613 P. (*ἀφράσμων*); A. *Pers.* 417 (*ἀφρασμόνως*). The word is quoted from Sophocles' *Triptolemus* (fr. 613 P.), which is interesting in view of the subject-matter of that play.

**256 f.** The transposition in pap. 1 is paralleled by Orph. fr. 233 (ad *Dem.* 256 ff.).

The papyrus has *προγνωμενες*, probably a mistake for *-μεναι* (influenced by *δυστλήμονες* above), rather than for *-μονες* (Allen and Halliday) which would require a weak *ὔμμιν* (*vel sim.*) instead of *αἶσαν*. *προγνώμων* does not exist in Greek.

**ἀφράδμονες . . . προγνώμεναι** is parallel to Orph. fr. 233 *νοῆσαι φράδμονες*. *προγιγνώσκω* does not occur in Homer and Hesiod (Homeric *ἀνα-/δια-/ἐπι-/γιγνώσκω*). Cf. E. *Hipp.* 1072, etc.

Men's fate, or appointed share (*αἶσαν*) is divided into good and evil: cf. *Il.* 24. 527 f., Solon fr. 1. 63 (ad *Dem.* 147 f.), also *Od.* 4. 236 f., Hes. *Th.* 904–6 (West ad loc.), *Op.* 669, Orph. fr. 233, [Pyth.] *Carm. Aur.* 55–6.

**258. νήκεστον:** this is surely right, rather than M's *μήκιστον* (cf. Allen and Halliday). It is especially appropriate here, since the disaster is irreversible (cf. *Dem.* 262). It occurs elsewhere only in Hes. *Op.* 283.

**259.** On Styx as the oath of the gods cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 400. The *ὅρκος* is that by which one swears, and is here invoked as a witness (cf. *Il.* 15. 36 ff. etc.). Cf. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 433 ff., Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 81 ff. On the etymology of *ὅρκος* cf. also Frisk, s.v.; Benveniste, *RHR* 134 (1949), 81 ff.; Bollack, *RÉG* 71 (1958), 1 ff., Hiersche, *RÉG* 71 (1958), 35 ff. (arguing for the ancient interpretation *ὅρκος* = *ἕρκος*, as that which bounds or binds the oath-taker).

**θεῶν:** for the synizesis cf. ad Dem. 55, and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 61 n. 70, who suggests that it may be due to telescoping of *Il.* 15. 36–8 = *Od.* 5. 184–6, aided by *Od.* 2. 377 etc.

**ἀμείλικτον:** in Homer this is used with *ὄπα* (*Il.* 11. 137, 21. 98), but with *δεσμῶν* in Hes. *Th.* 659 (cf. West ad loc.). It replaces *ἀάατον* (*Il.* 14. 271), perhaps because of *ἀάσθης* in *Dem.* 258. Cf. *ἀμείλιχος* of Hades, Erinyes (*Il.* 9. 158 etc.).

**Στυγὸς ὕδωρ:** this is the proper name in Homer and sometimes later (cf. Bölte, *RE* 4A. 460 ff., West ad *Th.* 805), and is possibly original (Schulze, *QE* 442).

**259 ff.** It is odd that Styx, by which Demeter swears that she would have made Demophon immortal, was itself called *ἄφθιτος* (Hes. *Th.* 389, 397, 805; cf. *Dem.* 261, 263), probably as an elixir of life (West ad *Th.* 805). A late version of the Achilles story (cf. ad *Dem.* 237 ff.) replaces the fire as immortalizing agent by the water of Styx (Stat. *Ach.* 1. 268 f., etc.; *RE* 1. 225. 30 ff.). For Styx as a river of fire in this legend cf. Fr. Marx, *Arch. Zeit.* 43 (1886) 169 ff., Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 198.

**260. ἤματα πάντα:** cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 305.

**262. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς:** this does not occur in Homer (*ἔστι* with infinitive *Il.* 21. 565 etc.). Cf. Pi. fr. 61 etc. *οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως*, Pl. *Men.* 76 e etc. *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς*.

**263. τιμὴ . . . ἐπέσσεται:** Wünsch (*RE* 9. 155. 32 ff.) considers this verse 'eine spätere Umarbeitung', because it apparently clashes with 261. Originally, the child died and there was an end of it (cf. ad *Dem.* 254). But the sense is perhaps: 'I should have given him immortality and honour. Now he will die, but his honour will always remain (*ἐπέσσεται*).' 262–3 correspond to 260–1.

**263 f. γούνων . . . ἐπέβη:** cf. *Il.* 9. 455, 488, *Od.* 16. 443, 19. 401, *Il.* 21. 506, Theocr. 13. 53 (and verse added after *Il.* 3. 40).

**265–7.** 'And in due season, for him, as the years revolve, the children of the Eleusinians will always wage war and bitter strife with one another for ever.'

The reference is to the *Βαλλητύς*, a ritual mock battle held in honour of Demophon. Cf. Hsch. s.v. *Βαλλητύς· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τῷ*

*Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη*; Ath. 406 d *Ἐλευσῖνι γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ οἶδά τινα πανήγυριν ἀγομένην καὶ καλουμένην Βαλλητύν. Ἀθήνησιν* in Hesychius is misleading. The ceremony was at Eleusis: cf. Ath. l.c.

That the *πόλεμος* referred to was a ceremonial one was first recognized by F. Creuzer in *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (Leipzig, 1842, 3rd ed.), iv. 314 ff. Cf. O. Crusius, *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1886), 19 ff.

It is not known when the ceremony took place. Kern (*RE* 16. 1215. 12 f.) suggested that the Eleusinian Games may have developed from it (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.). But the way it is referred to in Athenaeus suggests that, in his day at least, it was a separate festival. Walton (*HTR* 45 (1952), 109 n. 16) thought that the original recital of the *Hymn* may have been at a celebration of the *Βαλλητύς*. This would account for Demophon's prominence and give a point to *Dem.* 263–7. The recital may have taken place at the Eleusinian Games: cf. Introduction, p. 12.

Evidently the ceremony still took place in Athenaeus' day, but was not well known outside Eleusis. The speaker in Athenaeus says that he will only describe the festival if the others pay him to do so. The context in Athenaeus is of pelting with stones, and it was probably of this type. Similar mock battles are common all over the world, and involve either stone-throwing or some other form of fighting. At Troezen there was a *lithobolia* in honour of Damia and Auxesia. This involved *aischrologia* (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 3. Iambe). The *aition* for it was a civil stasis, in which Damia and Auxesia were stoned (Paus. 2. 32. 2. Cf. perhaps Hdt. 5. 85). A historical origin for these battles was often presumed (cf. Lesky, *ARW* 24 (1926), 77 ff.). Various scholars have connected Demeter's prophecy with the traditions of wars between Athens and Eleusis. Matthiae read *Ἀθηναίοισι* in 267. He was followed by Baumeister.[1] But there is no reason to alter the text.

Further examples of such contests are given in Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 93 f., Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 402 ff., 413 ff., Usener, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 435 ff., Lesky, o.c. 73 ff. (on a Hittite example, with parallels; cf. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 155), Frazer ad Paus. 2. 30. 4. They have been variously interpreted: as designed to promote fertility (Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1904), i. 548 ff., Frazer, *GB*[3] 7. 98 ff., 173 ff., especially 184; Allen and Halliday, ad loc.), as representing the conflict of winter and summer (Usener l.c.; cf. Lesky), or as cathartic (Eitrem, *Opferritus*, 290 ff.). Nilsson distinguishes two classes, those which served as a preliminary to real battles (o.c. 402 ff.), and those belonging to agricultural cults (413 ff.). Rose (*Folklore*, 36 (1925), 322 ff.) points out the diversity of occasions for such fights, which include funeral ceremonies, marriages, seasonal festivals, etc. It is therefore unnecessary to look for a single explanation for all of them.

[1] Cf. also Ch. Picard, *Rev. phil.*, 3[e] série, 4 (1930), 257–65, *Rev. hist.* 166 (1931), 1 ff.; L. Weber, *Klio* 21 (1927), 245 ff., *RhM* 80 (1931), 77 f.; Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 49. Against Weber, see Deubner, *AF* 69 n. 5.

Here, the fact that Demophon's death is foretold and that in some versions he actually dies as a baby (cf. ad *Dem.* 254) suggests that he belongs to the type of child-hero in whose honour the various Greek games were celebrated (e.g. Archemorus, Melicertes, and others). According to one version of the Melicertes legend (Apollod. 3. 4. 3), the child was boiled in a cauldron by Ino, a form of *ἀπαθανατισμός* enjoyed by Pelops (founder of the Olympian Games, according to one account) and Achilles ([Hes.] fr. 300, from the *Aigimios*, also attributed to the Pythagorean Cercops), and a variant on the fire-ritual. There were mysteries of Ino and her son, still popular in Libanius' time (ii p. 110, 448 R.), and a Trajanic inscription from Syria (Dittenberger, *OGI* 611) dedicated to Leucothea refers to someone as *ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ ἑορταὶ ἄγονται.* Farnell (*JHS* 36 (1916), 41 ff.) conjectured a ritual of rebirth, by a kind of baptism, as the origin of this. (Cf. also Frazer, *Apollod.* ii. 359 ff.; Lesky, *RE* 15. 515; Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 16.) The parallel with Demophon is suggestive (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.).

The connection of *lithobolia* and *aischrologia* at Troezen also suggests that Demophon's place was originally in the preliminaries to the main ceremonies of the Mysteries. But the time of the *Βαλλητύς* in the historical period is unknown and it appears to have remained a purely local affair (cf. Ath. l.c.), i.e. it was not incorporated into the enlarged form of the Mysteries which was created by Athens. Mylonas (*Eleusis*, 137 ff.) suggests that it was held in a court on the south side of the Telesterion, where a stepped platform seems to indicate some kind of show with spectators. But the court can hardly have been large enough for such a battle.

The wording of *Dem.* 265–6 is similar to that of *Il.* 2. 550–1, which refers to the Athenian custom of sacrifice to Erechtheus, Athena's protégé. *Il.* 2. 551 is quoted by Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 1. 8 in the context of bull-fighting at Eleusis and elsewhere (cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 206). This is probably to be connected with the phrase *ἤραντο τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ θυσίᾳ* in the ephebic inscriptions (*IG* ii. 467–71; cf. Ziehen, *RE* s.v. Opfer, 18. 610. 21 ff., and s.v. *Ταυροκαθάψια* p. 25. 49 ff., *Hermes* 66 (1931), 227 ff., Persson, *ARW* 21 (1922), 301 f., Picard, *RÉG* 40 (1927), 351, 363 f.). The parallel between *Il.* 2. 550 f. and *Dem.* 265 f. is striking, since Demophon as Demeter's *θρεπτός* is in the same position as Erechtheus in relation to Athena, and the myth of Demophon suggests comparison with that of Erichthonius/Erechtheus (cf. ad *Dem.* 231 ff.). Cf. also the wording of Hes. fr. 146, referring to funeral games at Athens in honour of Minos' son Eurygyes: (ex coni. West) *Εὐρυγύῃ δ' ἔτι κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων . . .*

**265. ὥρηιν:** 'in due season'. Cf. *Aph.* 102, and similarly *Od.* 11. 294 f. (= 14. 293 f., *Ap.* 349 f.), 10. 469, Hes. *Th.* 58 f. In later Greek *ὥρᾱιν* is used (preserving the old locative plur.): cf. especially Philicus' *Hymn*, verse 36 (Körte) *ὥρᾱιν Ἐλευσῖνάδε μυστηλαίαις ἰάκχων.* Cf. also *ἐν ὥρῃ* (*Od.* 17. 176 etc.), *εἰς ὥρας* (*Od.* 9. 135 etc., Gow ad Theocr. 15. 74). West suggests *ὥρηιν* here. But one would rather

expect *-ηcιν* in epic, since this was generalized in Ionic for the dative plural.

**τῷ γε:** 'in his honour'. Cf. *Herm.* 344 etc.

**περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν:** strictly this means 'as the anniversaries come round'. Cf. LSJ s.v. *ἐνιαυτός*.

**266. παῖδες Ἐλευcινίων:** cf. *κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων, Ἀχαιῶν* etc. It probably means here 'the young men (or boys) of Eleusis'. Cf. the mock battle at Sparta (Paus. 3. 14. 8), where it is the ephebes who fight. *Ἐλευcινίων* may be a case of epic shortening, as in *Dem.* 105. Alternatively it could be a synizesis (Radermacher, *Philol.* 84 (1929), 257). Cf. Agallias (see formulae, ad *Dem.* 266), Epicharm. fr. 100. 2 K., Antim. fr. 96 W., perhaps *Ap.* 496, where *δελφίνιος*, M's reading, should probably be kept (*contra* Allen).

**πόλεμον καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν:** such mock battles can be very fierce, and may lead to bloodshed and even death (e.g. Cic., *Tusc.* 5. 77, Augustine, *de doctr. christ.* iv. 24, iii p. 87 Maur., Libanius, i. 236 R. Cf. also *Il.* 23. 805 f., Frazer, *GB*[3] 9. 185). There is therefore no reason to assume that this must refer to a real war (cf. ad *Dem.* 265–7).

**268 ff.** Demeter's self-revelation (268 f.) is followed by her command to build a temple and altar, the promise that she will institute her cult, her epiphany, and a *παννυχίc* in her honour (292 f.). The appearance of a deity is traditionally the occasion for the institution of honours to him: cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff., *Od.* 16. 181 ff., *Ap.* 480 ff., *Aph.* 100 ff., Hdt. 6. 105, A.R. 3. 876 ff., Matt. 17: 1 ff., etc.; Pfister, *RE Supp.* 4. 284 f., 288 f., 298.

**268. εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ:** Demeter first announces her identity, in a traditional formula (cf. *Od.* 6. 196, 9. 19), which is however especially characteristic of an epiphany: cf. *Ap.* 480, *Hy.* 7. 56, *Od.* 11. 252 (*Il.* 24. 172 ~ 2. 26, 24. 460 f., *Od.* 19. 548, 20. 47), Emped. fr. 112. 4, A. *PV* 284. Cf. the prologues of Euripides (*Hecuba, Ion, Troades, Bacchae*), and Philem. fr. 91 K., Menand. fr. 545 K., fr. adesp. 154 K., Philyll. I p. 784 K., Plaut. *Aulul.* 2, *Trinumm.* 6; also Xen. *Mem.* 2. 7. 14, Diod. 1. 14 (cf. *IG* 12 Supp. p. 98 A 7), Moschus, *Europa*, 154 f. (Bühler ad 153–61, 155).[1]

Norden called the formula a 'soteriologischer Redetypus'. Normally the deity appears in order to help men, and announces his power, and the benefits which he confers on mankind (*ἔργα* or *εὑρήματα*). For this motif in drama cf. especially Plaut. *Amph.* 41 (Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1912), 212, 238 ff.). So here Demeter goes on to describe herself as *τιμάοχος*, and as 'the greatest blessing and joy to gods and men'. The same structure is found in hymns and later aretalogies, and corresponds with the divisions laid down by the rhetoricians (cf. Alexander, p. 4. 26 ff., Spengel): *φύcιc* and *γένος*,

[1] Cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 186 ff., 207 ff., A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), 108 ff. (tr. L. R. M. Strachan (1960), 133 ff.), W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros* (Berlin, 1930), Roussel, *RÉG* 42 (1929), 147 n. 1, O. Weinreich, *ARW* 18 (1915), 38 ff., Ed. Schwyzer, *Ego eimi* (Diss. Göttingen, 1939).

δύναμις, ἔργα, εὑρήματα. Cf. Festugière, *HTR* 42 (1949), 226 n. 54, Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 119, 121–2.

Here, Demeter's claims for herself correspond with those made later for her and Athens as originators of the greatest benefits for mankind: cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* 28 ff. *Δήμητρος . . . δούσης δωρεὰς διττάς, αἵπερ μέγιστα τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τούς τε καρπούς . . . καὶ τὴν τελετήν . . .*, Cic. *Leg.* 2. 375, *BCH* 24 (1900), 96, etc. On this was based Athens' claim to receive *ἀπαρχαί* of grain from all over the Greek world (cf. ad *Dem.* 153: Triptolemus).

**268–9.** For the formula *εἰμὶ δὲ . . . ἥ τε . . . τέτυκται* cf. Diod. 1. 27. 4 (inscription on the 'tomb of Isis') *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα . . .* Cf. also ad *Dem.* 256 ff.

**268. τιμάοχος** does not occur in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Aph.* 31. In later Greek the forms are *τιμοῦχος, τιμῶχος* (as a magistrate's title in various cities). The preservation of the *ᾱ* in epic is unexplained. Cf. *τιμάορος* (Pi. *O.* 9. 84, A. *Ag.* 514, etc.), Wackernagel, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 27 (1885), 263. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 56 considers it an ancient epic Aeolism, and its use here as due to the influence of the Hymn to Aphrodite.

*τιμα-* epithets are commonly applied to deities in hymns: cf. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 66.

On the Orphic papyrus quotation cf. ad *Dem.* 54–6.

**269. θνητοῖσί τ' ὄνεαρ:** this is preferable to *θνητοῖς τ' ὄνεᾶρ* as the *-οισι* form of the dative is far more common. *ὄνεαρ* is implied for spoken Ionic by epic *ὄνειαρ* (with metrical lengthening, after **ὄνηαρ* > *ὄνεαρ*; cf. Choerob. in *An. Ox.* 2. 245). Cf. *φρεῖαρ/φρέαρ*, etc. (ad *Dem.* 99). For the synizesis cf. *ἔαρι* Hes. *Op.* 462, *ἔαρ Op.* 492, Mimn. 2. 2, Chaerem. fr. 42; *στέατος Od.* 21. 178, 183, Schulze, *QE* 228. For the hypermetrical epic form cf. ad *Dem.* 137, 173, 284. For the expression *μέγιστον . . . θνητοῖσι . . . ὄνεαρ* cf. Hes. *Th.* 871, etc., and Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 122.

Why is Demeter a joy to immortals also? Because they rely on sacrifices from men of her products? Cf. *Dem.* 311 ff., and for a Hittite parallel cf. ad 305 ff. Stoll's conjecture is an attractive way of avoiding this problem, and makes the parallel with *Aph.* 31 f. (cf. ad 268 f.) closer. The corruption would be easy. But *ἀθανάτων* is perhaps slightly awkward with *μέγιστον ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα.*

**χάρμα:** cf. *Il.* 14. 325 (of Dionysus, Demeter's counterpart), *Ap.* 25, *Hy.* 16. 4; Pi. *P.* 9. 64 (from Hesiod? Cf. frr. 216, 217); *Paean Erythraeus*, 2. 3 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* p. 137), Orac. ap. Paus. 2. 26. 7, Orph. *Hy.* 50. 7, etc.; Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 121.

**τέτυκται:** for the third person with a relative after first or second person antecedent cf. *Il.* 17. 248 ff., *Hy.* 29. 3 v.l., K–G ii. 406. Here the influence of the neuter predicate is perhaps felt. Cf. also *Aph.* 32, which may have influenced these lines, and A.R. 4. 936, *Hy.* 32. 13, Keyssner, o.c. 119.

**270–2.** On Demeter's temple see Appendix I. The altar(s) stood in the court in front of the temple. Cf. E. *Supp.* 33, *IG* ii². 1672. 141,

Kourouniotes, *Eleusiniaka*, i. 176, 179. 16–17, Picard, *Rev. Arch.* 34 (1949), 124, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 90 f.

**271. τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος:** for the plural verb with a collective noun cf. K–B i. 53. 2.

**ὑπαὶ πόλιν:** in Homer *ὑπὸ πτόλιν* is used (*Il.* 11. 181, 18. 281). *ὑπαί* is normally used before single consonants (*Il.* 2. 824, 3. 217, 11. 417, 12. 149), but cf. also *ὑπαὶ δείους* (*Il.* 10. 376, 15. 4: *ὑπό* v.l.), *ὑπαιδείδοικε* (*Herm.* 165), *ὑπαὶ νεφέων* (*Il.* 15. 625, 16. 374, 23. 874: *ὑπό* v.l.), where *ὑπό* might be expected. *ὑπό/ὑπαί* are frequently variants in Homeric manuscripts before λ, ρ, γλ, σπ.

There is no reason to treat *ὑπαὶ πόλιν* as a 'neologism', as Zumbach (*Neuerungen*, 50) does. Forderer, *Gnomon* 30 (1958), 99, points out that the statistical grounds are not strong enough for this, and that standardization of the Homeric text by the Alexandrians is also possible.

Sanctuaries of Demeter tend to be situated just outside the city. This is true of the Eleusinion in Athens, which is at the foot of the Acropolis (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 246 f., with bibliography) and of the temple at Agrae, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated, outside the walls of Athens (cf. Judeich, *Topographie*, 420 f.). Cf. also Corinth (R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* 34 (1965), 1 ff., 37 (1968), 299 ff., 38 (1969), 297 ff.); Paros (Hdt. 6. 134); Thasos (Pouilloux, *BCH* 75 (1951), 90 ff., and *Rech. sur l'hist. et les cultes de Thasos* (Paris, 1954), i. 25, 330); Gela (Adamasteanu, *Not. Scavi*, Ser. 8. 10 (1956), 203, 382–92, *Rev. Arch.* 1957. 1, 29 f.); Selinus (M. Santangelo, *Selinunte* (Rome, 1952), 86 ff.); and Y. Béquignon, *Rev. Arch.* 1958. 2, 149 ff., 'Déméter, déesse acropolitaine' (to be treated with caution), Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 205. The same custom was observed in Italy. Vitruvius (1. 7. 2) cites as Etruscan the view that temples of Ceres should be sited 'extra urbem, loco quo ⟨non quolibet⟩ nomine semper homines, nisi per sacrificium, necesse habeant adire'. Cf. Virg. *A.* 2. 713 f., Tac. *A.* 15. 53.

Initiation houses are commonly situated outside the bounds of the community, since initiation often involves a period of seclusion from one's society (cf. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, 190 ff.).

**272. Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν:** on the topography see Appendix I.

The temples of Demeter and Core, and Triptolemus, at Athens are described by Pausanias (1. 14. 1) as *ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην* (Enneacrounos). On the site of Pausanias' Enneacrounos cf. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora III* (*Testimonia*), pp. 137 ff., H. Thompson, *Hesp.* 25 (1956), 52, Gomme ad Thuc. 2. 15 (vol. ii, pp. 53 ff.), Möbius, *AM* 61 (1936), 264 ff.

The temple at Agrae, where the Lesser Mysteries were held, was near the fountain Callirhoe (cf. ad *Dem.* 419, and for its location, *RE* 10. 1669–72). For the association of the cult of Demeter and Core with sacred springs cf. also ad *Dem.* 99.

**ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ:** *κολωνός* does not occur in Homer (but cf. *κολώνη*). Cf. Hes. fr. 59. 2.

Temples of Demeter, or Ceres, were commonly built on a hill or eminence. Cf. the Eleusinion at Athens, and Demeter's temple at

Agrae (Möbius, o.c. 259 ff.); the sanctuary of Demeter εὔχλοος at Colonus (S. *OC* 1600 f.); her Parian temple (Hdt. 6. 134, Rubensohn, *AM* 26 (1901), 215; cf. ad *Dem.* 491); Apul. *M.* 6. 1 'in ardui montis vertice'; and for a general discussion and list of other examples (some rather doubtful) Y. Béquignon, o.c. ad *Dem.* 271. To his list add Corinth, Thasos, and Cnidos.

Möbius (l.c.) notes that at Eleusis, Athens, and Agrae there were also temples of Artemis nearby, and shrines of Plouton, and that all were named as sites of Heracles' initiation (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 419).

**273 f.** Objection has been taken to these lines on the ground that the founding of the Mysteries does not occur until after the return of Persephone. But cf. Appendix I.

**273.** **ὄργια:** the word is first used here. Cf. *Dem.* 476, *Th.* 179, etc. It is connected with ἔργον, ἔρδω, etc., and hence meant originally 'rites' in general. Cf. *Dem.* 274 ἔρδοντες, 476 δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν (n. ad loc.). It is used especially of sacrifices (e.g. S. *Ant.* 1013, *Tr.* 765). Here 275 ~ 368–9, which refers explicitly to sacrifices. Then it comes to acquire specific uses in connection with certain cults, e.g. those of Demeter, Dionysus, Cybele, Hecate, Isis and Osiris, and the Bona Dea, and is applied especially to mystery-ceremonies and purification-rituals. On this development cf. N. M. H. van den Burg, *Ἀπόρρητα, δρώμενα, ὄργια* (Diss. Utrecht, Amsterdam, 1939), 91 ff., C. Zijderveld, *Τελετή* (Diss. Utrecht, 1934).

At Eleusis, the ὄργια consist of δεικνύμενα, as well as of δρώμενα and λεγόμενα. Hence they are 'shown': cf. 474 ff. δεῖξεν . . . καὶ ἐπέφραδεν, and the later τελετὴν (κατα)δεικνύναι (Zijderveld, o.c. 64). ὑποθήσομαι here perhaps means 'teach, demonstrate' (cf. ad *Dem.* 149).

**273 f.** The *Hymn* suggests, here and at 368 f., that the Mysteries were still at this period largely a matter of ritual actions (ὄργια, δρώμενα) of propitiation and purification (εὐαγέως . . . ἱλάσκοισθε). Cf. ad *Dem.* 367 ff.

**274.** **εὐαγέως:** this does not occur in Homer (ἄζομαι, ἁγνός). Cf. εὐαγής S. *Ant.* 521 etc., εὐαγέως A.R. 2. 699 etc.; Dieterich, *Kl. Schr.* 95, and Zuntz, *Persephone*, 317 n. 3 (on *IG* 14. 641. 2. 7).

**ἔρδοντες:** M has ἔρδοντες here, ἔρδοντες at 369. The aspirated form is frequent in Homeric manuscripts (also Theognis 690, Epic. ap. Pl. *Euthyphr.* 12 a; cf. Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 329). It is not original (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 187 f.).

**ἱλάσκοισθε:** for the optative in a final clause after a future in the main clause cf. *Od.* 17. 250, Chantraine, *GH* ii. 271. For optative with ἄν in a final clause (with ὡς), cf. *Il.* 19. 328, *Od.* 15. 538, etc.

**275–91.** Demeter resumes her true appearance, and leaves the palace. Metaneira is terrified, and forgets even to pick up the child. His sisters hear him crying, and leaping from their beds rush to the rescue, one taking him up, another rekindling the fire, a third raising their mother up. They gather round the child, washing him and trying to comfort him. But he is not appeased, for he is in the hands of nurses of far worse quality than before.

This scene is one of the most dramatic in the *Hymn*. After the awesome terror of Demeter's transfiguration, the episode of the sisters trying unsuccessfully to cheer their baby brother has a slightly comical effect, which is perhaps deliberate.

**275 ff.** *Epiphany*

Cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff. The second epiphany is on a fuller scale, and takes place at Demeter's departure. Its characteristics are:

1. Supernatural stature and appearance.
2. Loss of old age.
3. Beauty 'breathed around'.
4. Divine fragrance from the goddess's clothes.
5. Divine radiance from her body, filling the house like lightning.
6. Hair flowing down over her shoulders.
7. Fear and speechlessness of the onlooker.

Supernatural stature (cf. ad 188 ff.) and beauty are often conjoined: cf. *Il.* 24. 630 (~ Virg. *A.* 2. 591 f.), *Od.* 6. 151 f., *Aph.* 85, 173 ff., Hdt. 1. 60 (Phye), 7. 12, D.H. 6. 13, Plut. *Arat.* 32, *Sulla* 17, Polyaen. 8. 59, Longus 2. 23. 1, Philostr. *Heroic.* 685, Tac. *H.* 4. 83, Pfister, *RE*, *Supp.* 4. 314, Deubner, *De Incubatione* (Diss. Inaug. Giessen, 1899), 12. They go together with divine radiance in *Aph.* 85 ff., 173 ff., Virg. *A.* 2. 589 ff. (cf. Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2. 275 ff.).

Similarly, youth and beauty (276) are often linked: cf. Tac. *H.* 4. 83, Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 7, 32, Cic. *de div.* 1. 25. 53, Philostr. *Heroic.* 673 p. 141. 25, Kenyon, *Gk. Papyri*, p. 124. 11 ff., Wessely, *Gr. Zauberpap.* p. 36. 634 ff., Plato, *Crito*, 44 a f., Deubner, o.c. 12 f.

For divine fragrance (277 f.) cf. *Herm.* 231, *Hy.* 7. 36, Hes. fr. 140, Theognis 9, A. *PV* 115, E. *Hipp.* 1391, Mosch. 2. 91, A.R. 4. 430 ff., Virg. *A.* 1. 403, Ov. *F.* 5. 375; Pfister, *RE*, *Supp.* 4. 316. 4 ff., *RE* IA. 267 ff., E. Lohmeyer, 'Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch' (*Sb. Heidelb.* 1919, Ph.-hist. Klasse, Abh. 9), W. Schmid, *Philol.* 78 (1923), 179, Eitrem, *Opferritus*, 211 f.

For divine radiance cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff., and also Hes. fr. 43 (a). 73 f. (ad 277 ff.), Deubner, o.c. 10 f., 13. Shining robes are common in epiphanies: cf. *Aph.* 86, *Hy.* 31. 13 f., 32. 8, Pl. *Crito* 44 a f., P. Oxy. 1381. 119 f., Wessely, l.c. above, Matth. 17 : 2, Mark 9 : 3, Luke 9 : 29.

Metaneira's reactions are fear (cf. ad *Dem.* 188 ff.) and speechlessness. For stunned silence after an epiphany cf. A.R. 2. 683 ff., 4. 880 (ad *Dem.* 237 ff.), Moschus *Eur.* 18 (ad *Dem.* 282), Virg. *A.* 2. 774 = 3. 48, 4. 279 f., Ov. *M.* 9. 472, Apul. *M.* 11. 14, Luke 1 : 20 ff., Pfister, *RE*, *Supp.* 4. 318.

**276. γῆρας ἀπωσαμένη:** old age is thought of as if it were something material. Cf. *Il.* 9. 446 and *Nostoi*, fr. 6, where it is 'scraped off'. The slough of a snake was called *γῆρας* (Arist. *HA* 549$^{b}$26, Nic. *Ther.* 31, etc.) and it is perhaps seen as a kind of wrinkled skin.

**περί τ' ἀμφί τε:** cf. *Il.* 17. 760, Hes. *Th.* 848, fr. 150. 28, Call. fr. 260. 13, *Hy.* 4. 300, A.R. 2. 1208, 3. 633, etc. (Theocr. 7. 142 *περὶ . . . ἀμφί*).

**κάλλος ἄητο:** beauty is also seen here as a sort of 'physical emanation'. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 583, fr. 43 (a). 74, *Sc.* 7 f. In *Od.* 23. 156 Athene pours beauty down over Odysseus' head. Cf. *Aph.* 174 f. *κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν ἄμβροτον* (cf. ad *Dem.* 189). In Pl. *Phaedr.* 251 c beauty flows from the beloved in the form of desire. Cf. Virg. *A.* 1. 591 (*adflarat*); Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 73 f.

**277. θυηέντων:** for *θυήεις* of clothes cf. *Od.* 5. 264 etc. This sense ('fragrant') is really secondary, from *βωμὸς θυήεις*, i.e. 'an altar on which sacrifices are made' (cf. Eust. ad *Il.* 23. 148 (1293. 28), Stengel, *Opferbräuche*[3], 4).

**πέπλων:** the plural is not used for a single robe in Homer. Cf. *Dem.* 176 *ἑανῶν*.

**278. φέγγος:** not in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. Pi. *P.* 8. 97 etc., and Attic poetry. In classical Attic prose it seems to be used normally of moonlight (cf. Hsch. s.v. and the modern Greek *φεγγάρι* 'moon'). Occasionally its use seems to reflect the language of the Mysteries: cf. Pi. *O.* 2. 55 f. (ad *Dem.* 489), Ar. *Ran.* 344, 448, 456, and especially Pl. *Phaedr.* 250 b (where the whole passage is in 'mystic' language). See also Introduction, pp. 26 ff. For Pindar's light-imagery cf. Bowra, *Pindar* 35 f. and references ad loc.; also L. W. Lyde, *Contexts in Pindar* (Manchester, 1935).

**ἀπὸ χροός:** cf. ad *Dem.* 189.

**279. θεᾶς:** cf. ad *Dem.* 183. On the position of *θεᾶς*, after a verb in the first trochee, with enjambement, see Appendix V.

**ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι:** cf. ad *Dem.* 302.

**κατενήνοθεν:** not in Homer, and there is no other example of *ἀνήνοθε(ν)*, *ἐνήνοθε(ν)*, or their compounds with a plural subject. They occur five times in Homer: *Il.* 2. 219, 10. 134, 11. 266, *Od.* 8. 365, 17. 270; cf. *Aph.* 62, Hes. *Sc.* 269, and later A.R. 1. 664, 4. 276, Nic. *Al.* 509. The use here is treated as a *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν* by K–G i. 68, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 608, Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 19. The only examples of this in epic are Hes. *Th.* 321, 825 (cf. West ad loc.). There *ἦν* is followed by a plural subject, a common type later. It is very rare for the subject to precede the verb (cf. Pi. *O.* 11. 4 ff., fr. 70b. 9 f.). Here the plural subject is more probably due to the error of supposing the verb to be plural (by analogy with third pl. aor. pass. *-θεν*?). This mistake may have arisen during transmission rather than in the original composition (but cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage* 49). For the singular noun (*κόμη*) cf. *Il.* 1. 197, Archil. 31 West, Anacr. *PMG* 347. 1 f. Contrast E. *Ba.* 695 *καθεῖσαν εἰς ὤμους κόμας*. The plural *κόμαι* is less frequent in Homer (singular ten times; plural three).

The origin and meaning of the verb are uncertain. Frisk s.v. *ἐνθεῖν* interprets *ἐνήνοθε* as reduplicated perfect and pluperfect of *ἐνθεῖν* (Doric, Delph., and Arc. for *ἐλθεῖν*), *ἀνήνοθε* as either a variant form of this, or by haplology for **ἀνενήνοθεν* (cf. Schol. A.R. 1. 664). Another explanation derives these forms from the root of *ἀνθεῖν* (V. Pisani, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 77 (1943–4), 548; see also J. M. Aitchison,

*Glotta* 41 (1963), 273 f.). The original sense of *ἄνθος*, *ἀνθεῖν* may be 'growth, grow' (cf. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 133 f., Aitchison, l.c.). The sense 'grow on the surface' for *ἐπενήνοθε* suits *Il.* 2. 219, 10. 134, and that of 'spring up' suits *ἀνήνοθε* in *Il.* 11. 266, *Od.* 17. 270. *ἐπανθέω* comes to mean 'be on the surface' (cf. LSJ s.v.). Hence *οἷα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν* in *Od.* 8. 365, *Aph.* 62 = 'such as covers gods', and similarly in *Dem.* 279, Hes. *Sc.* 269 'covered the shoulders' would suit. In *Dem.* 279 'grew down (over)' would also give a vivid sense (cf. in a similar transformation-scene *Od.* 6. 231 = 23. 158 *οὔλας ἦκε κόμας*). Later *-ένηνοθε* was commonly seen as an equivalent of the verb substantive (cf. A.R. 1. 664, *Et. M.*, Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. *ἐπενήνοθε*, Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 112).[1] See also Stanford, *Gk. Metaphor*, 111–14, Onians, *Origins of Eur. Thought*, 232.

A stele of the early fifth century B.C. from Eleusis shows Demeter seated, wearing a polos, with her hair flowing down over her shoulders (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 191 f., Fig. 67). The worshippers of Demeter wore their hair unbound at Lycosura, Andania and Alexandria, but this was apparently in contrast to Demeter, who was veiled (cf. ad *Dem.* 42, 176 ff.).

**280. αὐγῆς:** for the corruption (*αὐτῆς* in M) cf. S. *Ph.* 1199, and the frequent interchange of *γῆς* and *τῆς*.

**281. διὲκ:** M has *δι' ἐκ* here (*contra* Allen and Halliday) and at *Dem.* 379, *διεκ* at *Herm.* 158. Cf. the variants at *Ap.* 110, 428 (*teste* Goodwin), *Herm.* 547, *Aph.* 36, and Herodian *περὶ Ἰλ. προσῳδίας* 1. 7 p. 248 Lehrs, La Roche, *HU* 333 ff., K–B i. 297b.

**281 ff.** For Metaneira's reactions cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90, 274 ff. Fear and stunned silence are also characteristic reactions to speeches in epic: cf. *Od.* 4. 703 f., Hes. *Th.* 167 f., and for silence, West ad loc., Bühler, *Moschus, Europa*, 64 f.

**282. δηρὸν . . . χρόνον:** cf. parallels ad loc. and *Hy.* 28. 14, Ibyc. *PMG* 283, A. *Supp.* 516 etc. (always *δᾱρὸν χρόνον* in tragedy). *δηρόν* (or *δαρόν*) alone, as an adverb, is more common in epic and also later.

**283. τηλυγέτοιο:** cf. ad *Dem.* 164.

**ἀπὸ δαπέδου:** in Homer there are no examples of vowel-lengthening before *δάπεδον*. But cf. *Od.* 11. 598, where Arist. *Rhet.* 1411$^{b}$34 has *ἐπὶ δάπεδον δέ* (*ἔπειτα δάπεδόν* (*δε*) some *Odyssey* MSS.). The variant perhaps arose from corruption of ΕΠΕΙΤΑΠΕΔΟΝΔΕ to ΕΠΙΖΑΠΕΔΟΝΔΕ (cf. Ludwich ad Ar. *Av.* 1265). The form *ζάπεδον* occurs in Stesich. P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 4 i 17, Xenoph. 1. 1, *IG* 12 (5) 214 (Paros *c.* 500 B.C.: verse inscription), Hsch. s.v. Cf. also Ar. *Av.* 1265, where Ludwich reads *ζάπεδον metri causa* (the language is elevated: cf. 1263). The *ζ* is secondary, and is perhaps due to reverse analogy with *ζα/δα-* (as intensive prefix). Cf. also *ζάκορος* (for **δάκορος*), and perhaps *ζακρυόεις* (for *δακρυόεις*?); Solmsen, *RhM* 60 (1905), 500 f., *IF* 31 (1912/13), 453 ff., Risch, *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946), 255, Chantraine, *GH* i. 169, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 330, R. Sjölund, *Metrische Kürzung im*

[1] W. F. Wyatt Jr., *Metrical Lengthening in Homer* (Rome, 1969), 116 ff. suggests a root **eno-*, meaning 'move (upwards) from within'.

*Griechischen* (Diss. Uppsala, 1938), 24 ff. Solmsen and Risch take the metrical lengthening to be a post-Homeric feature. But it may have occurred in earlier epic.

**284.** Cf. *Od.* 11. 421 *οἰκτροτάτην δ' ἤκουσα ὅπα Πριάμοιο θυγατρός.*

**ἐλεινήν:** M's *ἐλεεινήν* is hypermetric (cf. Introduction, p. 66). *ἐλεινός* is the Attic form, but the contraction is perfectly possible in epic.

Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 55, however, points out that both the juxtaposition of *φωνή* and *ἀκούειν* (cf. *Dem.* 23 and 57) and the contraction are new to epic, and considers the line an example of the adaptation of traditional diction.

**285. κὰδ' δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' εὐστρώτων λεχέων θόρον:** *εὔστρωτος* does not occur in Homer. Cf. *Aph.* 157, also Hes. *Th.* 798 (*στρωτός*). *Aph.* 157a follows 156b = *Dem.* 194b (cf. ad loc.). Heitsch (*Aphroditehymnos*, 38) argues for the influence of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, on the ground that the new word *εὔστρωτος* is explained in *Aph.* 157b–8a. This is unconvincing. But the *Hymn to Aphrodite* may well be the model for the passage in this *Hymn* on other grounds (cf. ad *Dem.* 188 f.). The poet probably also had Hes. *Th.* 798 in mind: 796 f. ~ *Dem.* 49 f. (also 200 f.?), 802 ff. ~ *Dem.* 354 f.

Moschus *Eur.* 16 ff. is very probably a reminiscence of this passage. Cf. Bühler ad loc., and ad *Dem.* 282, 293.

In *Dem.* 285 the girls jump *down* from their beds, and this is surely what happens in Moschus also. Europa then sits down, *Eur.* 18, and finally jumps up and goes out, 28 ff. Bühler interprets *Eur.* 16 to mean that she sits *up* in bed. It is hard to believe that *ἀπὸ . . . θόρε* can mean this.

**285 ff.** For the list of different activities cf. *Od.* 10. 352 ff., 20. 149 ff. (where 153 f. ~ *Dem.* 106. Cf. also ad *Dem.* 287, 289 f.).

**287. πόcc' ἁπαλοῖcι:** for this rare elision of *ποσσί* cf. *Il.* 20. 497, Hes. *Th.* 3, K–B i. 236, La Roche, *HU* 125. The formula has more point in Hes. l.c. than here, where it is rather 'ornamental'.

**289.** Cf. *AP* 9. 331 *αἱ Νύμφαι τὸν Βάκχον ὅτ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἥλατο κοῦρος | νίψαν ὑπὲρ τέφρης ἄρτι κυλιόμενον.*

**ἐλούεον:** this form does not occur elsewhere, and is perhaps due to contamination of epic *λοέω* and the more recent *λούω* (Schulze, *QE* 65 n. 1). For the Homeric forms cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 34, and in general Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 682. See also Solmsen, *Untersuchungen*, 13, and *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 29 (1888), 98; Jacobsohn, ibid. 42 (1908–9), 156 n. 1.

**289 f.** The sound-pattern, with assonance of *α* and *ε*, is striking. Cf. *Od.* 20. 123 (ad *Dem.* 287), which the poet may have had in mind (124 ~ *Dem.* 285; cf. also ad 285 ff.), and *Dem.* 436. *α* and *ε* are the commonest letters, and such assonance is frequent, especially in formulaic phrases (cf. *Dem.* 67, 72, 78, 90, etc. for *ἀ-*, 230, 284, 409 for *ἐ-*). Lines with predominant initial vowels are also common (*c.* 30 in the *Hymn*: cf. especially 26, 127, 264, 273 f., 289 f., 363, 382, 407, 409, 480 f.), but this is natural in Greek. Later critics express admiration for vowel-patterns: cf. Demetr. *de Eloc.* 69 f., D.H. *de Comp.*

15, 167. 27 ff. U., also Arist. *Poet.* 1458$^{b}$31, and Stanford, *The Sound of Greek* (Univ. of California Press, 1967), especially chaps. 3 and 4. Dionysius considers *α* the most euphonious sound, *η* the next (o.c. 14). It is hard to say how often a vowel-pattern is intentional, or whether the poet on any particular occasion is aware of its effect. (For notable vowel sound effects cf. *Il.* 1. 52, 22. 509, *Od.* 4. 442.) In the case of *Dem.* 289 f. it seems probable that the sound effect was consciously produced, or at least that the poet realized its existence.

For a general discussion of alliteration and assonance in Homer cf. A. Shewan, *CP* 20 (1925), 193 ff. (for assonance of *α* and *ε* cf. 198 ff.). He concludes that such sound effects are often (but not always) intentional, and are especially common in formulaic phrases. Cf. also (on Hesiod) A. J. Carney, *CP* 12 (1917), 225 ff., K. J. McKay, *Symb. Osl.* 36 (1960), 17 ff.

**290.** Words occupying the first half of the hexameter are not common: cf. *Dem.* 31, 85, 364 (*πατρο-/αὐτο-καςίγνητος*) and 436.

**291.** Cf. Pl. *Tim.* 88 d *τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην*, and *Orph. Hy.* 10. 18.

**292–304.** The women propitiate Demeter throughout the night. At dawn they tell Celeus what she has commanded, and he summons the people and orders them to build the temple and altar. The temple is built, and they go home. Demeter sits in it, and remains there, mourning for her daughter.

The epiphany is followed by honours to the goddess (cf. ad *Dem.* 268 ff.). 292 f. refer to a *παννυχίς* in which the women alone took part. This may be a reflection of the *παννυχίς* on Boedromion 20th, after the arrival of the Iacchus procession in later times, in which women and men were apparently separated (Ar. *Ran.* 444–8), and there was dancing around Callichoron and perhaps *αἰςχρολογία* (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff. 3. Iambe). In the *Hymn* the ceremony takes place inside the palace (cf. Mylonas, *Hymn to Demeter*, 79 f.), but this is true also of *Dem.* 192 ff., which certainly refers to ritual performed elsewhere in later times. The atmosphere of dread (*Dem.* 293) might be considered inappropriate to a *παννυχίς* (cf. Ziehen, *RE* 18. 3. 629 f. s.v. *Παννυχίς*), and especially to what we know of the Eleusinian ceremony. But *Dem.* 192 ff. shows a mixture or alternation of solemnity and laughter (cf. ad loc.), and parts of the Eleusinian *παννυχίς* were probably characterized by a more solemn atmosphere. If there is a reference to actual ritual here, it is more likely to refer to the Mysteries than to the Thesmophoria (cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 280, 655, 947 ff., 1151, Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 292) or the Haloa or Stenia (Alciphr. 4. 6. 3, Phot. s.v. *Στήνια*).

**293.** For the women's terror after the epiphany cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90, 275 ff. For fear as a reaction to the Mysteries cf. ad *Dem.* 188–90. C. P. Segal (*HSCP* 75 (1971), 44 n. 22) notes that *πάλλεcθαι* is used in a quasi-metaphorical sense in Homer only at *Il.* 22. 452 and 461, and he assumes that *Dem.* 293 is an imitation of this passage (see notes to *Dem.* 38 ff.).

**294. εὐρυβίῃ:** this does not occur in Homer (cf. Hom. *εὐρυσθενής*, *ὑπέρβιος*). It is especially used of sea-deities (cf. West ad *Th.* 239), and of Poseidon in particular in Pi. *O.* 6. 58, *P.* 2. 12 ( ~ *P.* 4. 173–6 of Periclymenus, son of Poseidon).

**295.** For *ὡς* cf. *Dem.* 172 (n. ad loc.), 416.

**296. πολυπείρονα:** this occurs only here and in Orph. *Arg.* 33. It is perhaps modelled on *δῆμος/λαὸς ἀπείρων* (*Il.* 24. 776, Hes. *Sc.* 472); cf. also *ὅμιλος ἀπείριτος Aph.* 120. The meaning seems to be 'with many boundaries, manifold' (cf. LSJ s.v.). The poet apparently took the *ἀ-* of *ἀπείρων* as intensive. Cf. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 19. For this poet's fondness for *πολυ-* compounds cf. Introduction, p. 61.

**300. ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴσῃ:** the temple grows 'by the dispensation (or decree?) of the deity'. Cf. Maiistas, *Hymn to Sarapis*, 33 ff. (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* p. 70) *cέθεν δ' ἅμα βουλομένοιο ῥηιδίως καὶ νειὸς ἀέξετο καὶ θυόεντες βωμοὶ καὶ τέμενος* (etc.).

The phrase is a vague one for this context, since *δαίμων* is normally used where one is not certain of the exact nature of the divine agency involved. In *δαίμονος αἶcα* the original sense of *δαίμων* ('distributor') is perhaps felt (cf. Scholl. AD ad *Il.* 1. 222, Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 363 ff., Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 12 ff., Chantraine, *Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, i. 50 ff., 81 f.). *αἶcα*, like *μοῖρα*, is what the *δαίμων* dispenses. (In *Il.* 8. 166 *δαίμων* = *μοῖρα*, fate.) On *αἶcα* in Homer cf. B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (Univ. of London, 1965), 249 ff., 257 f. Cf. also *δαιμόνη* meaning 'distribution' in Alcm. *PMG* 65, A. *Eum.* 727 (P. Maas, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachf.* 60 (1932), 285 f.).

**302. βάν ῥ' ἴμεν οἴκαδ' ἕκαcτος:** this represents an 'untraditional' combination of the Homeric *βάν ῥ' ἴμεν* and *ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος* (note double neglect of digamma). Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 52, and on *ἀτάρ* C. J. Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique*, 43 ff.

**ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ:** cf. *Il.* 5. 500, Orph. fr. 268 K., *Lith.* 588, *Dem.* 279; *ξανθοκόμος* Nonn. *D.* 11. 395, *ξανθοφνής* 6. 113; 'flava Ceres', Virg. *G.* 1. 96, Ov. *F.* 4. 424 (Bömer, ad loc.); of Persephone, *AP* 7. 507. The epithet is commonly used of goddesses and heroines in poetry, but is specially suitable to Demeter as the goddess of the ripe corn. Cf. Serv. ad Virg. *G.* 1. 96 ' "flava" dicitur propter aristarum colorem in maturitate'; Ov. *M.* 6. 118 'et te flava comas frugum mitissima mater'; *Am.* 3. 10. 3 'flava Ceres, tenues spicis redimita capillos' (~ 3. 10. 36). As goddess of the young corn she is Demeter *Χλόη* (Paus. 1. 22. 3; Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 33 ff., 312 f.).

In *Il.* 5. 500 the epithet is appropriate to the context of threshing. Here there is an irony, probably unconscious, in the fact that the line introduces the episode of the Famine (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff.). Cf. Lucan, 4. 411 f. 'non proserit ullam flava Ceres segetem.'

Parallel to *ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ* is the Hindu goddess of abundance Gaurī, whose name means simply 'yellow', and is emblematic of the ripened harvest. Her effigies are also painted in this colour. Cf. Frazer, *GB*[3] v. 241.

Just as Demeter's hair is golden like the corn, so the corn-ears are compared to a growth of hair in *Dem.* 454 (cf. ad loc.).

**303.** Cf. *Dem.* 92, 354 ff.

**305–33.** Demeter causes a universal famine. Mankind is threatened with extinction, and the gods with loss of their sacrifices and honours. Zeus sends Iris to ask Demeter to return to Olympus. She does not listen, and he then sends the other gods, who come in turn and promise her gifts and honours. She still refuses to return, until she has seen her daughter again.

The motif of the Famine caused by the anger or disappearance of a deity is common in Greece and elsewhere. Here it is Demeter's anger which causes it, but in another form of the myth it may have been the disappearance of Persephone which made the earth barren, just as her reappearance coincides with the new flowers in spring (*Dem.* 401 ff.), and is followed by the growth of the crops (453 ff., 471 ff.).

In the Arcadian myth of Demeter at Phigaleia, a universal famine is caused by Demeter's withdrawal into a cavern, in anger at Poseidon, with whom she had mated, and also over the rape of her daughter. The human race began to perish, but Pan found Demeter's hiding-place, and Zeus sent the Fates to persuade her to lay aside her anger (Paus. 8. 42).

In the Babylonian myth of Tammuz, when Ishtar goes down to the underworld to look for Tammuz, the forces of reproduction cease to operate and all life is threatened with extinction, until a messenger of the great god Ea is sent to bring her back (Frazer *GB*[3] 5. 8 f.; Pritchard, *ANET*[2] 52 ff., 106 ff.). In the laments for Tammuz, he is himself compared to parched or barren nature (Frazer, o.c. 9 f., S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford, 1914), 10 f.).

The Egyptian myth of Tefnut tells how she withdrew in anger to the desert, and became a lioness (or cat). She was persuaded to return by the magic and eloquence of Thoth (cf. S. West, *JEA* 55 (1969), 161 ff.).

In Hittite mythology, when the god Telepinu flies into a rage and disappears, all nature becomes barren and begins to perish, and the gods also starve. A search for the missing god is instituted. First, the Eagle is sent out, but cannot find him. The Storm-god then looks for him, and then all the other gods, but they are unsuccessful. The Bee is sent to sting him, but this makes him still more angry. Finally, he is pacified by the combined ritual and incantation of the goddess of magic and healing and Man, and returns home. All things are then restored to normal (Pritchard, o.c. 126 ff.).

This Hittite myth shows many similarities with the narrative of the *Hymn*, in particular the references to the gods' perishing of hunger, and to the series of unsuccessful attempts to find Telepinu and bring him back. (In the *Hymn*, it is the third attempt of Zeus which succeeds, a regular motif of folk-tales: cf. Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 510.) The Hittite story of the Sun-god's disappearance also has

some similarities (cf. S. N. Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, 148; O. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 187–8).

In the Ugaritic myth of Baal and Mot, Baal's absence in the underworld causes universal barrenness. 'Anat and Shapash (the sun-goddess) 'go down into the earth' to recover him (cf. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1950), 201 f., 221; S. H. Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology* (Penguin Books, 1963), 84 ff.). In the Poem of Aqhat, the earth is also made barren when Aqhat is killed (Gaster, 257 ff., 295 ff.; Hooke, 89 ff.). For other examples of the disastrous withdrawal, and recovery or return, of a deity in Near-Eastern mythology see G. S. Kirk, *Myth* (Cambridge, 1970), 92, 99, 102, 106, 108 f.

It is notable that in one version of the Greek myth, Demeter also goes down to Hades to find Persephone (cf. *Orph. Hy.* 41. 5, Schol. Pi. *O.* 6. 95 (160), Ov. *M.* 5. 533, *F.* 4. 611 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 251, Lact. *Narr.* 5. 8; also Virg. *G.* 1. 39, Servius ad loc., and the story of Ascalabus, Apollod. 1. 5. 3). Cf. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 440 n. 4, *Hermes* 45 (1910), 515 f., 533; Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 82 ff., Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 43, and Introduction, p. 84.

According to the version later prevalent Demeter rewarded the Eleusinians for their reception of her, and in some accounts for the information which they gave her as to the author and place of the Rape, by the gift of corn and of the arts of agriculture (*Orph. Hy.* 41. 7, Orph. frr. 49. 103 ff., 51). Isocrates (*Paneg.* 28) says that Demeter was well disposed to the people of Attica because of benefits whose nature may only be revealed to the initiated, and so gave them the Mysteries and the gift of agriculture. These benefits cannot simply be Demeter's reception at Eleusis (as Wehrli supposes, *ARW* 31 (1934), 78 n. 1, referring especially to the proceedings in *Dem.* 192 ff.), since this was not secret. More probably it refers to the Orphic version(s), and the revelations made to Demeter by the Eleusinians about the Rape (although this is also referred to by Pausanias 1. 14. 3, and others).

The *Hymn*, in contrast, plainly presupposes the presence of agriculture. This suits the Homeric epic context. But the myth of Demeter's gift of corn may go back before this, and it is notable that an Orphic version (which reflects local tradition) again preserves it. Other local legends made Demeter learn the truth about the Rape from the local inhabitants, whom she then rewards in various ways (cf. ad *Dem.* 75). It is possible that *Dem.* 471 ff. reflects this version, since Demeter makes the corn grow, and immediately afterwards teaches the princes her cult (cf. Wehrli, o.c. 87 ff., Kerényi, o.c. 120 f., 127). An account of the origin of the fruits of the earth should form some part of the original mythology of Demeter and Persephone. The prominence of Triptolemus as the first cultivator apparently dates from the sixth century B.C. (cf. ad *Dem.* 153), but reflects the importance of the agricultural element in the original cult (cf. Nilsson, *ARW* 32 (1935), 86).

The *Hymn* is evidently combining two separate stories, the account of Demeter's visit to Eleusis and gift of the Mysteries (and/or

agriculture) to the inhabitants, and the Famine-motif. Her original purpose in visiting Eleusis, to find her daughter, is removed in the *Hymn*, and her visit is consequently less clearly motivated. The second theme of the Famine interrupts the progress of the first, since it postpones the communication of the Mysteries which is promised in *Dem.* 273 f. The two themes do not easily fit together, as in one the return of Persephone leads to the gift of the crops for the first time, in the other to their restoration. Hence the Famine has no place in the Orphic version(s) (cf. Wehrli, o.c. 87 ff.).

Diodorus (5. 68) presents a rationalized solution to the inconsistency. According to this account, corn grew wild, and was discovered by Demeter. After the Rape, she destroyed it, and on the Return of Persephone she restored it and gave it to Triptolemus to sow. Ovid, perhaps following a similar Hellenistic version, also combines the two stories (*F.* 4. 559 f., 617, *M.* 5. 646 f., cf. Bomer ad *Fasti* l.c., Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941), 263 ff.).

**305. ἐπὶ χθόνα:** for the accusative cf. *Od.* 23. 371, *Ap.* 69, Hes. *Th.* 95, 187, 531, *Op.* 11, 487, 505. The dative is commoner in Homer.

**306. ἀνθρώποις:** the short form occurs nowhere in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey* (at the beginning of the verse). Cf. parallels ad loc., and ad *Dem.* 11.

**κύνατον:** cf. ad *Dem.* 90, and *κύντερον* of the belly, *Od.* 7. 216, as here of famine.

**308. καμπύλ' ἄροτρα:** cf. Sol. 1. 48 and *εὐκαμπὲς ἄροτρον* Mosch. 2. 81, Orph. fr. 280. 3 K., 'curvi . . . aratri' Lucr. 5. 933 (~ 6. 1253, Virg. *G.* 1. 494), also Moschion fr. 6. 9 *ἀρότροις καμπύλοις*? (ex coni. Nauck).

**μάτην:** not in Homer or Hesiod (*μάψ, αὔτως*). Cf. Theognis 523, Solon 23. 19 etc.

**εἶλκον:** the two forms *ἕλκον* and *εἷλκον* are frequently variants in Homeric manuscripts. The augmented form is more common, but editors usually follow Aristarchus (at *Il.* 4. 213) in reading the unaugmented form. There is however no necessity to alter the text here.

**ἀρούραις:** for the local dative cf. ad *Dem.* 99. For the ending *-αις* (at the end of a line) cf. ad *Dem.* 40 f.

**308 f.** The two lines are parallel in structure, and form an expansion of 306 f.

**310–13. καί νύ κε . . . εἰ μή:** this is very common in Homer (twenty-seven times) and early epic. Cf. especially Hes. *Th.* 836 ff. For *καί νύ κεν . . . καί κεν . . . εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (cf. ad *Dem.* 13 f., 38) cf. *Il.* 8. 131 f., *Dem.* 242–3.

**311. λιμοῦ ὑπ' ἀργαλέης:** for the feminine cf. Call. fr. 346 Pf., Callisth. ap. Ath. 10. 452 b, Doric and late Greek. It may be due to influence from the formula *νούσῳ/ου ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ/ης* (*Il.* 13. 667, Hes. *Sc.* 43). Cf. Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 4 f.

**311 f.** The gods are dependent on the *τιμαί* and sacrifices of mortals. Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 190 c, where the gods refrain from killing the human race when they misbehave: *αἱ τιμαὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν*

*ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίζετο*. Cf. also Ar. *Av.* 183 ff., *Nub.* 618 ff. The Hittite myth of Telepinu has a similar motif (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff.). Cf. also the tale of Ullikummi (*ANET*² 124 f.), where the gods, deprived of sacrifices, grow dizzy and faint, and for further Near-Eastern parallels, P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966), 56 f.

Deprivation or absence of his *τιμή* is detrimental to a god. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 392 ff., *Herm.* 167 ff., E. *IT* 1267 ff., 1280, Nonn. *D.* 12. 23 ff., Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 58 ff., A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, 63.

The *τιμή* which men pay the gods consists in gifts, sacrifices, etc. Cf. *Dem.* 353, 366 ff., Keyssner, o.c. 60 f. *γέρας* and *τιμή* are often coupled, and used more or less synonymously: cf. Hes. *Th.* 393 (West ad loc.), 396, 426 f., *Hy.* 29. 4. The genitive of *γέρας* is not found in Homer (cf. *Th.* 393, 396).

**312.** θυσιῶν: not in Homer or Hesiod (*θύος*). Cf. *Dem.* 368 (n. ad loc.), Pi. *P.* 5. 86, etc., Hdt., Attic.

ἤμερσε: this is used only here with double accusative, normally with accusative and genitive (*Od.* 8. 64, where the accusative dual is a variant reading, etc.).

**312.** Zeus seems to be unaware at first of what is going on. Cf., for example, *Iliad* 14. 159 ff. For the ambiguity of his role cf. ad *Dem.* 3. He is not seen as all-knowing and all-powerful here: his first two attempts to persuade Demeter to relent are unsuccessful. But in the end, his will is fulfilled (cf. *Dem.* 441 ff.).

**314–23.** These lines show the traditional *schema* of a messenger's journey (cf. Arend, *Typische Scenen*, 54 ff., esp. 56 n. 3: Botschaft). Cf. *Dem.* 334 ff., 441 ff.

1. Zeus addresses messenger: 314–15, 335–9, 441–7.
2. Messenger obeys: 316–17a, 340a, 448.
3. Journey: 317b, 340b–1, 449.
4. Arrival: 318 (*ἵκετο . . .*), 450 (*ἷξε . . .*).
5. Situation: 319 (*εὗρεν δ' . . .*), 342–5 (*τέτμε δὲ . . .*), cf. ad *Dem.* 179.
6. Speech: 320–3, 346–56, 459–69.
7. The person visited obeys (or does not do so): 324 (*οὐκ ἐπεπείθετο*), 357–8 (*οὐδ' ἀπίθησε*), 470 (*οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν*).

These three cases differ from the normal epic tradition, in that the poet avoids the use of direct speech by Zeus (cf. also 325 ff., and 172–3). The only case of omission of direct speech in Homer occurs at *Il.* 7. 416, where a message is not repeated by a herald (cf. *Ap.* 110 ff., and Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 340). Cf. Hes. *Th.* 392 ff. (and similarly 475–6, West ad loc.), *Op.* 60 ff., *Ap.* 102 ff., K–G ii. 542 f., L. R. Palmer in Wace–Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, 157. In *Dem.* 316, 448 *ὣς ἔφατο* is used, as if a speech had preceded: cf. Hes. *Op.* 69, A.R. 4. 236, 1121. In Homer this occurs only inside another speech: *Il.* 23. 149, *Od.* 8. 570 = 13. 178. In the *Hymn* the poet is perhaps

diverging from normal epic convention to avoid making his narrative too long. In contrast, however, he repeats the account of the Rape in full (414 ff.). The avoidance of direct speech also adds to the remoteness of Zeus as supreme god.

It is rare for a messenger to add his own injunction or comments to a message, as is the case in *Dem.* 323, 467 ff. Cf. *Il.* 2. 33 f. (Leaf ad loc.), 8. 423 f., *Od.* 5. 100 ff., Page l.c. above.

For Iris' journey cf. especially *Il.* 24. 77 ff. (ad *Dem.* 321).

In P. Harris 6, a fragment of a hexameter poem of uncertain date, Zeus sends Hermes to entreat Demeter and offer her honours (cf. Introduction, pp. 70 f.).

**314. Ἶριν . . . χρυσόπτερον:** Iris has wings on her heels: cf. *ποδήνεμος . . . Ἶρις* (*Il.* 2. 786 etc.), and the representations of flying figures in archaic art. Iris is used as messenger to Demeter on earth, Hermes for the underworld (*Dem.* 335). Cf. E. Maass, *IF* 1 (1891/2), 157 ff.

**315. πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν:** this formula occurs in the 'Continuation' of the *Theogony*, which is probably of sixth-century date, and the line may itself be later than its context (cf. West ad *Th.* 881–1020, 907–11). Cf. *ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν* Hes. frr. 25. 39, 136. 2. Note the neglect of digamma with *εἶδος*: cf. Appendix II, B (6), and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 54. *πολυήρατον* is not found in the *Iliad*, but occurs four times in the *Odyssey*, three times in Hesiod, and twice in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, which suggests that it is 'increasingly favoured by the poets' (Hoekstra).

**316. Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι:** the full formula does not occur in Homer. For such 'combination-formulae' cf. ad *Dem.* 3, 321, 396, and Introduction, pp. 46 ff.

**317. μεσσηγύ:** Ilgen read the substantive (as in *Ap.* 108), but this is probably unnecessary.

**319. κυανόπεπλον:** this is used of Demeter at *Dem.* 360, 374 and probably 442. Cf. *Dem.* 42, 182–3. It is used of Leto at Hes. *Th.* 406 (cf. West ad loc.), *Orph. Hy.* 35. 1, for reasons which are less obvious. Cf. also A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae*, Nr. 41 b 6 (Megara, i–ii A.D.).

**321. πατὴρ . . . εἰδώς:** this is a combination of two Zeus-formulae (cf. ad *Dem.* 3, 316). *Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς* occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 24. 88), in a passage which may have been in the poet's mind: Zeus sends Iris to summon Thetis (*Il.* 24. 78 *μεσσηγύς* ~ *Dem.* 317, 83 *εὗρε δ'* ~ 319, 93 f. *κάλυμμ' . . . κυάνεον* ~ 319, 99b ~ 325). It also occurs three times in the Prometheus myth in the *Theogony* (545, 550, 561) and in frr. 141. 26, 234. 2, *Aph.* 43.

The formula used here is a doublet of *βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς* (which is used in *Dem.* 460) and *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (cf. ad *Dem.* 3), *Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.*

**321 ff.** There is probably an echo of these lines in the Epidaurian *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (*IG* 4. 1². 131 = *PMG* 935), 15 ff. (Zeus speaks):

*Μάτηρ, ἄπιθ' εἰς θεούς,* 15
*καὶ μὴ κατ' ὄρη πλαν[ῶ] . . .*
†*καὶ οὐκ ἄπειμι εἰς θεούς*† 19
*ἂν μὴ τὰ μέρη λάβω,* 20
*τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ὠρανῶ,*
*τὸ δ' ἥμισυ γαίας,*
*πόντω τὸ τρίτον μέρος·*
*χοὕτως ἀπελεύσομαι.*

Cf. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, ad loc., and West, *CQ* 20 (1970), 212 ff.

**322. μετὰ φῦλα . . . αἰειγενετάων:** cf. ad *Dem.* 36.

**323.** Cf. ad *Dem.* 314–23. The underlying idea here is that the word of Zeus must be fulfilled: cf. ad *Dem.* 466, *Il.* 1. 524 ff. (cf. 527 *οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον*); Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 528.

**325 ff.** In Philicus' *Hymn* the gods come to Demeter and attempt to persuade her to relent, offering gifts and honours (cf. ad *Dem.* 327 f.).

**325. πατήρ:** this is a satisfactory addition. It may have dropped out after *ἔπειτα*. For *πατήρ* alone of Zeus cf. *Il.* 8. 69, 11. 80, etc.

**θεούς:** for the synizesis cf. ad *Dem.* 55, and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 49, 58 n. 5.

The formula *μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες* occurs once in the *Iliad* (24. 99), and four times in the *Odyssey*, always in the nominative.

**326. ἐπιπροΐαλλεν:** the verb is used only once in Homer (*Il.* 11. 628), of bringing up a table. One would expect rather *ἐπιπροέηκε*: cf. *Il.* 9. 516 *ἄνδρας δὲ λίσσεσθαι ἐπιπροέηκεν ἀρίστους*. But the poet perhaps wanted an imperfect of the same metrical form.

**327. δίδον:** this form is not Homeric (*δίδοσαν*). Cf. *ἔδιδον Dem.* 437, Hes. *Op.* 139 Rz. (*ἐδίδων, ἐδίδουν* codd.), and *ἔδον* Hes. *Th.* 30 (Hom. *ἔδοσαν*). These forms are older than the Homeric (and Attic–Ionic) ones. *ἔδιδον* is used in most dialects outside Attic–Ionic (cf. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, § 340. 4). Cf. A. Davies, *Glotta* 42 (1964), 145 ff., who concludes that it is not necessarily borrowed here from Hesiod, and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 57.

**327 f.** When the gods receive their *τιμαί* from other gods (usually from Zeus), the regular expressions for this are *ἔδωκεν, ἔπορεν δῶρα, γέρας*, etc. Cf. *Herm.* 470 ff. *ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ τιμάς . . .* (where Allen's punctuation, a colon after *δῶρα*, is surely wrong), *Dem.* 443 f., 461 f., *Aph.* 29 ff., Hes. *Th.* 399 ff., 412 f., Theognis 1386 ff., *Orph. Hy.* 57. 9 ff., etc., Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 56 ff. Here West's deletion of *θ'* in 328 would make 328 epexegetic to 327, as in Hes. *Th.* 412 f. The false insertion of a connecting particle is a well-known form of corruption. But *Herm.* 470 f. supports M's text. Cf. also ad *Dem.* 311 f. (*γέρας* and *τιμή*). In Philicus' *Hymn τιμαί* are offered to Demeter, and the gods also offer presents (col. ii. 33, 60 f., Körte). Philicus perhaps has the *Homeric Hymn* in mind here (cf. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 559; Walton, *HTR* 45 (1952), 107 n. 7).

**328. τιμάς:** *τιμή* is always singular in Homer. For the plural cf. *Dem.* 353, 366, 443, 461, *Herm.* 471, Hes. *Th.* 74, 112, 452, 882, 885, *Op.* 138.

**ἅς κεν ἕλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν:** M has *ἐθέλοιτο . . . ἑλέσθαι*. The middle of *ἐθέλειν* is nowhere found. The poet uses *σχήσεσθα* (*Dem.* 366), which is also an anomalous form. But Hermann's conjecture seems the most likely solution (cf. *Dem.* 444). *ἑλέσθαι* might derive from a marginal *ἕλοιτο*, as a correction to *ἐθέλοιτο*. Allen's *βόλεσθαι* is rare in Homer (*Il.* 11. 319, *Od.* 1. 234, 16. 387).

For the expression 'honours amongst the gods' cf. *Dem.* 366, 443 f., 461 f., *Od.* 13. 128, Hes. *Th.* 393 f. A god's *τιμή* is allotted to him by the gods, and held amongst them (cf. ad *Dem.* 85–6), although it is dependent also on the payment of what is due to him by men. Cf. e.g. *Od.* 13. 128 f.

> *Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐκέτ' ἐγώ γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*
> *τιμήεις ἔσομαι, ὅτε με βροτοὶ οὔ τι τίουσι . . .*

and Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 60 f.

**329.** Brunck's change (cf. *Il.* 5. 484, 15. 409, 17. 42, etc. for variation of *η/ου* in manuscripts) is unnecessary.

**331. ἔφασκε:** the augmented form is normal in Homer. *φάσκε* is used only at the beginning of the verse, in *Od.* 24. 75, Hes. *Th.* 209.

**θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο:** cf. ad *Dem.* 231.

**334–74.** Finally Zeus sends Hermes to Hades to fetch Persephone. He goes and finds them sitting together. He delivers his message. Hades smiles and orders Persephone to go, consoling her and promising her honours and rule over all things on earth. She leaps up joyfully, but Hades gives her a pomegranate-seed to eat, to make her return to him.

**334 ff.** Hermes is the go-between of the upper and lower worlds. Cf. especially *Herm.* 572. For his role as persuader (*Dem.* 336) cf. *Herm.* 317 f. He is shown being dispatched by Zeus to fetch Persephone on a relief from Delos of the early fourth century B.C., on which Demeter, Persephone and another goddess (Rhea or Hecate?) are also depicted (cf. Picard, *BCH* 55 (1931), 11 ff., *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, La Sculpture III (Paris, 1948), 166, 240, fig. 79).

For other possible representations of Hermes' mission see K. Schauenburg, *Jahrb. des d. arch. Inst.* 73 (1958), 49 and 62–4. He is shown assisting at the Anodos of Core on Beazley, *ARV*² 1012. 1 (cf. ad *Dem.* 24–6). Cf. also Metzger, *Recherches*, 11 ff. for other vase-paintings of the scene,[1] and for sarcophagi C. Robert, *Ant. Sarkophag-reliefs*, iii. 3, p. 456, Pl. 120, Nos. 363, 365, Pl. 128, No. 409a.

On the *schema* of his journey see notes to *Dem.* 314–23.

**335. Ἔρεβος:** 'the darkness', and so associated with *ζόφος* (*Dem.* 337, *Od.* 12. 81, 20. 356, Hes. *Th.* 658) and opposed to light (*Dem.* 338, Hes. *Th.* 669, S. *Aj.* 394–5). LSJ s.v. suggest that Erebos and Hades are distinguished in *Il.* 8. 367 f., and that Erebos is a passage between earth and Hades. But there is no reason to assume this.

[1] Cf. also perhaps *ARV*² 205. 119, *c.* 490 B.C. (G. Schwarz, *Arch. Anz.* 1971, 178 ff.), and P. Zanker, *Wandel d. Hermesgestalt in d. Att. Vasenmalerei* (Bonn, 1965), 81 ff.

**χρυσόρραπιν:** used of Hermes in the *Odyssey* and *Hymns* (*Od.* 5. 87 etc.). The wand is described in *Herm.* 528 ff. Circe also has a magic wand (*Od.* 10. 293, 389), and compare the golden sceptre of Teiresias (11. 91) and Minos (11. 568) in the underworld, Norden, *Aeneis VI*, p. 172 n. 2, F. J. M. de Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Gent, 1927), 65 f.

**Ἀργειφόντην:** the ancient explanation 'slayer of Argos' is supported by Kretschmer (*Glotta* 10 (1919), 45 ff.; 24 (1936), 236 f.; 27 (1939), 33). Cf. also J. Chittenden, *AJA* 52 (1948), 24 ff. The phrase is adapted from the Homeric nominative formula *χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης*.

**337. ἁγνήν:** cf. ad *Dem.* 203. It is used of Persephone in *Od.* 11. 386, *Orph. Hy.* 24. 11, 43. 7, *Prol.* 6, Orac. ap. Phlegon, *FGH* 257. 36, pp. 1180–1, verses 7, 9, 35; and as her title at Andania in Messenia: Paus. 4. 33. 4, *IG* 5. 1. 1390. 84 ff. = *SIG*³ 736. Cf. also *IG* 14. 641. 2. 6 (Zuntz, *Persephone*, 317), *RE* 16. 1268. 44 ff., Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 421 n. 4, and ad *Dem.* 99.

**337 f. ἀπὸ ζόφου . . . ἐς φάος:** cf. West ad *Th.* 653, and *Th.* 669, Parm. fr. 1. 9–10.

**ἠερόεντος:** when used of the underworld, this probably means 'dark'. *ἀήρ* in early epic means mist, darkness, etc. (cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 119, 697).

**338. μετὰ δαίμονας:** in Homer only at *Il.* 1. 222. The plural occurs only three times in Homer: cf. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods*, 308, and in later poetry, *Herm.* 381, *Ap.* 11, Pi. *O.* 1. 35, etc.

**ὄφρα ἑ μήτηρ:** on the position of *ἑ* cf. ad *Dem.* 202.

**339. μεταλλήξειε χόλοιο:** this compound, and the formula, occur in Homer three times in the Embassy (*Il.* 9. 157, 261, 299), and nowhere else (cf. ad *Dem.* 82 f., etc.). There most manuscripts have -λλ-, and this was read by Aristarchus at *Il.* 9. 299 (cf. *Od.* 12. 224 *ἀπολλήξειαν*). The reduplication is normal after loss of a sigma (Chantraine, *GH* i. 176) and as M constantly neglects a double consonant (e.g. *Dem.* 14, 40, 158, 313) -λλ- should be read here also. For the phrase cf. also *Dem.* 410, Hes. *Th.* 221.

**340. Ἑρμῆς:** the normal form in Homer is *Ἑρμείας*, but the contracted form occurs at *Il.* 20. 72 and four times in the *Odyssey*. It is frequent in the *Hymn to Hermes*. Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 444, 938, fr. 1. 21, 170.

**ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης:** 'down into the hiding-places (hidden places) of the earth' (and so of a cavern or monster's lair in Hes. *Th.* 300, 334, 483; cf. fr. 204. 130). In Homer and Hesiod the formula is found in the dative.

**342. τόν γε ἄνακτα:** 'him, the lord'. The article still shows traces of its pronominal force: cf. Monro, *HG*² § 261. 3 (a), Chantraine, *GH* ii. 164, and the formulae *τοῖο ἄνακτος*, *εὗρε δὲ τόν γε*.

**δόμων ἔντοσθεν:** on the house of Hades cf. ad *Dem.* 379.

**343.** This picture of Hades sitting on the couch with Persephone makes one think of representations of the two together in art. Cf. e.g. the Lysimachides relief (Farnell, *Cults*, iii, Plate I), where a banquet-scene is shown. There the god reclines and his wife sits. Cf.

also the British Museum cylix on which Hades is shown offering Persephone a cup (Farnell, Plate VIII*a*).

**αἰδοίῃ:** of Persephone also at *Dem.* 486. Cf. notes to *Dem.* 190, 214.

**344–5.** The lines are corrupt, and no satisfactory solution has been proposed. *ἀτλήτων* does not make sense, and the correption is abnormal in epic: it usually occurs only where the word would not otherwise fit the hexameter (with *τλ* only once in Homer, *cχετλίη Il.* 3. 414; but synizesis would be possible here also). The reference to Demeter (reading *ἡ δ'*) is not wanted here, and the emendation *ἀποτηλοῦ* is out of place. (In *Dem.* 355 *ἀπάνευθε* is contrasted with *οὐδὲ θεοῖcι μίcγεται*. Cf. 92, 303.) A possible line would be to take 345 as referring to the *θεῶν βουλή* (cf. *Il.* 7. 45, and ad *Dem.* 9), reading e.g. *ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀτλήτοις(?) ἔργοις οἷα . . . μητίcετο βουλή* (cf. Ludwich, Humbert. *οἷα* could have been lost after *ἔργοις*). This however is still awkward after *ἀεκαζομένη*, and *ἀτλήτοις* remains unsatisfactory. *θεῶν μακάρων* would also be displaced from its normal formulaic position (*Il.* 1. 339 etc.).

**μητίcετο:** for this form of thematic aorist with sigma cf. Monro, *HG*² § 41, Chantraine, *GH* i. 416 ff. In Homer it occurs mostly with *βαίνω*, *δύω*, and their compounds, and in imperatives and infinitives (where it is artificial, and partly *metri gratia*). It was taken as imperfect by some ancient grammarians (Schol. A ad *Il.* 1. 496), and this could fit *Od.* 10. 107, also perhaps 2. 388 etc. Cf. Wackernagel, *Verm. Beitr.* 46 ff., P. Wahrmann, *Festschr. Kretschmer*, 307. One should perhaps read *μητίcατο* here.

**347. Ἄιδη:** this is the Attic form (Homeric *Ἀΐδηc*). The aspirate could be due to corruption during transmission, and it is questionable whether the contraction necessarily points to Attic composition (cf. Wackernagel, *Spr. Unt.* 179). There is no parallel for it in Homer, but can one exclude the possibility that it was a natural development of the (post-Homeric?) epic *Kunstsprache*? For the contraction cf. also Pi. *P.* 4. 44 *Ἄιδα* (Doric *Ἀΐδαc*). The etymology is uncertain (cf. Frisk s.v.; also Wackernagel, *Verm. Beitr.* 44 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 765 ff.; Solmsen, *Unters.* 74 ff., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 266).

Hermann wanted to read *Ἀΐδη*, and compared *Βορέηc* (*Il.* 9. 5, 23. 195), *νέα* (*Od.* 9. 283) at the beginning of the line. But the parallel does not hold (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 36, 103).

**κυανοχαῖτα:** in Homer usually of Poseidon (*Il.* 13. 563 etc.), also of Boreas as a horse (*Il.* 20. 224). Cf. Hes. *Th.* 278 (Poseidon as father of Pegasus and Chrysaor), *Thebais* fr. 4, Hes. *Sc.* 120 (the horse Areion: cf. Paus. 8. 25. 8), Antim. fr. 36 W.

Hades and Poseidon share certain characteristics, and are both associated with horses: cf. ad *Dem.* 18, and Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos*, 87 ff.

Hades is also *κυάνεοc* in Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1046 b 84, and *μελαγχαίταc* in E. *Alc.* 439.

**348. Ζεύc με πατήρ:** M has *cε*, but *με* is surely right. Cf. *Il.* 11. 201 and *Dem.* 335 ff. Allen and Halliday take *ἐξαγαγεῖν* as 'let go', which is impossible.

The pronoun is brought forward: cf. ad *Dem.* 202.

**ἤνωγεν:** one would have rather expected the perfect here, but *ἄνωγον*, *ἤνωγον* (*Il.* 5. 805, 9. 578, etc.) were probably treated as past tenses of *ἀνώγω* (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 312).

**ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν:** this formula occurs in Homer only in the Nekyia, always in the nominative (cf. Hes. fr. 280. 12, *Orph. Hy.* 41. 5, 44. 6, 46. 6, fr. 32 d 6 K.). It is a doublet of *ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια* (etc.), which however only occurs when coupled with Hades (*Il.* 9. 569 etc.). Cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 72.

**349. Ἐρέβευσφι:** this anomalous form is well attested at *Il.* 9. 572 and Hes. *Th.* 669, with *-εσφι* as variant. *Ἐρέβεσφι* is attested by Theognostus, *An. Ox.* 2. 160. 20 Cramer (cf. West ad Hes. l.c.). As the use of *-φι* had become artificial by the time of Homer M's reading may be kept. Cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 234 ff. especially 241 n. 1, where he comments on *Ἐρέβευσφι* and *ὀχέεσφι* (*Il.* 5. 722): 'on n'ose pas considérer comme homériques certaines formes singulières . . . Mais il n'est pas exclu que des aèdes aient déjà utilisé ces formes.' This leaves the question nicely balanced.

**351. ἀθανάτοις παύσειεν:** for the dative cf. *Il.* 14. 50, Hdt. 1. 118, etc., E. *IA* 1609 (*πόσει πάρες χόλον*), etc.

The intransitive use of *παύω* is elsewhere normally found only with the imperative (Hes. *Sc.* 449 etc.). It occurs as a v.l. in *Od.* 4. 659 (most manuscripts) and *Hy.* 33. 14. Cf. also E. *Hel.* 1319 f. (in the ode on the rape of Core): *δρομαίων δ' ὅτε πολυπλανήτων μάτηρ ἔπαυσε πόνων* (Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 18, and Kannicht ad loc.; cf. *Dem.* 351), *Hec.* 917 *μολπᾶν δ' ἀπὸ καὶ θυσιᾶν καταπαύσας* (both these examples have been variously emended). Possibly the poet here had the various Homeric parallels (see ad loc.) in mind, and also examples like *Il.* 4. 191, *Od.* 4. 35, where *παύω* is used transitively with genitive, and direct object understood (cf. Kannicht, l.c. above).

**μήδεται ἔργον:** the neglect of the digamma here is due to formula-adaptation. Cf. *Od.* 3. 261 (etc.) and *μήσεαι ἔργον* (*Od.* 11. 474); Hoekstra, *Mnem.* sér. 4, 10 (1957), 216.

**352. φῦλ' ἀμενηνὰ καμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων:** in Homer *ἀμενηνός* is used of the dead (*Od.* 10. 521, 536, 11. 29, 49), of dreams (19. 562), or of someone incapacitated (*Il.* 5. 887; cf. *Aph.* 188). For the verb cf. *Il.* 13. 562. On the non-Homeric *καμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων* cf. ad *Dem.* 113. It is a doublet of *καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*Il.* 6. 123 etc.). *φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων* occurs in Homer only in the *Odyssey*, and is common in the *Hymns* and Hesiod (cf. *φῦλα* (*κατα*)*θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*). Here, both epithets are 'active': they emphasize the helplessness of men. Cf. also Ar. *Av.* 686.

**353.** Cf. Dem. 306 f.

**καταφθινύθουσα:** the compound verb does not occur in Homer or Hesiod (*φθινύθειν* etc. *Il.* 2. 346 etc., *καταφθιμένοιο* etc. *Il.* 22. 288 etc.). Cf. Emp. fr. 111. 3 f. *ἀνέμων μένος οἵ τ' . . . καταφθινύθουσιν* ἀρούρας* (~ Hes. *Th.* 878 f.: cf. ad *Dem.* 352).

**353 f. τιμὰς ἀθανάτων:** cf. ad *Dem.* 311 f., 328.

**354 ff.:** cf. Hes. *Th.* 802 ff., *Dem.* 28, 92, 303, *Ap.* 344–8.

**355 f.** Cf. *Dem.* 28 *ἥστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηῷ.*

**θυώδεος . . . νηοῦ:** cf. also Pi. *O.* 7. 32, Plut. *Mor.* 437 c.

**356. κραναὸν πτολίεθρον:** in Homer the epithet is always used of Ithaca (*Il.* 3. 201 etc.). Cf. *αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον* (*Il.* 2. 538 etc.), *αἰπεινὸν πτολίεθρον* (*Il.* 15. 257), etc.

**357 f.** Hades smiles 'with his eyebrows', knowing what is to come, and that he will not lose Persephone altogether. Hades was normally *ἀμείδητος*: cf. *AP* 7. 439. 3, and Claudian, *RP* 2. 313–14 'facili passus mollescere risu, dissimilisque sui' (from *Dem.* 357 f.? cf. Introduction, p. 73). Cf. E. *Alc.* 261–2 *ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυανανγέσι βλέπων πτερωτὸς Ἅιδας*; Hermesianax fr. 7. 9 (Powell) *Κώκυτόν τ' ἀθέμιστον ὑπ' ὀφρύσι μειδήσαντα* (*ἐπ'* A: *ὑπ'* Ruhnken, al.; cf. Agar, *CR* 31 (1917), 120). For a more gentle smile with, or *under*, the eyebrows cf. Pi. *P.* 9. 38, A.R. 3. 1024. In *Il.* 15. 101 f. Hera laughs with her lips (*χείλεσιν* ~ *Dem.* 358 *ὀφρύσιν**) but her brow does not relax, showing that she is angry. Cf. perhaps Aphrodite's 'false smile'(?) in Theocr. 1. 95 f. (Gow ad loc., Ogilvie, *JHS* 82 (1962), 107, *CQ* 10 (1960), 37 ff.).

On the 'euphemistic' portrayal of Hades in the *Hymn* cf. ad *Dem.* 83 ff., also 360–9, 361.

**358. ὀφρύσιν:** usually with *ὑπό* or *ἐπί* in Homer (*Il.* 1. 528, 13. 88, etc.) but cf. *Od.* 12. 194, also *Herm.* 279, Pi. *P.* 9. 38.

**ἀπίθησε . . . ἐφετμῇς:** Allen and Halliday read the genitive, because this is used at *Dem.* 448 (cf. ad loc.). In Homer *ἀπιθεῖν* always takes the dative (*Il.* 1. 220 etc.). Despite the variation at *Dem.* 448, the text should be retained here, as it conforms to normal use. For a similar variation cf. *Dem.* 456, 473.

**Διὸς βασιλῆος:** Homer never uses *βασιλεύς* of the gods, only *ἄναξ*, and Zeus is never 'king of the gods', only *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (*Il.* 1. 544 etc.). Hesiod, on the other hand, always uses *βασιλεύς* of kingship in heaven (*Th.* 486, 886, 923, *Op.* 668). The phrase *Ζεὺς* (*θεῶν* etc.) *βασιλεύς* occurs first there: cf. *Th.* 886 (where it has a strong predicative sense: West ad loc.), *Op.* 668, also *Th.* 923, fr. 308, *Cypr.* fr. 7. 3, *Theb.* fr. 3. 3, West ad *Th.* 883.

Later, it occurs as a cult-title in Athens, Ionia, and elsewhere (Roscher, 6. 608 f.), and also in lyric and Attic poetry. It was probably an everyday phrase in spoken Attic. Cf. Fraenkel ad A. *Ag.* 355, Wackernagel, *Spr. Unt.* 210, Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i. 140.

On Zeus-formulae in the *Hymn* cf. Introduction, pp. 47, 49. See also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 49 f. on this particular instance.

**359. δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ:** this is normally an epithet of men in Homer, in contrast to *περίφρων* of women (cf. ad *Dem.* 370). But cf. *Od.* 15. 356 *κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχοιο δαΐφρονος*, and later Pi. *P.* 9. 84 f., Bacch. 5. 122 ff. (Artemis), 137 (Althaea).

**360–9.** Hades' speech to Persephone contains a *consolatio* with the same pattern as that of *Dem.* 82 ff. Cf. ad loc.

Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 534 f., observes that Hades' behaviour here is not what one would expect from the viewpoint of archaic Greek religion (cf. ad *Dem.* 357 f.). His address to Persephone

aims at reconciliation, which is one of the main motifs of the Homeric poet throughout the *Hymn*.

For other examples of consolation by an abductor see Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 153 ff. The type is found already in Homer (*Od.* 11. 248 ff. ~ Hes. fr. 31). Cf. especially *Aph.* 193 ff.

**360 f. παρὰ μητέρα κυανόπεπλον, | ἤπιον . . .:** cf. Hes. *Th.* 406 f. *Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον . . . | ἤπιον . . .* The first epithet is hard to explain in the case of Leto (cf. West ad loc.). Has the reminiscence of *Th.* 406 f. suggested the second epithet to the poet of the *Hymn*? The reverse could of course also be true. Or could both be derived from a common source? The two epithets fit more easily in the *Hymn*. But this does not necessarily indicate priority.

**361. ἤπιον:** we find here the same euphemistic treatment of the queen of the underworld as in the case of Hades (cf. ad *Dem.* 357 f.).

**362. δυσθύμαινε:** this verb occurs only here. Cf. *δυσθυμεῖν* (Hdt. 8. 100 etc.), *θυμαίνειν* (Hes. *Sc.* 262, etc.).

**λίην περιώσιον ἄλλων:** for this duplication of expression cf. *μὰψ αὔτως ἄπληστον* (*Dem.* 83), *λίην ἀζηχές* (*Dem.* 467 f.). For *περιώσιον ἄλλων* cf. Pi. *I.* 5. 3, A.R. 1. 466, *περιώσιον Il.* 4. 359, *Od.* 16. 203.

**363 ff.** Hades' words are ambiguous, suggesting that Persephone will return to the upper world (cf. 364 *ἔνθα*), but that he will remain her husband. Wegener objected (*Philologus* 35 (1876), 250) that *ἔνθα* must refer to the underworld, since it is there that Persephone is queen (364 ff.) and therefore the words cannot have been spoken *in* the underworld. He also argued that the marriage was referred to as in the future, and that a reference to Persephone as ruler of the underworld could not be made when she was about to leave. He concluded that the speech was originally made by Hades when carrying off Persephone (cf. Claud. *RP* 2. 277 ff., Introduction, pp. 72 f.).

This perhaps fails to recognize the ambiguity and subtlety of the speech. Persephone will remain Hades' wife 'amongst the gods' (363), and she will rule in the upper world over all that lives and moves (365 f.) and will hold her honours 'amongst the gods' (366). The theme of rule in the underworld is only obscurely hinted at in 367–9 (cf. ad loc.).

It should be noted that the manuscript reading in 364 is *ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσα* ('when you come *here*'). This, and the asyndeton it involves, would be just possible (*ἐνθάδ' ἐοῦσα* might be better). But it is unlikely that Hades would give the game away at this point, and he expressly speaks of Persephone as queen of the *living*, not of the dead.

**365–9.** Hades promises Persephone three things:

1. Rule over all things on earth.
2. Honours amongst the gods.
3. Vengeance for ever upon those who do wrong, and fail to propitiate her with sacrifices and gifts.

In effect these three things are united in one. Persephone's *τιμαί* are granted by the gods, but represent power over mortals, and this is

expressed in terms of sacrifices and gifts from men on earth (cf. ad *Dem.* 150, 311 f., 328).

Hades also hints at the threefold division of Persephone's τιμαί here, on earth (365), in heaven (366), and in the underworld (cf. ad 367–9). This corresponds to her division of time between upper and lower worlds (cf. ad *Dem.* 86, 399 f.).

Preller rejected these lines on the grounds that the style was verbose and the language Attic (δεσπόσσεις, ἀδικησάντων, θυσίαισι, εὐαγέως), and that 367–9 referred to the Mysteries (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–211).

**365.** δεσπόσσεις: the verb is not found elsewhere in early epic. Cf. A. *PV* 210 etc., Hdt. 3. 142 etc. (δέσποινα *Od.* 3. 403 etc.; δεσπόσυνος *Dem.* 144 etc.). Persephone had the title Δέσποινα, especially in Arcadia (Lycosura: *IG* 5. 2. 514; Paus. 8. 37. 9), also Βασιλίς (*IG* 14. 450, Kaibel, *Epigr.* 822. 9). The goddess of the underworld is called Pasicrateia at Selinus (*IG* 14. 268). Cf. ad *Dem.* 9, and Holm, *RhM* 27 (1872), 368, Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), 224 n. 15, Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud Graecos leguntur* (Leipzig, 1893), 190 ff., Zuntz, *Persephone*, 103 ff.

πάντων . . . ἕρπει: cf. *Il.* 17. 447 = *Od.* 18. 131, and Genesis, 1 : 21, 26, 28, etc.

**366.** σχήσηισθα: this form is anomalous, as there are no examples of the termination -σθα in a future. This occurs in Homer in the present and aorist subjunctive of some verbs (Chantraine, *GH* i. 462, K–B ii, § 209. 3), and in the present and imperfect indicative of -μι verbs (Chantraine, i. 469 f.). The aorist ἔσχησα is found only in late Greek (cf. *Or. Sib.* 11. 91; f.l. in Nonn. *D.* 17. 177). It is better to regard this as an anomalous future indicative form (cf. σχήσω etc., *Il.* 17. 182 etc.), on the analogy of ἔχῃσθα (pres. subj. *Il.* 19. 180, *Ap.* 56), and perhaps ἔχησθα (? pres. indic.) Sapph. frr. 96. 23 (ἐχησθ' pap.), 129. 1 (ἐχεισθα cod. A) and φίλησθα 129. 2 (φίλησθα cod. A). σχήσεισθα (Boissonade) is called a 'verbildete Form' by Schulze (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 33 (1895), 317). Cf. also Zumbach, *Neuerungen*, 28 f., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 662. On the question of iota subscript in these forms cf. K–B ii. § 209. 6.

**367–9.** Hades predicts the eternal punishment of those who fail to propitiate Persephone.

These lines have been rejected by some critics as aetiological (cf. ad *Dem.* 365–9), or because the doctrine of punishment after death is considered to be 'Orphic', and not a part of early Eleusinian beliefs.

Allen and Halliday hold that there is *no* reference to the future life here, since 365 refers to rule over all *living* things. But ἤματα πάντα most naturally indicates 'eternal vengeance' for the ἄδικοι, rather than that Persephone will always in future have this power to punish. The reference must be to Persephone's position as ruler of the underworld (cf. ad *Dem.* 365–9). It is a covert one, as Hades does not want to give the game away.

Punishment is in store for those who do not propitiate Persephone with sacrifices, the proper performance of ritual acts, and the pay-

ment of due gifts (368–9). The lines are similar to *Dem.* 273–4 (274 ~ 368b–9a), which refer explicitly to the Mysteries (ὄργια). That these were still largely a matter of such ritual actions is suggested by the terms used (ὄργια, δρηςμοςύνην, etc.: cf. ad 273 f.).

It is thus a reasonable assumption that 368–9 also refer to the Mysteries. In *Dem.* 481–2 it is explicitly stated that the uninitiated have a less happy fate after death. How many classes are envisaged in these passages? Besides the initiates, who are ὄλβιοι (*Dem.* 480), are there some who are less happy, perhaps because for them the normal Homeric picture of a shadowy existence after death still holds good, and others who are punished because they have offended the goddess (as the 'great sinners', Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus, are punished in *Od.* 11. 576–600 for their offences against the gods)? Or does punishment await all those who are not initiated? If the second interpretation is right, the words used in *Dem.* 481–2 must be a deliberate euphemism, ominously concealing a reference to punishment. Such a reference is made explicit by later writers who echo the *Hymn* (cf. ad loc.), and is probably intended there also.

The answer must depend on the sense which is given to τῶν ἀδικηcάντων in *Dem.* 367. Does their ἀδικία *consist in* failure to propitiate Persephone? Failure to sacrifice alone is sufficient to incur divine wrath, whether it is intentional or not (e.g. *Il.* 9. 533–7, Hes. *Op.* 136–9),[1] and it is notable that Hesiod, after enumerating the chief offences for which the gods punish men (*Op.* 321 ff.), goes on to say that one should avoid all these things, and sacrifice to the gods as much as one can, propitiating them with libations and sacrifices daily (335–41). His words are closely similar to those of *Dem.* 367–9 (*Op.* 334 ~ *Dem.* 367: 336–8 ἔρδειν . . . ἁγνῶc καὶ καθαρῶc . . . θυέccί τε ἱλάcκεcθαι ~ *Dem.* 368–9. N.B.: 340 ~ *Dem.* 204b). Here, the counterpart to injustice, and the way to avoid punishment by the gods, is through sacrifice and propitiation.

On this interpretation, if *Dem.* 368–9 refer to the uninitiated, the conclusion must be that *all* who are not initiated will suffer punishment after death. This agrees with the interpretation of *Dem.* 481 as euphemistic, and is the most natural way of taking οἵ κεν . . . (i.e. as defining τῶν ἀδικηcάντων). Probably this was the intention of the poet.

It is, however, theoretically possible that the ἀδικία here referred to might be more general, i.e. covering men's dealings with one another, and not primarily with the gods. The normal use of δίκη, δίκαιος, ἄδικος, etc. in Homer and Hesiod is of men's justice or injustice to one another first and foremost, 'drawing in the gods only as an afterthought' (cf. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, 131). On this interpretation, οἵ κεν in 368 has a limiting or conditional sense ('if they do not . . .'), and the implication is that the consequences of ἀδικία, i.e. divine retribution, may be avoided if one propitiates Persephone. The goddess is thus elevated to the status of a universal 'arbitra

[1] Cf. also E. *Hel.* 1355–7 (ad *Dem.* 367–9), from the hymn to the Mother of the Gods (= Demeter).

morum', who safeguards justice by punishing wrong-doers, at least after death, and possibly also before. There are then three classes in Hades, the initiates, the uninitiated, and the ἄδικοι. Only the last of these are punished. This threefold division into the blessed, the damned, and those in between appears in some later accounts of life after death, and develops into the Christian idea of Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory (cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, especially 84 ff.).

The idea of punishment after death for crimes committed on earth is not a new one. Already in Homer, when an oath is sworn, Agamemnon invokes, after the powers of heaven and earth, 'those two who underneath (the earth) punish the dead, whoever swears a false oath' (*Il.* 3. 278–9). Here Hades and Persephone must be intended. (In *Il.* 19. 259 f. they are replaced by the Erinyes.) Hades and Persephone, in association with the Erinyes, also hear and answer the curses of parents in *Il.* 9. 453 ff., 568 ff. There the curse takes action on earth (cf. also *Od.* 2. 134 ff., 11. 278 ff.). But it is significant that the offences which concern the powers of Hades here are those of perjury, the chief offence against the gods (cf. Dieterich, o.c. 164), and against parents. Throughout later Greek literature the commands 'Honour thy father and mother, worship and honour the gods' form a kind of basic moral code (cf. Dieterich, o.c. 163 ff.), and in later accounts of Hades it is the ἐπίορκοι and πατραλοῖαι who are singled out for special mention among those who are punished in the underworld (Dieterich, l.c.).[1] A third commandment was normally added, that one should behave respectfully towards one's fellow men (normally expressed as ξένους σέβειν, etc.).[2] Something similar may have formed a part of Eleusinian teaching from early times, if we can judge by the three 'laws of Triptolemus' (cf. ad *Dem.* 154): γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῷα μὴ σίνεσθαι (Xenocrates, fr. 98 Heinze, ap. Porph. *de abstin.* 4. 22 p. 267. 22 ff. N.). Triptolemus is here called 'the oldest Athenian lawgiver' by Porphyry.[3]

Probably, then, Homer shows traces of a belief in Hades and Persephone as guardians of justice, with the implication that major offences were punishable not only on earth but also in the underworld.

The Nekyia of *Odyssey* 11 knows nothing of this, and the only punishments there mentioned are those of the three 'great sinners'. But although they are special cases, the punishments which they suffer are probably derived from popular beliefs about the underworld in general, transferred to major mythical characters whom they do not always fit very well, to suit an epic description (cf. Dieterich, o.c. 63, 75 ff.).

Likewise, evidence of the belief that it is possible by means of sacrifices and prayers to propitiate the gods when one has committed an

[1] Cf. especially Ar. *Ran.* 145 ff., with 273 ff., Radermacher ad loc.; also Norden on Virg. *A.* 6. 608 ff.

[2] Cf. A. *Supp.* 701 ff., *Eum.* 269 ff. and Headlam–Thomson ad loc., also Thomson, *JHS* 55 (1935), 20 ff., E. fr. 311 N.[2]; also νόμους κοινοὺς Ἑλλάδος τιμᾶν E. fr. 853.

[3] Rohde, *Psyche*, ch. vi n. 35, however, denies any connection of these laws with the Mysteries.

offence, and thus escape their anger, is found in Homer, in *Il.* 9. 496 ff. The doctrine put forward there is often held to be 'un-Homeric' (cf. e.g. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, 300 ff.). It may rather be due, like much of that book, to Homer (or the 'monumental composer') himself.

Later, this doctrine is attacked in Plato's *Republic*, together with the notions of reward and punishment after death then current (*Rep.* 363 a–366 b; there is an excellent discussion of this in I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Univ. of California Press, 1941), 75 ff.). The promise of happiness after death is offered to the just and pious man, in the form of an eternal symposium or drinking-party, by 'Musaeus and his son' (i.e. Eumolpus? Or should one read 'Orpheus and his son', assuming Musaeus to be a gloss on *ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ*, which has then replaced Orpheus? Cf. ad *Dem.* 154). The unjust and impious will be plunged into a kind of mud in Hades. (It is not clear to whom this second notion is attributed. Cf. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 172 n. 102.) Here, we find reward and punishment being offered for justice and injustice. But a second class of doctrine is then criticized. This holds that the gods can be persuaded, by means of sacrifices and incantations, not to punish men for their own or their ancestors' misdeeds. 'Pleasures and festivals' are also mentioned as devices to procure the gods' favour. Those who preach this are called *ἀγύρται καὶ μάντεις*. They go about 'to rich men's doors', quoting Hesiod and Homer to support their claims (*Op.* 287–9 and *Il.* 9. 497–501 are cited), and produce a 'babble of books' (*βίβλων ὅμαδον*) of Musaeus and Orpheus, which they use to persuade both individuals and cities 'that there are means of purification for wrongs done (*λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων*), by sacrifices and pleasures of play (*διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν*), for them when they are living and also after death (*εἰσὶ μὲν ἔτι ζῶσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν*), which they call initiation-rites (*τελετάς*). These free us from the evils awaiting us below, but if we do not sacrifice, terrors await us (*μὴ θύσαντας δέ, δεινὰ περιμένει*).'

Here, *ἀδικήματα* are normally punishable by the gods, but certain rituals of purification and sacrifice, called *τελεταί*, can deliver men from punishment both before and after death (on 365 a 1–2 see Linforth, o.c. 80 ff.). Failure to perform these rituals results in suffering in Hades.

The wording of this last passage, and especially the last clause, is strikingly reminiscent of *Dem.* 367–9. As the *Hymn* was at some stage probably taken over and adapted to suit a version ascribed to Orpheus and Musaeus (Orph. fr. 49 K.; cf. Introduction, pp. 66 f., 77 f.), it is possible that such an adaptation may have been amongst the *βίβλων ὅμαδος* referred to here, and used by those who circulated these books to support their teachings. In this case, the words of Plato might be a direct echo of the *Hymn*.

It is, in any case, interesting to note that there is an ambiguity in this passage exactly like that of *Dem.* 367–9. The general theme of the passage is that wrongdoing brings punishment unless one is purified from it. The consequence of this should be that the just man does

not suffer in Hades, and this is the theme of the first class of doctrine. But the closing words suggest that a failure to secure initiation of itself leads to suffering after death. This might imply a doctrine of universal wrongdoing, or 'original sin'. But as Linforth shows (o.c. 83 ff.) this is very unlikely here. More probably, as he suggests, there is a confusion between the natural fear men have of death and of the life after death, and their fear of punishment for wrongdoing. The result, at any rate, must be that men desire initiation as a safeguard. There is also a suggestion that the initiated and the just (ὅσιοι, δίκαιοι) are identified, and that the uninitiated are classed as, or together with, the ἄδικοι (cf. Adkins, o.c. 147 f.).

In the *Homeric Hymn*, as has been shown, the same ambiguity exists. Either a failure to honour Persephone is classed as ἀδικία, or the consequences of ἀδικία could be avoided by honouring Persephone. Both notions have precedents in Homer and Hesiod. The first interpretation is more in agreement with the general trend of thought in early epic, and is probably right. But later the words may have been read in the other sense. The connection between initiation and the need for εὐσέβεια is surely suggested by the μύσται of Aristophanes' *Frogs* (455 ff.; cf. Aeschylus' prayer, 886–7; cf. also perhaps Andoc. *de Myst.* 31),[1] and at some stage the πρόρρησις before the Mysteries excluded not merely those tainted with bloodshed, but also those in any way polluted or ἐν αἰτίᾳ (cf. Poll. 8. 90, and perhaps Celsus ap. Orig. 3. 59, Ar. *Ran.* 354 ff., Schol. ad 369 f.; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 247 f.). The importance of purification-rituals as a preparation for the Mysteries (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff.) suggests that from earliest times any form of pollution had to be removed. This, at least originally, does not necessarily indicate any ethical element as we should now understand it, since pollution might be incurred unintentionally and from a variety of causes. But it does imply that those who were conscious of having committed any offence liable to incur the anger of the gods, in any of the traditional categories, must have felt the need for purification. The proper conclusion will have been that one should behave justly if one had been initiated, not that initiation could free one from the consequences of injustice.

At the same time, the simple view which made initiation the universal passport to bliss, without regard for the conditions which it required, remained sufficiently prominent in the later period to produce the celebrated criticism of Diogenes: 'Is Pataecion the thief to have a better fate after death than Epaminondas because he has been initiated?' (Plut. *Mor.* 21 f, D.L. 6. 39, Jul. *Orat.* 7. 238 a). A Pataecion might reflect that the Mysteries provided him with a release from his fear of punishment for his misdeeds. This is exactly the criticism made by Plato against the followers of Orpheus and Musaeus. As they quoted 'Scripture' for their purpose, so might Pataecion use the lines of the *Homeric Hymn* to support his case.

[1] Rohde's arguments against using these passages, o.c. ch. vi n. 34, are not entirely convincing.

On the development of views of punishment and reward after death cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Rohde, *Psyche*, Radermacher, *RhM* 63 (1908), 531 ff., Page, *Homeric Odyssey*, 48 n. 6, Dodds, o.c. 135 ff.

**367–9.** Cf. E. *Hel.* 1355–7 (see Introduction, p. 69) *μῆνιν δ' ἔχεις μεγάλας ματρός, ὦ παῖ, θυσίας οὐ σεβίζουσα θεᾶς* (followed by instructions for propitiation by the appropriate *τελεταί*).

**367. τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων:** the verb occurs first here in epic (Homeric *ἁμαρτάνειν*, *ὑπερβαίνειν*, etc.). Cf. Archil.(?) 79. 13 D.[3] (= Hipponax fr. 115 West), Sapph. 1. 20, Herodotus, and Attic. *ἄδικος* occurs in Hes. *Op.* 260, 272, 334 (cf. ad *Dem.* 367–9).

**τίσις ἔσσεται:** for this threat cf. *Od.* 1. 40, 2. 76, 13. 144, Hes. *Th.* 210.

**ἤματα πάντα:** cf. ad *Dem.* 260.

**368.** Cf. Hdt. 1. 50, 6. 105 (*θυσίῃσι τὸν θεὸν ἱλάσκετο*, etc.).

**θυσίαισι:** cf. ad *Dem.* 312. In the parallel passages, *Il.* 9. 496 ff., Hes. *Op.* 336 ff. *θυέεσσι* is used, but Plato has *θυσίαισι* in his citation of *Il.* 9. 499 (cf. Agar, *CR* 31 (1917), 66). Hermann read *θυέεσσι* at *Dem.* 368 also (and *θυέων* at 312), but it is unlikely that both forms are due to corruption. Although not the epic word, *θυσία* is not necessarily a sign of Attic composition (cf. Hdt. above).

The dative in *-αισι* is also not well attested elsewhere in early epic. It occurs in choral lyric, including that of tragedy, but never in spoken Attic or in Attic inscriptions. These have *-ησι/-ᾶσι* in early Attic, *-αις* from the late fifth century onwards (cf. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 51 (1931), 78 ff.). In tragic dialogue it may not have been used before Sophocles (cf. Barrett ad E. *Hipp.* 101). It is also found in some dialects (Lesbian, etc.: Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 104. 7).

Probably, therefore, *-αισι* came in during the period of transmission. If the poet was using an Attic form, this will have been *θυσίᾶσι*. More probably *θυσίῃσι* is the original reading. But I have refrained from altering the text, in view of some residual uncertainty as to the proper reading.

**370. περίφρων Περσεφόνεια:** cf. *Dem.* 359 *δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ* (note ad loc.). *περίφρων* is not used of a goddess in Homer. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 894, *Sc.* 297, 313.

**371–2. ὅ γ' αὐτὸς . . . λάθρῃ:** Gemoll compares *Ap.* 140 for the use of *αὐτός*. There it may be resumptive, but is probably also 'formulaic' when used of Apollo: cf. *Ap.* 181 (*αὐτὸς δ' . . .*: perhaps 'and in person'?), *Aph.* 151 (there emphatic) ~ *Herm.* 234 (with no special force), Mosch. 4. 13 (again emphatic), also *Il.* 1. 47 (cf. Leaf ad loc.). This use, of Apollo, might suggest that it was applied to a god to emphasize his dignity (i.e. 'Himself'). Cf. Zeus' self-revelation (Mosch. *Eur.* 155), and similarly perhaps *αὐτὸς ἔφα* of Pythagoras (cf. Dover on Ar. *Nub.* 219), and the use of the definite article with *ἄναξ*, *ἥρως*, *γέρων* (Monro, *HG*[2] § 261. 3(*a*)), especially *αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥρως* (*Il.* 5. 308 etc.), and *τόν γε ἄνακτα* (*Dem.* 342) of Hades. This would be most appropriate in the case of Hades, where one might compare the use of euphemisms for his name (cf. ad *Dem.* 9). There is a similar use of *ipse* in Latin (cf. Fordyce on Catull. 3. 6 f.).

In 372, the position of λάθρῃ is less natural than in 411, where it clearly goes with ἔμβαλε. If emendation is needed, the suggestion of Jacques is very attractive. West suggests αὖτις, meaning 'as a countermeasure'.

**372. ῥοιῆς κόκκον:** ῥοιαί are mentioned in *Od.* 7. 115 = 11. 589. κόκκος occurs first here. Cf. Hdt. 4. 143, etc.

In Ov. *M.* 5. 534 ff. Persephone picks the fruit herself and eats seven seeds. In Ov. *F.* 4. 607 f. she is said to have eaten three (cf. Bömer ad loc.). For the story of Ascalaphus cf. ad *Dem.* 411 ff.

On the belief, common in many countries, that if one eats the food of the dead one must remain with them, cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc., Frazer, *Apollodorus*, i. 39 ff., Radermacher, 'Die Erzählungen der Odyssee' (*SB Wien*, 1915), 10 ff. In general, eating and drinking ratify one's membership of a community (cf. e.g. Hes. *Th.* 639 ff., West ad loc.). In particular, a meal concludes a marriage-ceremony in many countries (cf. C. Bonner, *CR* 53 (1939), 3 f., E. S. McCartney, *TAPA* 56 (1925), 70 ff.).

The significance of the pomegranate has been variously interpreted. It was symbolical of blood and death, but also of fertility and marriage. Thus it aptly signified the marriage of Persephone and Hades. The mystae at Eleusis, and the celebrants of the Haloa, were forbidden to eat it (Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16, Schol. Luc. *Dial. mer.* 7. 4). For similar prohibitions cf. ad *Dem.* 6 ff., 42, 99. At the Thesmophoria, it was forbidden to eat pomegranate-seeds that had fallen on the ground (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 19. 3, p. 15. 9 Stähl.; cf. Deubner, *AF* 58). For further references see Allen and Halliday ad loc., Arbesmann, *Das Fasten*, 60, Gaster, *Thespis*, 191, Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 137 ff.

The pomegranate is frequently an attribute of Persephone and Hades in art. Cf. Preller–Robert 1. 763 n. 2, K. Böttticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), ch. 38, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 3. 1. 813 ff. A third-century B.C. Hellenistic tomb-painting from Kazanlak in Bulgaria (A. Frova, *Arti figurativi* i (1945), 105 ff., C. Verdiani, *AJA* 49 (1945), 402 ff., Ch. Picard, *RHR* 134 (1948), 113 ff.) has been thought to depict the scene of Persephone's departure. It shows a man offering a meal to a woman, which includes three pomegranate-seeds (cf. Ov. *F.* 4. 607) and also what may be eggs (or grapes?). On each side is a procession of attendants, including a man with a chariot (i.e. Hermes?), also two trumpeters (less suitable in Hades!) and a woman holding a κίστη and miniature temple. The woman who receives the food draws her himation over her head like a veil, and appears sorrowful. But the attribution to the myth of Persephone seems rather doubtful.

**λάθρῃ:** this should go with ἔδωκε rather than νωμήσας. Cf. *Dem.* 411–12.

**373. ἀμφὶ ἓ νωμήσας:** νωμᾶν in Homer means 'to distribute' or direct, 'handle, wield', and metaphorically 'turn over (in one's mind)'. Hence Hermann, reading ἀμφί ἑ, took it as 'dividing it in two' (i.e. Hades shared it). This, however, he did not need to do, and it is

nowhere mentioned. Ilgen translated 'turning it over in his mind', Voss 'dum eam [Persephone] prope se traheret'(!). Matthiae however took it as 'peering round him' (cf. *Il.* 4. 497, 15. 574, 241). The sense 'observe, look' occurs in later Greek: Hdt. 4. 128, Pl. *Crat.* 411 d (*τὸ νωμᾶν καὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν ταὐτόν*), Theognostus, *Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* 62. 30 (Kl. Alpers. (Diss. Hamburg, 1964), 105) *νωμῆσαι· τηρῆσαι.* It is thus used especially of soothsayers: S. *OT* 300, E. *Ph.* 1255 f., A. *Sept.* 25. This is an attractive explanation. Hades acts furtively (*λάθρῃ*), not wishing to be observed, presumably by Hermes: in *Dem.* 413 Persephone claims to have acted under compulsion. But it could be objected that such a phrase is rather too graphic for this context, and that *λάθρῃ* conveys the sense sufficiently on its own.

Other interpretations are:

(*a*) Hermann, reading *ἀμφίς*, first translated as 'seorsum tribuens', i.e. apart from Hermes (cf. Gemoll).

(*b*) Eitrem (*Opferritus*, 23): 'Es ist jedenfalls ganz deutlich, dass Hades den Granatapfelkern um sich (das heist wohl um den Kopf) herumführt, damit der Kern, auf diese Weise selbst an Hades gebunden, auch die Gemählin selbst an den Hades binde und ihm zurückführe.' That is, he passes it round himself to unite it magically, and hence Persephone, to himself.

Similar notions of magic are advocated by:

(*c*) Agar (*CR* 31 (1917), 120): 'after making passes over it privily'.

(*d*) Myres (*CR* 52 (1938), 51 f.): 'moving it to and fro about himself', to make it a love-charm.

(*e*) Bonner, (*CR* 53 (1939), 3 f.): 'passing it round his body.'

Both Agar and Myres take *λάθρῃ* with *νωμήσας*. On the development of *νωμᾶν* cf. E. Laroche, *Histoire de la racine NEM- en grec ancien* (Paris, 1949), 69 ff.

**374. αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι:** cf. *Dem.* 486, also 343 and notes to 190, 214.

**375–86.** Hades yokes the horses to the chariot, and Persephone and Hermes mount. They leave Hades' palace and traverse sea and land, flying over the mountain-tops, until they come to where Demeter waits, in front of the temple. She rushes to greet her daughter.

The description of the Journey (cf. Arend, *Typische Scenen* 86 ff.), is elaborated pictorially in a way characteristic of the *Hymn*. Cf. ad *Dem.* 380 ff., and Introduction, p. 58.

**375 f.** Hades lends them his own chariot (cf. *Dem.* 19).

**377–9.** Cf. *Il.* 5. 364–6 (~ *Od.* 3. 481–4):

> *ἡ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινεν . . .*
> *παρ δέ οἱ Ἶρις ἔβαινε καὶ ἡνία λάζετο χερσί,*
> *μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν, τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην.*

(368 ~ *Dem.* 384, 371 ~ *Dem.* 388*). The situation in *Il.* 5. 364 ff. is similar (journey, and meeting of mother and daughter).

**379. διὲκ μεγάρων:** normally the horses leave through the *πρόθυρον* and *αἴθουσα* of the palace (*Od.* 3. 493 etc.). Here, the whole of Hades'

realm is thought of as his palace: cf. *Il.* 3. 322 (etc.) δῦναι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω, and especially *Il.* 23. 74, *Od.* 11. 571 εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ, and note on Dem. 9 (πολυδέκτῃ). Cf. also Parm. fr. 1, Burkert, *Phronesis* 14 (1969), 1 ff.

**ἄκοντε:** the contracted form occurs also at *Dem.* 413, where it is required by the metre (but the line may not be genuine). In Homer, the majority of manuscripts have the contracted form at *Il.* 5. 366, 768, etc. In every case the uncontracted form may be restored, and the contraction is not found in the non-Attic derivatives ἀεκαζόμενος, ἀέκητι (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 28). It may therefore be due in Homer to Attic transmission (cf. Wackernagel, *Spr. Unters.* 7; cf. 179). But some examples of the contraction $\alpha(\varepsilon)\epsilon > \bar{\alpha}$, which cannot be resolved, occur in Homer (Chantraine, *GH* i. 32). These are found mostly in relatively 'late' passages, but can hardly all be due to an Attic poet (e.g. ἀθλοφόρους *Il.* 9. 124 = 266, ἄθλων *Od.* 8. 160 ~ 164, ἄσαμεν *Od.* 16. 367). Moreover, the contraction is normal in Ionic. The use of ἄκοντε, ἄκουσαν (if genuine) in the *Hymn* is therefore not evidence of Attic composition.

In the revised form of the Draconian homicide law (*IG* i². 115, 409/8 B.C.) both *AKON* and *AEKON* occur (lines 17 and 34). This could mean that the contracted form was in use in spoken Attic of the late seventh century B.C., whereas legal language preserved the more archaic form. Alternatively, *AKON* may be due to the fifth-century revision. In this case, *AEKON* belongs to the seventh century, but again may be an archaizing form at this date. The law cannot therefore be used to date the introduction of ἄκων into Attic. (See, however, R. S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law of Homicide* (Berkeley, 1968), in favour of the view that *IG* i². 115 is a straight copy of the original.)

**380–3.** The journey is over land and sea. Cf. *Dem.* 33–5, and similarly *Aph.* 122–5, both divine journeys and both rapes, the second of which and probably the first is also through the air (*Aph.* 125). For this way of saying 'the whole world' cf. also ad *Dem.* 13 f. Mountains and sea echo Persephone's cry at *Dem.* 38 (cf. ad loc.).

Such pictorial elaboration of a journey already occurs in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 13. 27–31). For its 'lyric' character cf. Kirk, *Songs*, 172, and notes to *Dem.* 383.

**380.** On the rhythm of this line cf. ad *Dem.* 171.

**381. ὕδωρ:** the *upsilon* is always short *in thesi* in early epic. Cf. Xenoph. fr. 4. 2 D.³, and A.R. 4. 290, *Batr.* 97 (both in this position in the verse), etc.

**382.** Gemoll found the position of ἄκριες unusual. But ἄκριας always occupies the fourth foot in Homer and the *Hymns* (five times), and ἄκριες is here emphatic (cf. ὑπὲρ αὐτάων 383). The genitive ἵππων ἀθανάτων interrupts the enumeration, as in *Dem.* 7, 22 f., 34. For its separation from ὁρμήν cf. Dem. 71 ff.

**383. ὑπὲρ αὐτάων:** the simple anaphoric use of αὐτός is rare in Homer (Chantraine, *GH* ii. 157). Here it is probably emphatic: 'over the very mountains'.

**βαθὺν ἠέρα:** in Homer *ἀήρ* is feminine, and it may be here also. Cf. *ἠέρα πουλύν* (*Il.* 5. 776, 8. 50) with *πουλύν* as a feminine (cf. *Il.* 10. 27), and the use of feminine *ἠδύς* (*Od.* 12. 369), *θῆλυς* (*Il.* 10. 216 etc.). *βαθύς* is feminine at Call. *Hy.* 4. 37, Eratosth. 8.

The first certain instance of *ἀήρ* masculine is at Hes. *Op.* 548–50. Cf. however Hes. *Th.* 9 (*ἠέρι πολλῷ*: v.l. *πολλῇ*; cf. West ad loc.), and *αἰθήρ*, which is feminine in Homer (except *Od.* 19. 540 v.l.), but masculine in Hes. *Th.* 124, and fr. 400.

In Homer *ἀήρ* means 'mist, darkness, the stuff of invisibility'. This is also the sense in Hesiod. (At *Th.* 697 the manuscripts have *ἠέρα δῖαν* but West reads *αἰθέρα*.) The Alexandrians, however, took it to mean 'the lower atmosphere', as opposed to *αἰθήρ* (Schol. A ad *Il.* 14. 288, Eust. p. 986. 20, Hsch. s.v.). This may be based on the interpretation of *Il.* 14. 288 (cf. Leaf ad loc., and Appendix H), where a pine-tree on Mount Ida reaches through the *ἀήρ* to the *αἰθήρ*. Leaf prefers to take this as referring to the *mist* clothing the mountain-top. In the present passage the same interpretation would be possible. In *Il.* 20. 446 (*ἠέρα τύψε βαθεῖαν*) this is clearly the sense (cf. 20. 444), and the mountain-tops have just been mentioned (*Dem.* 383). But in later parallels to *Dem.* 384b (see below) *ἀήρ* and *αἰθήρ* are used interchangeably, and the sense 'air' may perhaps already be intended here also. *βαθύν* would then refer to depth, or height. Cf. Emp. B 17. 18 *ἠέρος ἄπλετον ὕψος* (v.l. *αἰθέρος*), E. *Med.* 1297 *ἐς αἰθέρος βάθος* (Page ad loc.). The difficulty of this interpretation is that the Greeks are generally thought not to have realized that clear air has substance until the time of Empedocles and his *κλεψύδρα* experiment (fr. 100; in *Dem.* 383 *τέμνον* suggests substance: see below). But the translation 'air' seems the natural one here. See also P. Louis, *Rev. Phil.* 74 (1948), 63 ff., on the varying senses of the word in Homer.

**τέμνον:** the Attic form (with *-ε-*) is found only once in Homer (*Od.* 3. 175), and as a v.l. at Hes. *Op.* 570. Wackernagel (*Spr. Unters.* 14) considered this due to Attic transmission (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 314). Here it might be due to an Attic poet, but could equally well have come in during transmission (cf. *Dem.* 228 *ὑποταμνόν*). Cf. B. Forssman (*Glotta* 44 (1966), 5–14, especially p. 8), who considers that *τέμνον* may be right, but that the possibility of corruption cannot be excluded.

For the whole phrase cf. P. Oxy. 2637 fr. 5 ii 7 (quoted on p. 126) which is probably by Ibycus (cf. D. L. Page, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 196 (1970), 93 f.). The lines might possibly refer to Pegasus, as another part of the same fragment clearly does (cf. Lobel ad loc.). Alternatively, they could be from Ibycus' poem on the Rape of Ganymede (*PMG* 289; cf. J. P. Barron, *BICS* 16 (1969), 140, 149 n. 92). *ἀέρα* looks probable here, rather than *αἰθέρα*, but it is not entirely clear how much space there is in the lacuna.

Cf. also Bacch. 5. 15–16 (on the eagle of Zeus: cf. the Rape of Ganymede?) *βαθὺν δ' αἰθέρα . . . τάμνων.*

Bacchylides' description of the eagle's flight is similar to *Dem.* 380 ff.:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bacch. 5. 24–7 | *οὔ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχουσι γαίας, οὐδ' ἁλὸς ἀκαμάτας* |
| | *δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νωμᾶ\|ται δ' . . .* |
| ~ *Dem.* 380–3 | *οὐδὲ θάλασσα* |
| | *οὔθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν . . . οὔτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεθον ὁρμήν,* |
| | *ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτάων . . .* |

(This has also been noted by H. Mähler, *Bacchylides: Lieder und Fragmente* (Berlin, 1968), 13. Cf. M. Lefkowitz, *HSCP* 73 (1969), 95 f.)

Ibycus' poem about Ganymede may have contained something similar. Schol. A.R. 3. 158 says that the lines describing Eros' journey from Olympus in Apollonius are an imitation of Ibycus' poem on the Rape of Ganymede (l.c. above).[1] Apollonius' description again shows similarities to *Dem.* 380–3:

| | |
|---|---|
| A.R. 3. 164–6 | *νειόθι δ' ἄλλοτε γαῖα φερέσβιος ἄστεά τ' ἀνδρῶν* (~ *Dem.* 450 etc.) |
| | *φαίνετο καὶ ποταμῶν ἱεροὶ ῥόοι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε* |
| | *ἄκριες, ἀμφὶ δὲ πόντος, ἀν' αἰθέρα πολλὸν ἰόντι* |
| (A.R. 3. 158 | *βῆ δὲ διὲκ μεγάλοιο . . . ἀλωήν* |
| ~ *Dem.* 379 | *σεῦε διὲκ μεγάρων* \| not traditional formulae: |
| *Dem.* 281 | *βῆ δὲ διὲκ μεγάρων* / cf. ad loc.). |

A final piece of evidence which might suggest a link between the Bacchylides passage and Ibycus' poem is the similarity of Bacch. 5. 26–7 *νωμᾶται δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει* to Ibyc. fr. 28 Bergk[4] *ποτᾶται δ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ χάει*. This is quoted by Schol. Ar. *Av.* 192 (on the line *διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ τοῦ χάους* = 1218), as by *Ibycus*. Both wording and attribution have been questioned (cf. Jebb, Snell on Bacch. 5. 26), and Diehl and Page do not give the fragment under Ibycus. But there is no real ground for supposing that the Scholiast was mistaken over the author. (On this use of *χάος* cf. West ad *Th.* 116.)

These parallels seem to suggest that both Ibycus and Bacchylides may be following an epic description of a divine journey similar to *Dem.* 380 ff. (For other examples of this 'typical scene' see notes ad loc.) It is also possible that Bacchylides may be imitating Ibycus directly (cf. Bowra, *Gk. Lyric Poetry*[2], 258–9), but this cannot be established. Both Ibycus and Bacchylides are highly imitative of epic (cf. D. L. Page, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), 165, Barron, o.c. 490 ff., on

[1] Wilamowitz wished to transfer this Scholion to A.R. 3. 114–17, and refer it to the scene with Eros and Ganymede together. But there is no reason to suppose that he was right. Ibycus *must* also have described the eagle's journey. He *may* also have described Ganymede with Eros on Olympus, but not necessarily so. The scene looks Hellenistic, and Apollonius might have got the idea of Eros and Ganymede together from reading Ibycus' account of the Rape, but not the substance.

Ibycus fr. 1; and M. Lefkowitz, o.c. 45 ff. on Bacch. 5). Bacchylides also, notoriously, uses conventional lyric language and themes.

The expression *ἠέρα/αἰθέρα τέμνειν* (*τάμνειν*) is parallel to the epic use of *τάμνειν* of travelling through the sea (cf. *Od.* 3. 174–5 *πέλαγος μέσον . . . τέμνειν*, *Od.* 13. 88, and Forssman, o.c. 13), and the analogy of air to sea was, it seems, strongly felt by the Greeks. Homer uses the same epithet *ἀτρύγετος* of both sea and *αἰθήρ* (*Il.* 1. 316, 17. 425, etc.), and in later poetry birds use their wings as oars to row through the air (e.g. A. *Ag.* 52 etc.). Cf. also Ar. *Av.* 1400 *αἰθέρος αὔλακα τέμνων* (in a lyric parody) ~ [Arion], *PMG* 939. 16–17 *ἅλοκα Νηρεΐας πλακὸς τέμνοντες, ἀστιβῆ πόρον* (here a metaphor taken originally from the land); E. *Phoen.* fr. 124. 2 f., Epigr. 2. 1 (Diehl, i³. p. 90), A.R. 4. 770–1, Orph. *Arg.* 303 (*Ἥλιος τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα τέμνων* ~ *πόντος ἀπείριτος Od.* 10. 195 etc.); and especially Pl. *Phd.* 111 ab, for *ἀήρ* as a kind of sea.

**384. στῆσε δ' ἄγων:** the only other example of this phrase occurs in *Il.* 2. 558, the controversial line said to have been inserted by Solon or Pisistratus into the Catalogue of Ships. But it may be a formulaic phrase (cf. *εἶσεν ἄγων** *Il.* 1. 311, *Od.* 1. 130, *δεῖξε δ' ἄγων** *Ap.* 523, *στῆσεν/αν** of a chariot *Il.* 24. 350, *Od.* 4. 22, 7. 4, *ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε Il.* 5. 368).

**385.** Demeter stands in front of her temple, waiting to receive them.

**386. ἠΰτε μαινάς:** cf. also Ov. *F.* 4. 457–8 (of Ceres):

> mentis inops rapitur, ut quas audire solemus
> Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis

E. *Hel.* 543 *ὡς δρομαία πῶλος ἢ βάκχη θεοῦ* (cf. also E. *Hel.* 1321 *ἀπόνους* of Demeter, *ex emendatione*), *Hipp.* 550 *δρομάδα ναΐδ' ὅπως τε βάκχαν*, *Tro.* 349, Timotheus, *PMG* 778b, Xen. *Eph.* 5. 13. 2, *Or. Sib.* 5. 484, Cat. 64. 61, Virg. *A.* 4. 300–3, 7. 385 ff.

In Homer the sense may be simply 'a mad woman' in *Il.* 22. 460 (~ 6. 389). Maenadism may however be referred to in *Il.* 6. 132 ff. *ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας σεῦε κατ' ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον . . .* In the *Hymn*, *ὄρος κάτα* etc. must surely belong to the simile, and not refer to the hill on which Demeter's temple stood (Allen and Halliday), which could hardly be described as a mountain. This implies that *μαινάς* is here a maenad, and the mountain is perhaps Nysa (cf. *Il.* 6. 133, and *Hy.* 1. 8 *Νύσῃ ὕπατον ὄρος ἀνθέον ὕλῃ*) or Cithaeron (cf. E. *Ba.* 218 f. *ἐν δὲ δασκίοις ὄρεσι θοάζειν*, Virg. *A.* 4. 303).

**δάσκιον ὕλῃ:** M has *ὕλης*, and the dative plural *ὕλῃς* is read by Allen, who compares Anacr. *PMG* 408. 2, where Schol. Pi. *O.* 3. 52 has *ὕλαις*, other authors *ὕλῃ* (read by Page), Hecat., *FGH* 1. 291 *οὔρεα δασέα ὕλῃσι*, Mosch. 3. 89 (*ὕλαι*), Nonnus, *D.* 10. 175 *δάσκιον ὕλῃς*, and other examples from late Greek (*CR* 20 (1906), 290 f.; cf. Zachariae, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, 34 (1895–7), 453 f.). Cf. however *Od.* 13. 351 etc., and especially *Hy.* 1. 8 (above). It seems better to adopt the singular *ὕλῃ*. See also Pfeiffer, *Herm.* 87 (1959), 3 f., *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 118 n. 6.

**387–404.** Persephone also . . . runs [to greet her mother . . .]. Demeter asks her if she has eaten anything in Hades. If she has not, she may remain in heaven. If she has, she must return to Hades for a third of the year, and spend two-thirds in heaven, and when the earth is covered with flowers in spring, she will return from the underworld, for all to wonder at. She then asks her how Hades deceived her.

The lacunae in these lines and in 462–79 are due to a tear in M. On this, and the sixteenth-century supplements of m, see Allen and Halliday, pp. xxi–ii, and Introduction, p. 66. The supplements in Allen's text, which are mainly due to Goodwin, were proposed by him 'cum magna diffidentia'.

The reunion of Demeter and Persephone was thought by Nilsson to be depicted on the upper half of the Niinnion tablet (*ARW* 32 (1935), 93 ff. = *Op. Sel.* ii. 559 ff.). This is very unlikely: cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 215, *Eph. Arch.* 1960 (1965), 87. Picard (*BCH* 55 (1931), 11 ff. and pl. 1) identifies a relief in the Delos Museum as a portrayal of the scene. Cf. ad *Dem.* 334 ff.

The reunion was supposed to be represented in the cult, according to Lact. *Div. Inst. Epit.* 18 (23). 7. It is not known how this was done. Cf. ad *Dem.* 40 ff., 434–40, and Introduction, pp. 24 ff.

**387.** Goodwin's supplement is more suitable to a recognition-scene, such as *Aph.* 181 (~ *Il.* 3. 396–7).

**389. ἆλτο θέειν:** ἆλτο *χαμᾶζε* is used of dismounting from a chariot twelve times in Homer (cf. ad *Dem.* 387). It is not used with an infinitive in Homer or Hesiod. Cf. *Ap.* 448 ἆλτο *πέτεσθαι*, and *βῆ δὲ θέειν* in Homer (*Il.* 2. 183 etc.).

**392. πα⟨υ⟩ομε[ν-:** if Goodwin's reading of M is correct, the word must be corrupt (*πάομαι* is not found in the present, and in other tenses first in Solon 1. 7 D.[3]). The confusion of *α* and *αυ* in manuscripts is common (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc., West ad *Th.* 655). But *φιλότητος* can hardly be right. More probable is *κλαυθμοῖο*: cf. *Od.* 4. 801 (*παύσειε κλαυθμοῖο γόοιό τε δακρυόεντος*) ~ *Od.* 21. 228, 4. 102 f. ~ 19. 268, 8. 540, 4. 35, *Dem.* 436. For weeping at a reunion in epic cf. *Od.* 16. 213 ff., 23. 207.

**394. ἐξαύδα . . .:** *Il.* 1. 362–3 ~ 18. 73–4 (cf. ad *Dem.* 393) are spoken by Thetis to Achilles. At *Il.* 16. 19 Achilles also asks Patroclus why he is crying.

**395. κ' ἀνιοῦσα:** M's reading *κε νέουσα* is defended by van Groningen (*Mnem.* 4. 2 (1949), 42 f.). *νέοντες* ('going') is a variant reading at *Od.* 8. 108. Cf. perhaps Pi. fr. 124(a). 7 Sn., Hdt. 5. 59 (in an epigram; *ἀνέθηκεν ἐών* codd.), Sophr. fr. 101 (Kaibel). The active is thus only dubiously attested. Bücheler's supplement would be preferable, as giving point to *καὶ . . . καί* in 396, which (with the sense 'both . . . and') is otherwise 'ab omni sermone epicorum alienam' (Ebeling, p. 618; but cf. Denniston, *GP* 324: 'in the Hymns *καὶ . . . καί* is beginning to establish itself'; cf. ad *Dem.* 495). 'Both . . . and' is unnecessary here (cf. *Dem.* 447 ~ 465), and *καὶ παρ' . . . καί . . .* awkward. But *ἄλλοις* would normally follow *ἐμοὶ . . . καὶ πατρί*, and

*ἀθανάτοιϲι* here gives a triple repetition (397, 400). One might read *ἀνθρώποιϲι* in 397 (cf. ad loc.), and *κεν ἑοῦϲα παρ' ἀθανάτοιϲι θεοῖϲι* in 395, but this is still rather weak. Alternatively, a verb may have occurred at the end of 395 (cf. Voss, Bothe), e.g. *κ' ἀνιοῦϲα π[άλιν οἴκόνδε νέοιο.* (We do not know for certain that 'home' for Persephone was Olympus, but presumably it was.) This removes the difficulty of *καὶ . . . καί* in 396.

For the interchange of *ἰοῦϲα/ἑοῦϲα* cf. *Dem.* 364.

**396. πατρὶ . . . Κρονίωνι:** this full formula does not occur elsewhere. Cf. *Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι* (*Dem.* 316), and Introduction, p. 47.

**396–7.** Cf. *Dem.* 485.

**397. πάντεϲϲι . . . ἀθανάτοιϲίν:** cf. *Dem.* 366. *ἀνθρώποιϲι* (*Ap.* 479, 522 ~ *Dem.* 399) is also possible, but less likely (cf. ad *Dem.* 328). Persephone's honour in *heaven* will be primarily from the gods. Cf. also *PMG* 880 (Schol. T) *ὦ Λίνε, πᾶϲι θεοῖϲι τετιμένε, Orph. Hy.* 45. 5 ~ 54. 2 *τετιμένε πᾶϲι θεοῖϲι*, Emped. fr. 112. 5 (cf. ad *Dem.* 119 f., 256–74) *πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶϲι τετιμένοϲ*, Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 65 f.

On *Aph.* 205(~ *Dem.* 397) see Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos*, 38.

**398. †πτᾶϲα πάλιν ἰοῦϲ'†:** *πτᾶϲα*, which Allen retains, is inappropriate, unnecessary with *ἰοῦϲα*, and un-Homeric (*ἐξέπτη* Hes. *Op.* 98 etc., *πτᾶϲα* Herodian Gr. 1. 532; cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 2. 79 etc.). The ellipse of the verb in the conditional clause is also very abrupt for early epic (on *Il.* 9. 46, 262, cf. Leaf ad loc.). ⟨*σύ γ'*⟩ is unattractive and *πάλιν* never occurs before the third-foot caesura in Homer or Hesiod.

In the context, the correction *ἐπάϲω* (*τι*) or *τι πάϲϲαο* is hard to resist. Ruhnken's *αὖτιϲ* is a possible supplement (cf. *Il.* 2. 276 etc.), and cf. also West's conjecture.[1] For the omission of the object with *πατέομαι* cf. *Il.* 24. 642 (understood from 641 f.). Goodwin's *εἰ δέ τι πάϲϲαο* is palaeographically a simple change, but *πάμπαν* is unconvincing. (It would be more natural with a negative, as *Il.* 9. 435, 21. 338 *οὐδέ τι πάμπαν.*) Bucheler's *εἰ δ' ἐπάϲω τι* is also possible palaeographically, but his *μέν* after *πάλιν* is misplaced.

**ὑπ[ὸ κεύθεα ϲι⟩γαίηϲ:** (cf. m's supplement): Bücheler's accusative (with *ἰοῦϲα*) is an alternative to the dative if one reads *εἰν Ἄϊδαο* in 399. Cf. ad *Dem.* 399, 446.

**399. μέροϲ:** not in Homer or Hesiod (cf. *μοῖρα*). At *Herm.* 53 it is probably a false reading for *μέλοϲ* (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc.). Cf. Pi. *O.* 8. 77, Hdt. 1. 145, etc.

**[εἰϲ ἐνιαυτόν]:** cf. m's supplement. 'Within a year' (cf. *Od.* 4. 86, Alc. 42. 12)? It is less suitable here than at *Od.* l.c., where the distributive sense is more natural ('three times a year'). Bucheler's *εἰν Ἄϊδαο* is also attractive: this supplies a locative to *οἰκήϲειϲ* (cf. ad *Dem.* 398). m's supplement may very well be his own conjecture: cf. Allen and Halliday, p. xxi (in their note on *Dem.* 399 they contradict themselves).

[1] For the intrusion of a gloss into the text see on *Dem.* 407.

**399 ff.** Persephone's time of absence in the underworld is a third of the year according to Apollod. 1. 5. 3. Other versions, Alexandrian and later, divide the year equally: Ov. *F.* 4. 613 f., *M.* 5. 564 ff., Cornut. 28, Hyg. *fab.* 146, Serv. in *Georg.* 1. 39, Mythogr. Vat. 2. 100 (*Scr. rer. myth. Lat.*, ed. Bode, i. 108). Similar variant traditions are recorded about the absence of Adonis (Apollod. 3. 14. 4; cf. Frazer ad loc.), and Apollo (Preller–Robert, i². 763 n. 3). Cf. the division between Castor and Polydeuces (especially Pi. *N.* 10. 80 ff., and 87 f. *ἥμισυ μέν κε πνέοις γαίας ὑπένερθεν ἐών, ἥμισυ δ' οὐρανοῦ ἐν χρυσέοις δόμοισιν*).

The oldest division of the year is into two parts, winter and summer (Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und relig. Bedeutung d. griech. Kalenders* (Lund, 1962), 24). The division into three seasons is said to be normal in Homer and Hesiod (cf. LSJ s.v. *ὥρα* A. I. 1), and it occurs also in A. *PV* 454 ff., Ar. *Av.* 709, Lyr. Adesp. 37. 5 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 199). But *ὀπώρα* is distinguished from *θέρος* in *Od.* 12. 76, 14. 384 (~ 11. 192), making a fourth season. The first clear mention of four seasons is in Alcm. *PMG* 20. Tac. *Germ.* 26 attests three seasons for the ancient Germans. Hippocr. *περὶ ἑβδομάδων* lists seven divisions: ch. 4 p. 8 Roscher. Cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 21 (1971), 369, 376. The division into a third and two-thirds perhaps reflects Hades' share in the world (cf. ad *Dem.* 85 f., 365–9).

In later antiquity the prevalent (Stoic) interpretation of Persephone's absence in Hades identified her with the corn and referred it to the time of winter, after the corn was sown (Cornut. 28, Cic. *ND* 2. 66, Schol. Hes. *Th.* 912, Tzetzes in Hes. *Op.* 32, Cleanthes fr. 547 ap. Plut. *Mor.* 377 d, Varro ap. Aug. *CD* 7. 20, Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 1429). This interpretation placed the Rape of Persephone in autumn (*Orph. Hy.* 29. 14, fr. 196 K., Euseb. *PE* 3. 11. 15, Sallustius, *De diis et mundo* 4, pp. 8 f. Nock).

This agrees with the explicit assertion of the *Hymn* (401 ff.), that Persephone's return will occur in spring (on *Dem.* 6 ff. cf. ad loc.), and there can be little doubt that the *Hymn* here represents what was from very early times felt to be the significance of the myth: the absence of Core corresponds to the winter, when corn and other plants are under the earth, her return to the spring-time when the earth is again covered in flowers, and the corn is growing. Her return is also followed closely by the growth of crops and plants in *Dem.* 453 ff., 471 ff.

A modern explanation, proposed by Cornford (in *Essays and Studies presented to Wm. Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), 153 ff.) and upheld by Nilsson (*ARW* 32 (1935), 105 ff. = *Op. Sel.* ii. 576 ff.; cf. *Gesch.* i³. 472 ff.) identifies the descent of Persephone with the storing of seed-corn in underground granaries after harvest. Her absence then corresponds to the dry period of summer, and her return to the removal of the seed-corn for sowing. The chief ancient evidence for this is Diod. 5. 4, which dates the festival of *Κόρης Καταγωγή* in Sicily to the time of harvesting. But this is most naturally taken as referring to the 'bringing-in' of the corn: cf. the *Καταγωγή* of Dionysus at the Anthesteria (in springtime), Deubner, *AF* 103 f. (so originally

Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 356 f.). Although other ancient deities of fertility were thought to die in summer, under the sickles of the reapers or the flails of the harvesters, or in the parching of vegetation by the summer heat (cf. Introduction, p. 13, and ad *Dem.* 305 ff.), this explanation does not at all suit Persephone, and there is no ancient testimony to support it.

Cf. also (*contra* Nilsson) Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.* 15 (1933–5), 1 ff., Malten, *Gnomon* 20 (1944), 120 ff. W. C. Greene, *CP* 41 (1946), 105–7, attempts by a remarkable piece of special pleading to explain away *Dem.* 401 ff.

An alternative interpretation, popular in late antiquity, identified Persephone with the moon (Porph. *antr. nymph.* 18, Serv. in *Ecl.* 3. 26, *Aen.* 6. 118), whose disappearance gave rise to the story of Persephone's absence in the underworld (Ennius, *Varia* 59 V.² ap. Varr. *LL* 5. 68 = 'Epicharmus' fr. 54 Diels, Plut. *Mor.* 942 d, Mythogr. Vat. 2. 100, Fulgentius, *Myth.* 2. 16). If 'Epicharmus' fr. 54 D. goes back to the fourth or late fifth century B.C. (cf. Susemihl, *Philologus* 53 (1894), 564 ff., Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*² (Oxford, 1962), 242 f.), this view is surprisingly early in origin. But this is quite uncertain.

On the vase-paintings representing the Anodos of a female deity (Core, Aphrodite, or Pandora) see Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 611 ff., Metzger, *Représentations*, 232 f., *Recherches*, 11 ff. (especially 13 f.).

**401–2.** ὁππότε . . . θάλλει: for the present indic. with ὁππότε cf. *Il.* 11. 492, *Od.* 18. 409, Lucian, *Toxaris* 46.

ἠαρινοῖσι: this form occurs only here and in P. Petr. 3, p. 152 (third century B.C.). Cf. epic εἰαρινός, later (poetic) ἠρινός. Cf. ad *Dem.* 174.

**401–3.** Cf. *Orph. Hy.* 29. 12 f. (Persephone):

> εἰαρινῇ, λειμωνιάσιν χαίρουσα πνοῇσιν,
> ἱερὸν ἐκφαίνουσα δέμας βλαστοῖς χλοοκάρποις.

**402.** παντοδαποῖς: this is not found elsewhere in early epic. Cf. Sapph. 152, A. *Th.* 357, etc. (cf. παντοῖος, ἀλλοδαπός Homer).

θάλλει: in Homer only forms of the perfect occur. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 173 (θάλλοντα), 236 (θάλλουσιν).

**403.** ἄνει: the Homeric form is εἶσθα. Cf. εἶς Hes. *Op.* 208 (Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 114), and εἶ in Attic. Wackernagel considers this evidence for Attic composition (*Spr. Unt.* 179). Cf. Introduction, p. 54.

**403 f.** If there was a lacuna after 403, as suggested by Ruhnken, it existed already when the papyrus was written. But more probably the text is sound, and there is an abrupt break in the sense. Demeter's question in 404 refers to the rape, not to Persephone's having eaten in Hades, and Persephone answers her in *Dem.* 414 ff. Attempts to attach 404 more closely to the preceding lines (e.g. by reading ἤ τίνι or ἤ τινι) are therefore unnecessary. 404 looks rather like an afterthought on the poet's part, leading him to add 414 ff. (although for 403–4 cf. Hes. *Th.* 588–9. See Introduction, p. 38.

**404.** Ruhnken's conjecture is confirmed by the papyrus.

**405–33.** Persephone relates how she ate the pomegranate seed, and how Hades carried her off.

Persephone's speech contains a recapitulation (417–32) of the narratives of *Dem.* 340–74 and 5–20, expanded by a catalogue of her companions at the Rape (418–24). Such repetition and expansion is a normal feature of epic. In general, the *Hymn* avoids such lengthy repetitions (cf. ad *Dem.* 172, 314–23) but cf. 216–23 (~ 147–8, 164–8), 335–9 (~ 347–51 ~ 407–10), 442–7 (~ 460–5). Cf. also van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaïque*, 108, and Introduction, p. 59.

**405.** **Περσεφόνη:** the *Φ-* of pap. 2 is Attic. Cf. ad *Dem.* 56.

**406:** **τοι:** the papyrus confirms Hermann's conjecture (cf. *Od.* 17. 108, *Il.* 10. 413, *Od.* 1. 179, etc.).

**ἐρέω:** for the synizesis cf. Hes. *Op.* 202. *ἐξερέω* without synizesis occurs at *Dem.* 416. The digamma in *ἐρέω* is regularly observed in Homer, and neglected only three times (Chantraine, *GH* i. 136). Cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 52.

Does Persephone, like Demeter at *Dem.* 120 f. (cf. ad loc.) protest too much? Cf. ad *Dem.* 413. For protestations of truthfulness in a speech cf. also *Dem.* 58, 433.

**407.** The papyrus gives the correct reading of this line, which was marked as corrupt in M and suspected by earlier editors. *ὠκύς* (also obelized in M) might have come in as a gloss on *ἐριούνιος*, which could have been interpreted by some (rightly) as 'fast runner' (cf. *Hy.* 19. 28 f., Hsch. s.vv. *οὔνει* (*οὔνης*), *οὔνιος*, *οὖνον*, Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 690 ff., Frisk s.v., Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 123). But there is no evidence of this interpretation in ancient times. *Ἑρμῆς*, however, is very probably a gloss on *Ἀργειφόντης*, and *ὠκύς* could then have been added to fill the line. *ἐριούνιος Ἀργειφόντης* is not found elsewhere as a formula in early epic, and in this context is replaceable by *διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης* (*Il.* 21. 497 etc.; *ἦλθε διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης** *Od.* 24. 99) or *ἐΰσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης* (*Ap.* 200, *Herm.* 73, *Aph.* 262), but M's reading seems to guarantee it. On the development of formulae for Hermes cf. Hainsworth, quoted by Hoekstra, *Hom. Modifications*, 49 n. 1, observing the tendency for *Ἀργειφόντης/ν* to be replaced by *κύδιμος/ν Ἑρμῆς/ν* in epic (*Hy. Herm.*), once this formula became available. But (*a*) they are not genuine doublets, unlike *ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς* and *Ἀργειφόντης*; (*b*) *Ἀργειφόντης* is almost always used with an epithet.

**408.** **πατέρος Κρονίδαο:** again a variant (here grammatical) on traditional Zeus-formulae. Cf. ad *Dem.* 407–8 (*Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* is a doublet), and Introduction, pp. 47, 49.

**409.** **ἐλθεῖν:** for the infinitive after *ἄγγελος ἦλθε* cf. *Il.* 11. 715, 24. 194 f. For the repetition see Introduction, p. 60.

**411.** **αὐτὰρ . . . αὐτάρ:** this repetition has been suspected. A second *αὐτάρ* occurs as a v.l. at *Il.* 18. 203. Ilgen's *αὐτίκ'* is the most attractive emendation. But in this *Hymn* such repetition is perhaps not impossible (cf. Introduction, p. 60). For the phrase cf. *Il.* 11. 747 (etc.), *Dem.* 429.

**411 ff.** Here Persephone herself reveals that she has eaten in the

underworld. In a later version she is detected by Ascalaphus, who informs against her, and has a rock placed on him in Hades by Demeter (Apollod. 1. 5. 3). Heracles, in his visit to Hades, rolls away the stone, but Demeter turns him into an owl (Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Ov. *M.* 5. 538 ff., Serv. in *Georg.* 1. 39, in *Aen.* 4. 462, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 3. 511, Mythogr. Vat. 2. 100 = *Scr. rer. myth. Lat.* ed. Bode, i. 108.

In Virg. *G.* 1. 39 Persephone does not care to return to her mother. In Lucan 6. 741 f., Ceres does not want her back, because she is 'contagia passam' (cf. also 699 'caelum matremque perosa'). On these versions, see Zuntz, *Persephone*, 400 ff.

**412. ἔμβαλε:** the use of *ἔμβαλέ μοι* without further specification (e.g. *στόματι*) is unusual for early epic. Cf. e.g. *Od.* 2. 37 *σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε χειρί*. But Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 146, is surely wrong in speaking of 'throwing' here (comparing Clem. *Protr.* 2. 17. 1).

**413.** In *Dem.* 371–2 no mention of compulsion is made. Persephone presumably means that she did not want to eat, but could not help it. Does she perhaps 'protest too much' in self-defence (cf. ad *Dem.* 406)? For the pleonasm cf. ad *Dem.* 72, 124. The word-order is 'untraditional' (for *βίῃ ἀέκουσαν*). Note the un-Homeric contraction of *ἄκουσαν* (cf. ad *Dem.* 379), and see Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 51.

**προσηνάγκασσε:** this occurs first here. Cf. Th. 5. 42, Hippocrates (frequent), etc. (*ἀναγκάζω* Hdt. 1. 11 etc.). The compound seems otiose and 'unepic', and the whole line could well be removed. One wonders whether it might not be another 'fill-line', added to supply a lacuna (see app. crit., and cf. Introduction, p. 66).

**414.** Cf. *Dem.* 3, 30.

**Κρονίδεω . . . μῆτιν:** this phrase is perhaps modelled on the Hesiodic *Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς* (*Th.* 572 = *Op.* 71), influenced possibly by *Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω, μητίετα Ζεύς*. The form *Κρονίδεω* does not occur in Homer.

**414–15.** The word order is complex. Cf. *Dem.* 72–3 (*λαβὼν . . . οἴχεται . . .*), 169–70, 182–3, and Introduction, p. 60.

**415. ᾤχετο . . . φέρων:** cf. Ar. *Lys.* 976 etc., *Dem.* 431.

**416. ὡς ἐρεείνεις:** cf. ad *Dem.* 172.

**417–24.** The list of Oceanids is a 'shortened version' of that in Hes. *Th.* 349 ff., with some additions (Leucippe, Phaeno, Iache, Rhodope; Melite is a Nereid in *Il.* 18. 42, Hes. *Th.* 247). Sixteen of the forty-one names in Hesiod are used. The catalogue may be borrowed directly from Hesiod (cf. West, *Theogony*, p. 260), but it may equally well be a traditional feature. Cf. the catalogue of Nereids, *Il.* 18. 39–49 ~ Hes. *Th.* 243–62. On the Oceanids in general cf. ad *Dem.* 5, West, o.c. 263 ff.

There is much rhyme, alliteration, and assonance in both lists. Cf. Lehrs, *Aristarchus*², 463. He suggests that the greater frequency of internal rhyme in Hesiod than in the *Hymn* is due to the difference of context: Hesiod is giving a catalogue, Persephone a narrative. Cf. also West, *Theogony*, 203, 236, Rzach, *RE* 8. 1199 f., Dornseiff, *Antike und alter Orient* (Leipzig, 1959), 42, and n. ad *Dem.* 109 f.

Pausanias (4. 30. 4) quotes *Dem.* 417–24, and says that Homer in the *Hymn* was the first to mention Tyche. He therefore places Homer before Hesiod. Both he and the papyrus omit 419. The papyrus does not quote 424, but it is only listing the Oceanids (and cf. ad loc.).

The catalogue is inserted into the middle of a sentence (417, 424 ~ 5–7). The verb is thus postponed.

**417.** Cf. *Dem.* 7a.

**ἱμερτόν:** this occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 2. 751). Cf. *Herm.* 510, *Hy.* 10. 3, Hes. *Th.* 577 (Pandora's crown: the line may be interpolated, West ad loc. But cf. *Op.* 75).

**418.** Leucippe and Phaeno are not in Hesiod. Leucippe is like Hippo in Hes. *Th.* 351 (cf. West ad loc.). 'White horses' is still the name given to foam-flecked wave-crests. For the association of water and horses (especially white) cf. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon* (Index, s.v. Pferd). Note also *Il.* 20. 228–9.

**Φαινώ:** cf. perhaps Hes. fr. 291. 3, where *Φαιώ* as one of the Hyades occurs with *Εὐδώρη* (an Oceanid in Hes. *Th.* 360). The Hyades are here nymphs (and in later legend they were nurses of Dionysus: *RE* 8. 1260 f. Cf. ad *Dem.* 17 *Νύσιον ἄμ πεδίον*).

**Ἠλέκτρη:** cf. West ad *Th.* 349. Like Phaeno/Phaeo, the name is also used for a star in Hes. fr. 169. 1 (one of the Pleiades). In Claudian's version of the story, she becomes the nurse of Proserpine (*RP* 3. 169 ff.). Cf. Introduction, p. 73.

**καὶ Ἰάνθη:** the digamma, attested for *Ϝιανθεμίς* (Alcm. *PMG* 1. 76), is observed in Hesiod, ignored here. Cf. West ad loc., and the similar neglect in *Dem.* 6 (cf. Appendix II, p. 335).

**419.** The omission of the line in both the papyrus and Pausanias is ascribed to 'homoeomeson' by Allen (*CR* 21 (1907), 100). But it suggests that variant (rhapsodic) versions existed. Cf. Introduction, pp. 68, 74 f.

**Μελίτη:** a Nereid in *Il.* 18. 42, Hes. *Th.* 247. The name was also given to the heroine of the Attic deme Melite (cf. Hes. fr. 225, Philoch. *FGH* 328. 27, Musaeus, fr. 2 B 9 D.–K., Harpocr., *Suda*, Phot. s.v.). She was loved by Heracles, who was initiated into the Lesser Mysteries in her deme and there honoured as *ἀλεξίκακος* (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 501, *RE* 15. 540 ff.). The Thesmophoreion must have been in her deme, and near to the Herakleion (cf. Judeich, *Topographie*, 397 n. 1). This perhaps gives a point of connection with Eleusinian legend. There was also a spring of this name in Lycia (Anton. Lib. 35). Persephone herself was called Melitodes, and the priestesses of Demeter and Persephone Melissae (Schol. Theocr. 15. 94, Porph. *de antro* 18, Call. *Hy.* 2. 110 ff.), as were those of some other deities (cf. *RE* 15. 525 ff.).

**Ἰάχη:** not in Hesiod. But cf. *Th.* 351 (with Rhodeia and Callirhoe) *Κλυμένη τε*. The name might perhaps refer to the sound of the water. But it does not occur elsewhere. If the name Iacchus is derived from the cry of the Eleusinian procession, could *Ἰάχη* here also be derived from this? Cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 664: 'Aus dem Ruf *ἰαχή* ist der Gott

Iakchos entstanden.' The procession from Athens is assumed to be a later feature (cf. Introduction, pp. 8 f.), but some kind of procession probably existed from early times.

**Ῥόδεια:** M has *Ῥόεια*. For the variant *Ῥόδια* in Hesiod cf. West ad loc. Rhodeia and Rhodope (422) probably both derive their names from *ῥόδον*. Cf. *Ῥόδη*, *Ῥόδυλλα*, *Ῥόδον*, *Ῥόδιον* (*RE* IA. 954 s.v. *Ῥόδη* 3, Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*[8] (Berlin, 1911), 252).

**Καλλιρόη:** this was a common name of springs, but was applied especially to the spring by the Ilissos, near the temple *ἐν Ἄγραις*, where the Lesser Mysteries were held (cf. ad *Dem.* 270–2).

This lines thus unexpectedly supplies three names which could have connections with the Mysteries. But in the middle of a catalogue of this kind, it is hard to believe that this is deliberate.

**420. Μηλόβοσις:** protectress of flocks and herds (cf. West, ad *Th.* 354).

**Τύχη:** cf. Paus. l.c. (ad *Dem.* 417–24). The word (which means originally 'hitting the mark') does not occur in Homer, the common noun first(?) in *Hy.* 11. 5, where it means 'fortune, success' (cf. Archil.(?) fr. 16 West; Alcm. *PMG* 64). As such she is made an Oceanid (cf. Plouto, *Dem.* 422, Doris, Polydore, Eudore, *Th.* 350, 354, 360). Cf. West ad *Th.* 360. Later representations of Tyche showed her with the child Ploutos (Paus. 9. 16. 2, *IG* 12. 3. 1098, Wolters, *AM* 15 (1890), 246 ff.; cf. ad *Dem.* 489).

**Ὠκυρόη καλυκῶπις:** 'swift-flowing', perhaps like her father Oceanus (cf. West ad *Th.* 360). On *καλυκῶπις* cf. ad *Dem.* 8, 427.

**421. Χρυσηΐς:** at *Th.* 359 the manuscripts have *χρυσήις*, *Κρυσηίς*, *Κρυσίη* (*Χρυσηίς* Hermann: cf. West ad loc.). In Homer, Chryseis is the daughter of the priest Chryses (*Il.* 1. 111 etc.). Here, the name may be included because of its association with *χρυσός* (cf. *Πλουτώ* etc.).

**Ἰάνειρα:** also a Nereid at *Il.* 18. 47, with Ianassa. These are shortened forms of names such as Calli-/Iphianeira/-anassa (feminines of *ἀνήρ*, *ἄναξ*): cf. *Il.* 18. 44, 46. Eustathius (*Il.* 1130. 47, *Od.* 1506. 51) derives Ianeira from *ἰαίνω* (cf. Jessen, *RE* 9. 690).

**Ἀκάστη τ' Ἀδμήτη τε:** cf. perhaps Acastus and his brother-in-law, Admetus. Admete is a suitable name for a nymph (cf. West ad *Th.* 349). Acaste may be associated with her, through reminiscence of a formula such as *Ἄκαστός τ' Ἄδμητός τε*. *ἄκαστος* is also the name of a tree, *σφένδαμνος*, Olympian maple: i.e. a tree-nymph?

**422. Ῥοδόπη:** not in Hesiod. Probably 'rosy-faced' (cf. *Καλλιόπη*, *Παρθενόπη*, *Λειριόπη* etc.), like *Ῥόδεια* (419).

**Πλουτώ:** cf. *Τύχη* (420), and the association of Ploutos with Demeter and Persephone (489).

**καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψώ:** cf. West ad *Th.* 359. The name perhaps has no special original significance, but may be derived from the veil which women wore (cf. *Od.* 5. 232, and *Καλύπτρη* as a woman's name: Lamer, *RE* 10. 1777).

**423. Στύξ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 259. In Hesiod she is named last, as being *προφερεστάτη . . . ἁπασέων* (cf. *Dem.* 110).

**Οὐρανίη:** also the name of a Muse (Hes. *Th.* 78).

**Γαλαξαύρη:** cf. West ad *Th.* 353.

**ἐρατεινή:** usually of places in Homer (also of a feast, ambrosia, etc.). But cf. *Il.* 3. 175, *Od.* 4. 13, Hes. *Th.* 136, 909.

**424.** This line has been suspected by various critics, on the grounds that Athena and Artemis do not belong to the original version, which mentions only the Oceanids (cf. *Dem.* 5). The Orphic papyrus does not quote the line, but it is only listing the Oceanids, and it mentions Athena and Artemis in the paraphrase (Orph. fr. 49. 40 f.: *Ἀρτέμιδος τοξεί[α] Ἀθηνᾶς . . .*). They appear in E. *Hel.* 1314 ff. (cf. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 142 ff.):

> *μετὰ δ' ⟨ἦιξαν?⟩ ἀελλοπόδες*
> *ἁ μὲν τόξοις Ἄρτεμις, ἁ*
> *δ' ἔγχει Γοργῶ⟨πις⟩ πάνοπλος*
> (West suggests *ἄϊξαν metri gratia*).

The language recalls *Dem.* 424. Claudian (*RP* 2. 204 ff.) fills in the picture: the goddesses pursue Hades and attempt to fight, but are prevented by Zeus, who hurls a thunderbolt. This last feature is referred to in Orph. fr. 49. 38 f., and *PMG* 935. 9 ff., and probably also reflected in E. *Hel.* 1317. In the 'Orphic' version the thunderbolt serves to open the earth for Hades (cf. Maas, o.c. 146.). In Euripides and the *Epidaurian Hymn* Meter (= Demeter) is apparently aided in her search or pursuit of Hades by Athena and Artemis, and in the latter Zeus throws a thunderbolt and splits the rocks when she is already searching: this perhaps points to a version in which Demeter is present at the Rape, which is attested by some late representations (cf. ad *Dem.* 4). But the lyric versions confuse the narrative order (Maas, o.c. 147, A. M. Dale, *Euripides, Helena*, pp. 150 f., Kannicht, *Eur. Helena*, ii. 338. Cf. also Walton, *HTR* 45 (1952), 107 n. 7).[1]

Diodorus (5. 3. 4) also mentions Athena and Artemis as present. Cf. Paus. 8. 31. 2, Stat. *Ach.* 2. 150 ff. (= 1. 824 ff. ed. Garrod), Val. Fl. 5. 343 ff. They are portrayed on Roman sarcophagi of the Rape, sometimes with Aphrodite (cf. Claud. *RP* 1. 229 ff.), on others with Demeter (cf. Förster, *Raub und Rückkehr*, 131 ff.). One class of sarcophagi represents them as favourable to the Rape (Förster, 201 ff., 217 f.). This agrees with Orph. *Arg.* 1191 f., according to which Persephone was deceived by her companions. In Claudian (*RP* 1. 220 ff.) Venus is sent by Zeus to lure her out to the meadow, and a hint of a version in which the two other goddesses collaborate is perhaps given by Claud. *RP* 3. 198 f. (cf. Förster, 280 ff. But see Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 422 n. 4, *contra* Förster).

It is possible that the presence of Athena and Artemis was already a traditional feature before the *Homeric Hymn* (cf. Walton, l.c.). The version in which they pursue Hades but are stopped by Zeus' thunder-

[1] According to Kannicht (o.c. 342 with n. 31), Athena already appears on the mid-fifth-century B.C. vase-painting of the Rape, first published by Hartwig, *AM* 21 (1896), Pl. 12 (cf. ad *Dem.* 16).

bolt (which also, or alternatively, opens the way for Hades) is apparently 'Orphic' (but cf. Kannicht, o.c. ii. 342 ff.) and various 'Orphic' features may belong to early local tradition at Eleusis (cf. Introduction, pp. 79 ff.). The *Hymn*, in the opening narrative, is concerned to remove all divine or human witnesses to the Rape, except Hecate and Helios (22 ff.). Zeus is also far away (27 ff.). The Orphic version has human witnesses, Athena and Artemis, and the thunderbolt of Zeus. All these features may have been omitted in the epic narrative of the Rape, leaving however a trace at this point. The line is not in itself objectionable (see below), and as Persephone does not explicitly say that her companions were all Oceanids, it is not out of place in its context. The two goddesses are placed last, as being most important (cf. Styx in Hes. *Th.* 361, West ad loc.).

**Παλλάς:** first here without *Ἀθήνη/-αίη*. Cf. Pi. *O.* 26 etc.

**ἐγρεμάχη:** the epithet occurs first here. Cf. ad loc. and *Orph. Hy. Prol.* 38. A fragment of the *Phoronis* (P. Oxy. 2260, col. i. 3–7) has *ἐγρεμάχη** of Athena. Cf. S. *OC* 1054 f. *ἔνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν Θησέα . . .* (at Eleusis: cf. 1049 ff.); also *ἐγρεκύδοιμος* of Athena in Hes. *Th.* 925, Lamprocles, *PMG* 735b; *θεᾷ . . . ἐγερσιμάχᾳ AP* 6. 122. 2.

**καί:** before a vowel *καί* is unshortened in the third thesis at *Il.* 13. 316 (omitted by some MSS. and papyri), *Od.* 19. 174 (s.v.l.), *Aph.* 13 (~ *Il.* 10. 322 *τε καί*, 4. 226, 10. 393), 113 (but cf. 116), *Hy.* 27. 22, 33. 19 (*τε καί* 25. 7, 29. 14), Hes. *Th.* 250, ? 148 (cf. West ad loc.), fr. 193. 20, and in later poetry Arat. 534, P. Oxy. 1794. 12 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 79), *Orph. Hy. Prol.* 32, 10. 14, and fr. 32 f 6; in the fourth thesis *Il.* 24. 641; in the second Hes. fr. 266 (a). 10 (cf. Merkelbach and West, *RhM* 108 (1965) 312 n. 38). Cf. also Christian epigrams (in third thesis): *AP* 1. 8. 5, 10. 52, 38. 1, 40. 1, 53. 1, 91. 1. In some of these cases the text may be altered (e.g. by addition of *τε*), but not in all. Examples such as *Dem.* 275, *Ap.* 198, *Aph.* 82 (*τε καί* v.l.) are due to the original digamma, but after its effect was no longer felt such cases may have influenced poets to use the device more freely. Cf. also Allen, *JHS* 18 (1898), 23 f.

Here one could read *ἠδ'*, which is sometimes replaced by *καί* in manuscripts.

**425. παίζομεν . . . δρέπομεν:** presumably imperfects, as the historic present is not used in epic. Cf. *Dem.* 429.

**δρέπομεν:** the active occurs at Hes. *Th.* 31 (s.v.l.). Cf. Pi. *O.* 1. 13 etc.

**ἐρόεντα:** cf. ad *Dem.* 109.

**426–8.** The catalogue of flowers differs from that of *Dem.* 6 ff. only in the replacement of *ἴα* by *λείρια*. Cf. ad *Dem.* 427.

**426. κρόκον τ' ἀγανόν:** this correction of Voss is most probable, although *ἀγανός* is not elsewhere used of flowers. Cf. *τέρην* (*Dem.* 209, *τέρεν' ἄνθεα ποίης Od.* 9. 449).

**427. ῥοδέας κάλυκας:** *ῥόδεος* occurs first here (cf. *ῥόδα Dem.* 6; Hom. *ῥοδόεις*, etc.). *ῥοδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι* Ibyc. *PMG* 288. 4 (3 *ἀγανοβλέφαρος* ~ *Dem.* 426). *κάλυκες* is used in *Il.* 18. 401, *Aph.* 87 for a

woman's ornaments, apparently ear-rings in the shape of flower-buds. Cf. *Cypr.* fr. 4. 5, and ad *Dem.* 8.

**λείρια:** these occur first here. Cf. in Homer ὄπα λειριόεσσαν (*Il.* 3. 152 ~ Hes. *Th.* 41), χρόα λειριόεντα (*Il.* 13. 830), Ποδαλείριος (*Il.* 2. 732, 11. 832), and later λειρίων ὀμμάτων (Bacch. 17. 95), ὄπα λείριον (A.R. 4. 903 ~ Orph. *Arg.* 253); cf. Q.S. 2. 418, *GVI* 2027. 10. λείρια are mentioned by Cratinus in his flower-catalogue (fr. 98. 2). Examples of the word, outside botanists and lexica, are confined to poetry (A.R. 1. 879, Nic. *Ther.* 543, fr. 74. 27, 70; *AP* 7. 219. 2; cf. Pi. *N.* 7. 79, Nic. *Alex.* 407), and there was no certainty as to its meaning. It is identified by some with κρίνον, the 'lilium candidum' (Philinus ap. Ath. 681 b; Nic. fr. 74. 27, where its use by poets is specifically mentioned; Diosc. 3. 106, Erotian. 94. 2), by others with νάρκισσος (Theophr. *HP* 6. 6. 9, Diosc. 4. 158). Pollux (6. 107) says that Homer called all flowers λείρια. This is probably derived from explanations of *Il.* 3. 152 etc. (cf. Eust. ad loc.). It can hardly be a reference to *Dem.* 427. Nic. *Ther.* l.c. apparently uses λείρια generally (cf. also Hsch. s.v. and Schneider, ad Nic. fr. 74. 70). The word was probably not in everyday use in the later classical period (cf. Olck, *RE* 7. 795 f.).

Murr (*Die Pflanzenwelt in der griech. Mythologie*, 249 ff.), considers that λείρια here replace the νάρκισσος of *Dem.* 8, and that 428 is interpolated (θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι ~ *Dem.* 10). But the miraculous narcissus is too important not to be named explicitly.

On the etymology see Frisk s.v., van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* 21 (1903), 114 ff., Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 27 f., Bechtel, *Lexilogus*, s.v. λειριόεις.

**428. ὃν ἔφυς':** cf. *Dem.* 8 ὃν φῦσε, West ad *Th.* 381.

**ὥς περ κρόκον:** this is unexpected, especially after *Dem.* 426. The *Narcissus tazetta* (cf. ad *Dem.* 8) was sometimes compared to the κρόκος (Ov. *M.* 3. 509 'croceum florem'; Diosc. 4. 161 (158): it has a κοῖλον κροκοειδές). If the reading is genuine it may refer *either* to the colour, on the symbolism of which see notes ad *Dem.* 6, 8, 19 (cf. Ov. l.c.; A.R. 3. 855 χροιῇ Κωρυκίῳ ἴκελον κρόκῳ, of Medea's magic flower; κροκόεις of colour Pi. *P.* 4. 232, Theocr. 1. 31 etc.; κροκηΐῳ ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι *Dem.* 178), *or* to the scent (cf. *Dem.* 13 f.; Hes. fr. 140: Zeus when he carried off Europa κρόκον ἔπνει; Theophr. *HP* 6. 6. 5).[1] Crocus and narcissus as sacred to Demeter and Persephone are mentioned together in S. *OC* 681 ff. For the repetition after *Dem.* 426 cf. Introduction, p. 60.

**429–30.** Cf. *Dem.* 15–17.

**αὐτάρ:** Ilgen and Gemoll object to the use of this here. But the continuative sense is common (Denniston, *GP* p. 55 (2)). For αὐτὰρ ἐγώ cf. *Dem.* 411 (cf. ad loc.), Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen, 1957), 38 f., 50.

**περὶ χάρματι:** this use of περί is not found in Homer. Cf. περὶ

[1] In Hippon. fr. 41 B. = 104. 21–2 Masson, cited by Allen and Halliday, the correct reading is *Κροῖσος*.

δείματι (Pi. *P.* 5. 58), περὶ τιμᾷ (Pi. *P.* 2. 59), περὶ τάρβει, φόβῳ (A. *Pers.* 696, *Cho.* 35), ὀδύνῃ πέρι (A.R. 3. 866).

**430. τῇ δ' ἔκθορ':** cf. ad *Dem.* 17.

**ἄναξ κρατερὸς πολυδέγμων:** cf. ad *Dem.* 17. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 54 f., comments on the awkward juxtaposition of ἄναξ κρατερός, never found in Homer, and on the elision before ἄναξ in this position, which is also un-Homeric. He also considers the use of χώρησεν as runover word with *nu* movable making position a sign of modernizing tendencies, and concludes that '*Dem.* 17 and 404 show a composition which is typical of post-Homeric development.' See also Appendix II, c.

**431–2.** Cf. *Dem.* 19–20. Noté the variation:

ἁρπάξας . . . ἦγε ~ βῆ δὲ φέρων ὑπὸ γαῖαν
ἀέκουσαν . . . ὀλοφυρομένην ~ πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένην (~ *Dem.* 30)
ἐπὶ χρυσείοισιν ὄχοισιν ~ ἐν ἅρμασι χρυσείοισι*
ἰάχησε δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ ~ ἐβόησα δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ*.

The two versions are interchangeable.

**ἐν ἅρμασι χρυσείοισι:** the short scansion of a vowel *in thesi* at the end of a word before mute and liquid is regular in epic (cf. West, *Theogony*, 97). For examples with χρ- cf. *Il.* 23. 186, 24. 795 (γε χρυσείην), *Od.* 8. 353, *Ap.* 293, *Herm.* 332, *Hy.* 8. 1, *Orph. Hy.* 55. 18; within a word *Ap.* 439 (Agar, *CR* 15 (1901), 145 ff.).

**432. πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένην:** for the rhythm cf. also *Dem.* 20a.

**433.** Cf. *Dem.* 406. The closing formula of the speech recalls the opening.

**434–40.** Demeter and Persephone spend the day in happy reunion. They are joined by Hecate, who becomes the attendant of Persephone.

438–40 are aetiological (cf. ad loc.); possibly 434 ff. may be also. The day following the main events of the Mysteries in the Telesterion was perhaps spent in festivities (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 635 a ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια τῆς πανηγύρεως ἀκμαζούσης εἱστιώμεθα . . .; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 279; Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 358). For thanksgiving at the end of the ritual search for Core cf. Lact. *Div. Inst. Epit.* 18 (23). 7 (ad *Dem.* 40 ff.). The emphasis on the restoration of the goddesses' spirits (434–6: θυμός repeated) might perhaps recall the mystic formulae, εὐθυμεῖν, etc. (cf. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, Index s.v. εὐθυμέω etc.).

**434. πρόπαν ἦμαρ:** cf. ad *Dem.* 434–40, and similarly 292 παννύχιαι.

**434–6.** The triple repetition of θυμός is unattractive, but need not be suspected. Cf. πόλλ' . . . πολλά . . . πολλά (432, 435, 439), ἀλλήλων . . . ἀλλήλων (435, 437), ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι . . . ἀμφαγάπησε (436, 439) (and see Introduction, p. 60).

On the expression ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι cf. B. Snell, *Gnomon* 7 (1931), 84 f.

**436.** Note the alliteration of this line. Cf. ad *Dem.* 289 f.

**ἀχέων δ' ἀπεπαύετο θυμός:** cf. ad *Dem.* 392.

**437. γηθοσύνας:** the plural does not occur elsewhere before A.R. 2. 878. But cf. similar examples in Homer: *ἀφροσύναι, εὐφροσύναι* (*θυμὸς | αἰὲν ἐνφροσύνῃσιν ἰαίνεται Od.* 6. 155–6), etc.

**ἔδιδόν τε:** cf. ad *Dem.* 327 (*δίδον*). Ruhnken's emendation is supported by *Od.* 20. 8, *Herm.* 312. The verse is a weak one after 434–6, and might have been added to supply a lacuna (cf. Introduction, p. 66).

**438–40.** Hecate's role in the cult of Eleusis is here explicitly accounted for. The language is that of the cult: cf. ad *Dem.* 439, 440.

**439. ἀμφαγάπησε:** this form of the verb (*ἀμφαγαπᾶν*) also occurs in Hes. *Op.* 58 (cf. Hom. *ἀμφαγαπάζω*: *Dem.* 290, 436).

**κόρην Δημήτερος ἁγνῆς:** the Attic form *κόρη* is here used, perhaps deliberately. Elsewhere in the *Hymn κούρη*, the epic–Ionic form, is used (*Dem.* 8, etc.). Persephone is almost always referred to in cult inscriptions as *Κόρη* or *Δήμητρος Κόρη* (Doric *Κόρα, Κώρα*, Aeolic *Κόρα*, Arc. *Κόρϝα*): cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 118, Bräuninger, *RE* 19. 954. In literature, cf. Lasus *PMG* 702 *Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον*, and later E. *Alc.* 369, Carcin. fr. 5, Ar. *Ran.* 337, Antiph. 52. 9, Eub. 75. 10, Isocr. 10. 22, Aristid. 1. 416, Paus. 2. 22. 3, 4. 33. 4. On *Δημήτηρ ἀγνή* see notes to *Dem.* 203. The form *Κόρη* is also found in [Archilochus] fr. 322 West: *Δήμητρος ἁγνῆς καὶ Κόρης* . . . The Attic form is very surprising here and the fragment was doubtfully attributed already in antiquity (cf. Hephaest. ad loc.). *Κόρη* (v.l. *Κούρη*) in Hdt. 8. 65. 4 occurs in the story of the Athenian Dicaeus. It is also found in some later Ionic inscriptions, e.g. from Paros, *IG* 12. 5. 134. 10, 227. 2 f. In the *Hymn*, it has been taken as evidence of an Attic composer (cf. Wackernagel, *Spr. Unters.* 179). But an Ionic poet might possibly have used it as the title of Persephone in Attica. Cf. Introduction, p. 55, and see also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 54, on the use of the whole phrase here.

**Δημήτερος:** this form occurs in epic at *Il.* 13. 322, 21. 76, Hes. *Op.* 32, 393, 466, 597, 805, *Sc.* 290. Elsewhere *Δήμητρος* is used, *Il.* 2. 696, 14. 326, *Dem.* 4, 453, Hes. *Th.* 912, and later.

**440. ἐκ τοῦ:** in Hes. *Th.* 556 this is also used aetiologically.

**πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων:** this is quoted by Philodemus. *πρόπολος* does not occur in Homer (cf. *ἀμφίπολος*). Cf. perhaps Hes. fr. 23(a). 26 *Ἄρτεμιν εἰνοδί[ην πρόπολον κλυ]τοῦ ἰ[ο]χ[ε]αίρ[ης* (of Iphimede, ex coni. Lloyd-Jones); E. *Hel.* 570 *νυκτίφαντον πρόπολον Ἐνοδίας* (i.e. Hecate); Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III (*Testimonia*), p. 82, No. 226

> *[Ἄ]ρρήτο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Δηοῖ,*
> *καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε*
> *ἔστησεν στεφανὼ Λυσιστράτη* . . .

(probably from the Eleusinion, *c.* 455 B.C.); S. *OC* 1053 *προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν* (cf. ad *Dem.* 478–9, 39, etc.); see also Ar. *Nub.* 436 (N.B.: *θαρρῶν* is a 'verbum mysticum'). In S. fr. 535. 3 Pearson conjectured ⟨*προπολοῦσα*⟩ (of Hecate, carrying her torch through the sky: cf. ad loc.). *πρόπολοι* is a variant at Hes. *Op.* 253, and the word occurs later in Xenoph. 1. 18, Pi. *O.* 13. 54, etc.

ὀπάων is only used of men in Homer ('squire'), and so also later, except *IG* 14. 1389. i. 52 (of an attendant of Faustina/Demeter): ἀμφίπολον γεράων ἔμεναι καὶ ὀπάονα νύμφην (the poem goes on to compare Iphigeneia as πρόπολος of Artemis. Cf. Hes. fr. 23 (a). 26, above).[1]

It is most natural to take οἱ as referring to Persephone. Philodemus apparently referred it to Demeter, and this is also done by Kern, *RE* 16. 1213. 29.

Strictly, πρόπολος means that Hecate goes before Persephone, and ὀπάων perhaps that she follows her (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 185, Frisk s.v.). Thus, she is represented leading Persephone up from Hades on the red-figure bell krater of the Persephone painter in New York (ARV² 1012. 1). Hermes and Demeter are also present. Hecate holds two torches, and turns her head back towards Persephone, who is rising from the earth.[2] She is probably also depicted leading Hades and Persephone down to the underworld on several south-Italian vases, and perhaps on the Niinnion tablet as leading the mystae to the Sanctuary (cf. ad *Dem.* 24 ff.). She has the title Hegemone (*Orph. Hy.* 1. 8), like Artemis, with whom she was apparently identified at Eleusis, where the position of her temple at the entrance to the Sanctuary (Artemis Propylaea) is appropriate to the deity who is here an attendant of the Great Goddesses and intermediary between them and mankind.

According to one tradition, she was actually sent down to Hades to look for Persephone (? Call. fr. 466 ap. Schol. Theocr. 2. 12). She is a daughter of Demeter in Orph. fr. 41, and Call. l.c., and sometimes identified with Persephone (perhaps in E. *Ion* 1048, S. *Ant.* 1199 f., and explicitly later, Schol. Theocr. l.c. and Roscher, 1. 1898).

**ἄνασσα:** this is used as a title of Hecate in A.R. 3. 862 (*Βριμὼ . . . ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσαν*), 4. 147, *Orph. Hy.* 1. 7.

**441–69.** Zeus sends Rhea to bring Demeter and Persephone back to heaven, promising honours to Demeter and granting that Persephone should remain in the underworld for a third of the year, and in heaven for the rest. Rhea comes to the Rarian plain, and gives her message.

On Rhea's journey see notes to *Dem.* 314–23.

It would be unwise to draw any conclusions from Rhea's employment here as to her role at Eleusis, or partial identity with Demeter. Cf. Kerényi (*Eleusis*, 132 ff.), who refers to later identifications of Demeter and the *Μήτηρ θεῶν* attested from the fifth century B.C. onwards.[3] But in the Homeric poem her use as an agent of reconciliation

[1] In A. *Supp.* 954 there is no justification for reading the feminine.

[2] For another, similar representation see Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.* 1933–5, 1 ff., Fig. 1. Cf. also *ARV*² 205. 119 (?), *Arch. Anz.* 1971, 178 ff.

[3] Cf. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen*, 138, Kannicht, *Euripides, Helena*, ii. 329 ff., Zuntz, *Persephone*, 352 f. Cf. also Orph. fr. 145, 153. Already on a black-figure vase (Beazley, *ABV* p. 705/29 quater) Demeter and Core are shown accompanied by a lion. Cf. Metzger, *Recherches*, 22 (No. 43), 25, and Pl. VIII.

between Zeus and Demeter is due simply to the fact that she is the mother of both.[1]

In Philicus' *Hymn*, 22 ff. (Körte), the speech by Rhea's sister (? Tethys: cf. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 539 ff.) to Demeter is probably inspired by this episode in the *Homeric Hymn* (Latte, o.c. 553).

**441. ταῖς δὲ μετάγγελον ἦκε:** with M's reading, *μετ' . . . ἦκε* may be taken as a tmesis. But *μεθίημι* is not used in the sense 'send' (only 'let go, dismiss', etc.).

Hermann conjectured *τῆς δὲ μέτ'*,[2] but *μετά* is not found after its noun with the dative in Homer unless an adjective follows (*Il.* 12. 315, 321, *Od.* 12. 370), and only rarely with verbs of motion (*βάλλεσθαι Il.* 9. 434, *τιθέναι* 11. 413, etc., *στῆν* 11. 744, *εἶσαν ἄγοντες* 23. 698; cf. v.l. 24. 82). *τὰς δὲ μέτ'* (Voss, *dubitanter*) would be better, but, as he observes, is ambiguous, and *τὸν δὲ μέτ'* (etc.) always means 'after him' in Homer. The dative is normal after *ἄγγελος ἦλθε, ἄγγελον ἦκε* (cf. *Il.* 2. 786, 18. 182, etc.), but cf. *Il.* 13. 252, *Aph.* 137 for *μετά* with accusative.

*μετάγγελος* occurs doubtfully at *Il.* 15. 144 (of Iris), *ἥ τε θεοῖσι μετάγγελος ἀθανάτοισι* (codd. aliqui: *μετ'* cet.). It is more certain at *Il.* 23. 199 (of Iris) *μετάγγελος ἦλθ' ἀνέμοισιν* (*μετ'* v.l.), where *μετ' . . . ἦλθε* is unlikely. It probably arose from cases where *μετά* was originally intended as a preposition, but was thought of as a single word in *Il.* 23. 199 (cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 69, and for other similar cases 92 ff.). Thus *μετάγγελον* is perhaps the simplest correction, although not altogether satisfactory.

**442. Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον:** M has *ἣν μητέρα*. The object of *ἀξέμεναι* may be supplied from *ταῖς* (441), but this is more awkward in the case of the subject of *ἕλοιτο* (444). *κυανόπεπλος* is a standard epithet of Demeter in the *Hymn*, but it is also used of Leto (cf. ad *Dem.* 319), and the poet might have been influenced by *Dem.* 360 in his choice of epithet. He uses *ἠύκομος* of both Demeter (*Dem.* 1, 297, 315) and Rhea (60, 75, 442; it is also used of Leto, *Il.* 1. 36, etc.), and *λιπαροκρήδεμνος* of both Hecate (*Dem.* 25, 438) and Rhea (459).

M's text is therefore defensible (cf. Allen and Halliday), but *Δημήτερα* greatly improves the construction, and is probably right. For the corruption cf. the title of *Hy.* 13, Hdt. 4. 53. 6, and perhaps Xanthus, *FGH* 765. 28 (*Ὀρείας Δήμητρος* cod.: *Ὀρείας Μητρός* Wendel: *Ῥέας Μητρός* Hecker).

**443–4. ὑπέδεκτο . . . δωσέμεν:** for *ὑποδέχομαι* meaning 'promise' in Homer cf. *Il.* 7. 93, *Od.* 2. 387. It is first used here with the infinitive. Cf. Hdt. 3. 69, etc.

We are not told what *τιμαί* Demeter chose. Cf. ad *Dem.* 327 f.

**445–7.** Cf. *Dem.* 398–400 (and notes to 399 ff.). In *Il.* 8. 246 *νεῦε δέ οἱ* is followed by an accusative and infinitive. Here, the construction is highly elliptical: an infinitive must be understood with *κούρην*, and

[1] E. Simon (*Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 72 ff.) suggests that the episode is portrayed on the Kertsch pelike. This seems to me unlikely.

[2] Strictly *τῆς δὲ μετ'*, as the accent is not retracted when there is elision (LSJ s.v. D).

a verb of motion is required with *ὑπὸ ζόφον* (but cf. ad loc.). Cf. *Dem.* 398 f. *ἰοῦϲ' ὑπ[ὸ . . .] οἰκήϲειϲ.*

Hermann and Bücheler assume a lacuna after 446 (cf. ad loc.). Emendation is hardly possible. The sense is clear and the compression is assisted by the fact that the times of Persephone's return have already been described.

**446. ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα:** in 464 M has ]ερόεντα ϊ. But the accusative is probably right, as the *lectio difficilior*. Cf. ad *Dem.* 398, 445–7.

**448. ὣϲ ἔφατ':** cf. ad *Dem.* 316.

**ἀπίθηϲε . . . ἀγγελιάων:** *ἀπιθεῖν* takes the dative in Homer and later (see note to *Dem.* 358). But *πείθεϲθαι* is used with the genitive (vulg. lect. *Il.* 10. 57, Hdt. 1. 126, etc.). Cf. *ἄπιϲτοϲ φίλων* A. *Th.* 876. *οὐδ' ἀπίθηϲε* is the equivalent of *ἐπέκλυεν*, which has the genitive (cf. *Od.* 5. 150, *Aph.* 215). For *ἀπειθεῖν* with genitive in later Greek cf. *GDI* 3705. 111 (Cos, third century B.C., Doric dialect), LXX Josh. 5 : 6, Ecclesiasticus 2 : 15, 16 : 28. The line has been modelled on the type of *Il.* 2. 166 etc.: cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 59 n. 27. *ἀγγελιάων* is normally used of several dispatches (*Od.* 1. 414, etc.), but of a single one at *Od.* 5. 150, *Aph.* 215 (cf. West ad Hes. *Th.* 781).

**450. Ῥάριον:** sc. *πεδίον*. For the psilosis cf. Pfeiffer ad Call. fr. 21. 10. *Ῥαριάϲ* is a cult-title of Demeter: Call. fr. 21. 10, *Suda* s.v., Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ῥάριον πεδίον*, Choerob. (*Gramm. Graeci* iv. 2, ed. Hilgard) 43. 28, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 931. 6. Cf. perhaps Hermes. fr. 7. 19 f. (Powell) *Ῥάριον . . . Δήμητρα* (or *Ῥάριον ὀργειῶνα?*).

The original meaning is suggested by *Suda* s.v. *Ῥάροϲ· ἡ γαϲτήρ*. It may be from the cult-name that the place name *Ῥάριον πεδίον* or *Ῥαρία γῆ*, and (by a 'back formation') the eponymous hero, *Ῥάρ* or *Ῥᾶροϲ* derive (Pfister, *RE* 1A. 252. 13 ff.). The first is mentioned by Pausanias (1. 38. 6) : *τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον ϲπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουϲι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆϲαι καρπούϲ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖϲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆϲθαί ϲφιϲι, καὶ ποιεῖϲθαι πέμματα ἐϲ τὰϲ θυϲίαϲ καθέϲτηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἅλωϲ καλουμένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸϲ δείκνυται.* Cf. *Marm. Par.* 13 *ἀφ' οὗ Τριπτό[λεμοϲ ἐθέριϲε τὸν καρπόν, ὃν] ἔϲπειρεν ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ καλουμένῃ Ἐλευϲῖνι . . .*; E. *Supp.* 28 ff.:

*τυγχάνω δ' ὑπὲρ χθονὸϲ*
*ἀρότου προθύουϲ', ἐκ δόμων ἐλθοῦϲ' ἐμῶν*
*πρὸϲ τόνδε ϲηκόν, ἔνθα πρῶτα φαίνεται*
*φρίξαϲ ὑπὲρ γῆϲ τῆϲδε κάρπιμοϲ ϲτάχυϲ.*

According to Plut. *Coni. praec.* 42 (144 a) one of the three Attic sacred ploughings took place here. This was the festival called *Προηρόϲια*, on fifth or sixth Pyanopsion, before the Pyanopsia, and shortly before the Thesmophoria on tenth–thirteenth Pyanopsion. (On the date see Dow and Healey, *Harv. Theol. Studies* 21 (1965), 15 f., Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969), 7.)

At the Eleusinian Games, the prizes were of grain from the Rarian Plain (*SIG*² 587. 259 ff., Schol. Pi. *O.* 9. 150, Aristid. *Eleusin.* vol. i,

p. 417 Dind.), and from this grain were made the cakes for sacrifice (Paus. l.c.).

The *Hymn* probably reflects these ritual uses in its description of the various stages of growth of the corn (*Dem.* 453–6). There may be a reflection here of the version in which Demeter gives men the gift of corn in gratitude for the return of her daughter (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff., 471 ff.). The poet, however, conceals this (cf. 451 f.).

Cf. also Hipp. *Ref. haer.* 5. 7. 4 *Ῥαρίας οἰκήτορα Δυσαύλην* (Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 37 (1902), 331). Rarus is father of Triptolemus and brother of Cercyon in Choerilus fr. 1 N.² (cf. Hsch. s.v.), or father of Celeus, grandfather of Triptolemus and host of Demeter (*Suda* s.v.). Cf. Photius s.v. *Ῥάρ.*

For sacred fields, and the games held on them in various parts of the world cf. Frazer, *GB*³ v. 1. 70 ff., 92 ff., 107 ff., 2. 14 f., Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 73. The location of the Rarian Plain is not known, but it must have lain very close to the Sanctuary (cf. Leake, *Topography of Athens*, ii. 159).

**φερέςβιον:** this does not occur in Homer (cf. *φυςίζοος αἶα, ζείδωρος/ν ἄρουρα(ν), πίειραν ἄρουραν, ἐρίβωλον ἄρουραν*). Cf. Hes. *Th.* 693, *Ap.* 341 *γαῖα φερέςβιος, Hy.* 30. 9 *ἄρουρα φερέςβιος.* It is quoted by Apollodorus (ap. Schol. Genav. ad *Il.* 21. 319) as *παρ' Ὁμήρῳ* (cf. Introduction, p. 68). It also occurs in a list of poetic compound epithets in P. Hibeh 172, line 123, in the form *φερέςβιον*, which only occurs in this *Hymn.* Turner (ad loc.) suggests *Dem.* 450 as a source, but this list itself shows how much epic has been lost (cf. L. E. Rossi, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 223 (1971), 169 f.). It is modified from *φερέβιος* (metrically impossible), by analogy with *ὀρέςβιος*, etc. (Solmsen, *Unters.* 20 ff.). Cf. A. fr. 300. 7 *φερεςβίου Δήμητρος στάχυν*, Antiph. fr. 1. 2 f. *φερέςβιος Δηώ* (cf. ad *Dem.* 269).

**οὖθαρ ἀρούρης:** this occurs only at *Il.* 9. 141 = 283, Cratin. fr. 220. Cf. Ar. fr. 110. 2 *οὖθαρ ἀγαθῆς χθονός.*

**450–1.** The second line qualifies the first to suit the particular context. For this device cf. e.g. *Il.* 2. 698–9 *τῶν αὖ Πρωτεςίλαος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε | ζωὸς ἐών· τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα*, and similarly *Il.* 2. 768–70.

**451. ἔκηλον:** 'idle'. In Homer the word is used only of persons, and so later until the Alexandrians. Cf. A.R. 3. 969 (of trees), and *εὔκηλος* (A.R. 2. 935, Mooney ad loc., Theocr. 2. 166, etc.).

**452. εἰςτήκει:** *ἑςτήκει* is the normal form in epic and Attic. *εἰςτήκει* is found as a variant in Homeric manuscripts, but also without variant at Hes. *Sc.* 264, 269. The forms with augment later occur in E. *HF* 925, Ar. *Av.* 513, Th. 1. 89, etc. *εἰςτήκει* may be the original reading here.

**πανάφυλλον:** this occurs only here. Cf. *ἀφύλλοιςιν* (*Il.* 2. 425), *πανάποτμος* (*Il.* 24. 255, etc.), etc. On *παν-* compounds cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 101 ff.

**ἔκευθε:** the subject is *οὖθαρ ἀρούρης.* Cf. *Il.* 23. 83a, *Od.* 3. 16, Hes. *Th.* 505 (*τὸ πρὶν δὲ πελώρη Γαῖα κεκεύθει* ~ *Dem.* 451), West ad loc.

The rhythm is unusual: *ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα* is a breach of Hermann's bridge (cf. ad *Dem.* 17), but mitigated by the close connection of the words. The monosyllabic fifth-foot thesis is also rare (cf. ad *Dem.* 204). Cf. H. N. Porter, *YCS* 12 (1951), 48.

**453. Δήμητρος καλλιεφύρου:** a doublet of *Δήμητρος χρυσαόρου* (*Dem.* 4, cf. ad loc.), *Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης* (Hes. *Th.* 912). The latter epithet would perhaps have been out of place here.

**454–6.** The growth of the corn is described pictorially, and spring and harvest-time are portrayed successively. In the first part the standing corn is described. The second is divided into two pictures, of the furrows laden with ears of (reaped) corn, and of others that have been bound into sheaves.

455b–6 are similar to *Il.* 18. 550 ff. (563 ~ *Dem.* 452), and Hes. *Sc.* 288 ff., where reaping and binding are described. Cf. *Il.* 18. 552–3:

> *δράγματα δ' ἄλλα μετ' ὄγμον ἐπήτριμα πίπτον ἔραζε,*
> *ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδετῆρες ἐν ἑλλεδανοῖσι δέοντο.*

*Sc.* 288–91:

> *οἵ γε μὲν ἧμων . . .*
> *αἰχμῇς ὀξείῃσι κορωνιόωντα πέτηλα,*
> *βριθόμενα σταχύων, ὡσεὶ Δημήτερος ἀκτήν,*
> *οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐν ἑλλεδανοῖσι δέον . . .*

In these two passages, the processes are portrayed, in the *Hymn* their results. Thus *βριθόμενα σταχύων* in *Sc.* 290 refers to the standing corn laden with ears of grain (cf. *Il.* 18. 561 *σταφυλῇσι . . . βρίθουσαν ἀλωήν*).

**454. ταναοῖσι:** the word occurs once in Homer (*αἰγανέης . . . ταναοῖο Il.* 16. 589). Cf. *τανύφυλλος* (*Od.* 13. 102, etc.).

**κομήσειν:** the verb is first used metaphorically here, but cf. *Od.* 23. 195. *κομᾶν* of plants, trees, etc. is common in Hellenistic and later literature: Theocr. 1. 133, 4. 57 (Gow ad loc.), 7. 9, A.R. 3. 928, etc. For its use of the ground, with dative of the plant, cf. Call. *Hy.* 3. 41 *ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλῃ*, [Arist.] *Mu.* 397ª24 *ἡ γῆ φυτοῖς κομῶσα*; also Plut. *Eumen.* 6, Ael. fr. 75, Procop. Gaz. *Ep.* 23.

As the corn is compared to hair, so Demeter's golden locks represent the corn: cf. Orph. *Lith.* 240 *Δημήτηρ σταχυοπλόκαμος*, and note to *Dem.* 302 (*ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ*). Cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 11:

> prima Ceres docuit turgescere semen in agris,
> falce coloratas subsecuitque comas.

**455. ἦρος:** the contracted form is found in lyric (Alcm. *PMG* 20. 3, Sapph. 136, Alc. 115(a). 10, 367, Stes. *PMG* 211, 212. 3, Ibycus, 286. 1), elegiac (Solon 1. 19 D.³), perhaps Ionic (cf. Hdt. 1. 77, but *ἔαρος* 5. 31, 7. 162, al.), and Attic. Cf. *ἤαρος*, *ἠαρινοῖσι* (*Dem.* 174, 401, notes ad locc.). Note also Hes. *Op.* 462 *ἔαρι*, 492 *ἔαρος*, hardly different from the contracted forms.

When Persephone returns it is spring again (cf. ad *Dem.* 399 ff.).

**πέδῳ:** *πέδον* as a separate noun first occurs here. Cf. *πέδον δέ* (*Il.* 13. 796, *Od.* 11. 598, *Dem.* 253), *πεδόθεν Od.* 13. 295 and Hes. *Th.* 680).

πέδον is frequent in later poetry (Pi. *O.* 10. 46, etc.). πέδῳ later means 'to earth, on to the ground' (A. *Ch.* 48, etc., always of motion, πίπτειν, etc.: unless πέδοι should be read, cf. LSJ s.v. πέδον 4). Cf. in *Il.* 18. 552 πῖπτον ἔραζε. But πέδῳ must mean here 'on the ground'.

**456. βριcέμεν ἀcταχύων:** the genitive is also used at Hes. *Sc.* 290, *Od.* 9. 219, 15. 334, otherwise the dative in early epic (*Dem.* 473, etc.). For the variation cf. ad *Dem.* 358.

**ἐλλεδανοῖcι:** this occurs only here and *Il.* 18. 553, Hes. *Sc.* 291. Cf. Hsch., *Suda* s.v. ἐλεδανοί, ἐλεδανός. It is usually connected with Aeolic *ἐλλέω (< *ϝελνέω, Homeric εἰλέω = 'wind, bind'; cf. Solmsen, *Unters.* 244, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 530). But there is no trace of a digamma, which might be expected in this rare word (cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 131).

**δεδέcθαι:** the present δίδεcθαι (Voss; cf. *Il.* 11. 105, *Od.* 12. 54) is in some ways attractive. It is closer to *Il.* 18. 553 and Hes. *Sc.* 291, and also more vivid: 'while others were being bound'. But after κομήcειν . . . βριcέμεν, a perfect is slightly easier. μέλλειν with perfect infinitive does not occur in early epic, but here τὰ δ' . . . δεδέcθαι is similar to a subordinate clause. (μέλλειν with present followed by future infinitive occurs at *Od.* 9. 475–7: but cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 309, Szemerényi, *AJP* 72 (1951), 351.)

**457.** This picks up the narrative after the pictorial digression (450–6).

**458.** The rhythm is unusual, with caesura in the second and fourth foot and a break after the second. This occurs only about twenty-five times in Homer (*c.* one in 1,120 verses), and usually the pyrrhic word is a conjunction or similar word which goes closely with what follows. In four cases the word is a noun: δόρυ θηξάcθω *Il.* 2. 382, φρένα τερπόμενον 9. 186, ἅλα μαρμαρέην 14. 273, ξίφοc ἄμφηκεc *Od.* 16. 80. The sole case with a verb involves a proper name: ἕλε Πουλυδάμαc (*Il.* 15. 339). The fourth-foot caesura occurs about once in every 100 verses in Homer, a third of these being in order to accommodate a proper name (Lehrs, *Aristarchus*[2] 394 ff., van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 17 f., Maas, *Greek Metre*, § 85). In (genuine) Hesiod it occurs about once in forty-seven verses. Cf. ad *Dem.* 74.

**κεχάρηντο:** in Homer κεχάροντο (reduplicated aorist) is used (*Il.* 16. 600; cf. κεχαροίατο *Il.* 1. 256, -οιτο *Od.* 2. 249). The pluperfect is also found at Hes. *Sc.* 65 κεχάρητο. Cf. *Hy.* 7. 10 κεχαρημένοι, active κεχαρηότα (*Il.* 7. 312), and Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 14.

**459. Ῥέη:** this form is used at Hes. *Th.* 467, Call. *Hy.* 1. 21, A.R. 1. 506, Orph. *Arg.* 625. Cf. ad *Dem.* 60.

**λιπαροκρήδεμνοc:** used of Rhea at Orph. *Arg.* 625. Cf. ad *Dem.* 25.

**460–9.** Rhea's speech is a repetition (with variations) of that of Iris (321–3), and Zeus' message (443–5). Cf. also 327–8 with 461–2. 467–8 and 469 are additions to her message. Cf. ad *Dem.* 314–23, 323.

The repetition of 443–7 is important, as this contains the terms of reconciliation between Zeus and Demeter, and those on which Persephone is to return, which are stated here for the third time (cf. 399–402). On the repetition in cult-poetry of verses important to the

cult (e.g. *Ap.* 490–2 ~ 508–10), see F. Jacoby, *Der homerische Apollonhymnos* (Berlin, 1933), 69 [748], D. Kolk, *Der pythische Apollonhymnos als aitiologische Dichtung* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1963), 32 n. 17.

**460.** Cf. *Dem.* 321. Note the doublet (cf. ad loc.). Rhea, for obvious reasons, does not use *πατήρ*. Cf. also Pi. *O.* 6. 62 f. *Ὅρκος, τέκος, δεῦρο . . .*

**462–79.** On the lacunae see notes to *Dem.* 387–404.

**462. ἄς κεν ἕλοιο:** m's supplement *ἄς κε θέλησθα* is probably drawn from *ἐθέλοιτο* in *Dem.* 328. *ἐθέλησθα* is a genuine epic form (*Od.* 3. 92, etc.; on *ἐθέλειν/θέλειν* cf. ad *Dem.* 160), but Ilgen's supplement is nearer to *Dem.* 444 (and the original reading in 328?), and should probably be preferred.

**464. ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα:** M alters *ἠ]ερόεντα* to *ἠ]ερόεντι*, perhaps from *Dem.* 482. See note to *Dem.* 446.

**465.** After this verse the writer of M repeated 448–52 (wrongly reported as 449–53 in the Oxford text). m, in his zeal for correction, also expunged 465, which did not suit his version of 466. Cf. Bücheler and Goodwin ad loc.

**466.** Bücheler's supplements are designed to ease the construction of 463–5 (assuming a lacuna after 447: cf. ad 445–7). For Hermann's conjecture cf. *Il.* 15. 75. Goodwin's supplement is shorter: the space suggests about ten to twelve letters, but the line may have begun further to the left than the others (cf. 468–70 = 474–6 in Goodwin's photograph). *τελέεσθαι* (Goodwin) does not occur in this metrical position in Homer.

The nod of Zeus represents an irrevocable decision. Cf. *Il.* 1. 524 ff., 15. 75, also 8. 246, 17. 209, *Dem.* 323, 446 = 463, A. *Supp.* 91 f., E. *Alc.* 968 f., Call. *Hy.* 5. 131–6.

**κάρητι:** on this form cf. Chantraine, *GH* i. 231.

**467–8.** Cf. *Dem.* 323, 82, 362.

**470–82.** Demeter restores crops and plants, and teaches her rites to the princes of Eleusis, rites which may not be divulged. He who has seen them is blessed: he who has not been initiated, does not have a share in the same things after death, in the underworld.

This passage draws together the two themes of the *Hymn*, the foundation of the Mysteries, foreshadowed in *Dem.* 273 f., and the restoration of vegetation after the famine (the subject of the second half). It is significant that the return of life to the fields is followed here by Demeter's instruction of men in her Mysteries. This suggests a reflection of the version, current later and perhaps suppressed in the *Hymn*, in which men were given agriculture together with, or shortly before, the Mysteries (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff., 450). Kretschmer (*Glotta* 12 (1923), 53) suggested that the *ἱερά* of *Dem.* 476 included the *ἱερὸς ἄροτος*, performed according to tradition by Triptolemus. The *ὄργια* themselves may have originally centred around the ritual performance of basic agricultural actions (cf. Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 133 ff.).

The role of the princes as the first priests, and perhaps also as receivers of the gifts of crops and the arts of agriculture, is suggestive of the religious outlook according to which a country's material prosperity is dependent on its rulers. This is perhaps reflected in early epic: cf. *Od.* 19. 109 ff., Hes. *Op.* 225 ff. (Mazon ad loc.), and also perhaps *Il.* 18. 556 f., where the *βασιλεύς* is depicted standing in the middle of his harvest-field.

**471–3.** Cf. Ov. *F.* 4. 615–18:

> tum demum voltumque Ceres animumque recepit,
> imposuitque suae spicea serta comae;
> largaque provenit cessatis messis in arvis,
> et vix congestas area cepit opes.

**472–3.** Cf. *Dem.* 401–2. The sudden flowering is like that of *Il.* 14. 347 ff., at the union of Zeus and Hera. Cf. also *Ap.* 135–9 (at the birth of Apollo): *χρύσῳ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα | βεβρίθει** . . . (139 *ἤνθης'* . . . *ἄνθεσιν ὕλης*). Ilgen assumed that *Dem.* 472–3 was influenced by *Ap.* 136–8 (cf. Jacoby, *Der homerische Apollonhymnos*, 14 [693] n. 4, P. S. Breuning, *De hymnorum Homericorum memoria* (Diss. Utrecht, 1929), 65). See Addenda.

**473. ἔβρις':** cf. ad *Dem.* 456.

**θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι:** cf. ad *Dem.* 103.

**474–5.** Cf. *Dem.* 153–5.

**474–6. δεῖξε . . . δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι:** either *δεῖξε* or *δεῖξεν* is possible: cf. La Roche, *HU* i. 36. Demeter 'demonstrated the performance of her rites, and showed her *ὄργια* to the princes'. The Mysteries themselves consisted of *τὰ δρώμενα* (cf. *δρησμοσύνην*, *ὄργια*), i.e. certain ritual actions, *τὰ δεικνύμενα* (cf. *δεῖξε*, *ἐπέφραδεν*), sacred objects which were shown, and *τὰ λεγόμενα*, probably brief ritual sayings (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 261 ff.). Thus the language reflects the cult terminology. *δεῖξε* and *ἐπέφραδεν* here refer primarily to the revelation or institution of the cult, as in the later *τελετὴν* (etc.) *καταδεικνύναι* (*-νυσθαι*): cf. Andron, *FGH* 10. 13 *Εὔμολπον τὸν καταδείξαντα τὴν μύησιν καὶ ἱεροφάντην γεγονότα* (cf. below); Ar. *Ran.* 1032 *Ὀρφεὺς . . . τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε . . .*; [E.] *Rhes.* 943–4 *μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς | ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς*; Ps. D. 25. 11 *ὁ τὰς ἁγιωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεύς* (Orph. fr. 23); Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6 *λέγεται Τριπτόλεμος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι . . .*; Paus. 4. 2. 6 *τὰ ὄργια ἐπέδειξε τῶν μεγάλων Θεῶν . . .*; Diod. 5. 48. 4 *τὸν δὲ Δία . . . παραδεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τελετήν*; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 48 ff., 205 f.; C. Zijderveld, *Τελετή* (Diss. Utrecht, 1934), 64; N. M. H. van den Burg, *Ἀπόρρητα Δρώμενα, Ὄργια* (Diss. Utrecht, 1939), 95 n. 1.

It was from his role as the priest who revealed the Mysteries, by showing the sacred objects and uttering the sacred sayings (cf. ad *Dem.* 154 *Εὐμόλποιο*), that the *ἱεροφάντης* at Eleusis received his title. Cf. Hsch. s.v.: *ἱερεὺς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια δεικνύων*; Plut. *Alc.* 22 *στολὴν οἵανπερ ἱεροφάντης ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά*; *IG* ii². 3661. 3 *ὄργια πᾶσιν*

ἔφαινε βροτοῖς φαεσίμβροτα Δηοῦς (cf. *Dem.* 476); *Marm. Par.* 15 ἀφ' οὗ Εὔμολπος . . . τὰ μυστήρια ἀνέφηνεν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι; *IG* 3. 713. 3 f. ὃς τελετὰς ἀνέφηνε καὶ ὄργια πάννυχα μύσταις, | Εὐμόλπου προχέων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα (cf. ad *Dem.* 154).

It is not known what the sacred objects were. On the δρώμενα cf. ad *Dem.* 476.

The list of princes in 474–5 omits Polyxenus (cf. 154, 477) and Dolichus (155). They are the most obscure ones in the earlier list. If these lines were especially subject to rhapsodic variation, a version may have existed in which they occurred in a separate line. But complete enumeration need not be expected (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.).

**Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ:** for the variation Dioclus/Diocles cf. ad *Dem.* 153.

The games in honour of Diocles at Megara perhaps included chariot races. The epithet is applied in Homer to Pelops (*Il.* 2. 104), whose charioteering exploits were legendary, and Oileus (*Il.* 11. 93), the ἑταῖρος and perhaps charioteer of Bianor (11. 92 f.), but also to Menestheus (*Il.* 4. 327; cf. 2. 553 f.?) and an unknown Orestes (*Il.* 5. 705). Cf. Hes. *Sc.* 24 Βοιωτοὶ πλήξιπποι.

**475. Εὐμόλπου τε . . . ἡγήτορι λαῶν:** cf. perhaps (Pindar), P. Oxy. 2622 fr. 1 (a) 2–3, PSI 1391 fr. B col. i 6, 13 ff. (H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 206 ff.): σοφὸν ἀγητῆρα . . . εὐνομίᾳ λατέρπει, probably of *Eumolpus*. A similar transfer of epithet from Celeus to Eumolpus has occurred in Pausanias' version of *Dem.* 154–5 (see notes ad loc.). ἡγήτορι λαῶν possibly suggests that Celeus was the chief βασιλεύς (cf. ad *Dem.* 97). The phrase occurs only once in Homer (*Il.* 20. 383). Cf. ποιμένα/ι λαῶν* (*Il.* 1. 263, etc.), κοσμήτορε/ι λαῶν* (*Il.* 1. 16, etc., *Od.* 18. 152), κοίρανε λαῶν* (*Il.* 7. 234, etc.), ἡγήσατο λαῶν* (*Il.* 15. 311), ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν/Μέντῃ*, etc. (*Il.* 5. 462, 17. 73, etc.).

**476. δρησμοσύνην:** M's χρησμοσύνην is just possible. It normally means 'need, want, poverty' (Theognis 389, Tyrt. 6–7. 8 D.[3] etc.), but also 'service, aid' (A.R. 1. 837). But the latter is a special use, and there is no doubt that δρησμοσύνην is the original reading. It occurs only in Hsch., *Et. M.* 287. 1 s.v.: θεραπεία, ὑπηρεσία (and Maximus, *Astrol.* 351 p. 28 Ludwich, where it = δρασμός). But cf. δρηστοσύνη (*Od.* 15. 321) = 'service', and δραμοσύνη, which is used in a religious sense in *IG* ii[2]. 1358. ii. 34, 40 (cf. S. Dow, *Historia* 9 (1960), 282 f.).

The simple verb δρᾶν occurs once in Homer (*Od.* 15. 317). Cf. also δρήστηρ, -ειρα, παρα-/ὑπο-δρᾶν, δραίνειν, ὀλιγοδρανέων. On the form of δρησμοσύνη (from *δρήσμων?) cf. Chantraine, *Formation des Noms*, 174, Porzig, *Satzinhalte*, 224. It is tempting to connect δρησμοσύνη here with the later δρώμενα (cf. Zijderveld, *Τελετή*, 64, who considers it synonymous). The evidence for the use of δρᾶν in a religious sense (cf. ἔρδειν, etc.) before the Hellenistic period is scanty but definite. (The uses of δρᾶν, δρώμενα are studied in detail by van den Burg, *Ἀπόρρητα, Δρώμενα, Ὄργια*, 52 ff., with German summary 128 f., and cf. also H. Schreckenberg, *ΔΡΑΜΑ* (Würzburg, 1960), 49 ff., 122 ff.) Cf. *IG* i[2]. 188. 48, 55 (= Ziehen, *LGS* ii. 9 C 11 = Sokolowski, *Lois*

*sacrées des cités grecques*, No. 10; before 460 B.C.), where it apparently means 'sacrifice'; Ath. 14. 660 a οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ θύειν δρᾶν ὠνόμαζον. ἔδρων δ' οἱ Κήρυκες ἄχρι πολλοῦ βουθυτοῦντες, φησί (Cleidemus, fourth century B.C.) . . . (etc.); Hsch. s.v. δρᾶν· πράσσειν, θύειν. No other definite example of this sense is known,[1] but in later authors ἱερὰ δρᾶν is used to mean 'perform the rites', and δρώμενα is used of rites, and especially of mystery rites (cf. similarly ὄργια, ad *Dem.* 273). These uses are common in Plutarch, and in Pausanias, who is the only writer to use δρώμενα exclusively in a religious sense. For δρώμενα of the Eleusinian Mysteries cf. Paus. 2. 14. 1, 5. 10. 1, 8. 15. 1, 31. 7, 10. 31. 11; Plut. *Alc.* 34, Ael. Arist. 22 K. § 2, Sopater 8. 1 W.; of the cult of Demeter and Core: Paus. 2. 22. 3, 37. 3, 3. 20. 5. Cf. Plut. *de prof. in vert.* 10 (81 e), of οἱ τελούμενοι.

δρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν provides the earliest example of δρᾶν (etc.) in the sense of 'performance of ritual'. On the nature of the Eleusinian δρώμενα cf. Introduction, pp. 20 ff. At no period does the use of the word suggest any form of dramatic representation, such as has often been assumed to have occurred at Eleusis (cf. van den Burg, o.c. 53 f., 128 f., Schreckenberg, o.c. 126–7, Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 57, 481). Schreckenberg (o.c. 122 ff.) gives examples of the common conjunction of δρώμενα with εἰδέναι, ἰδεῖν. Cf. especially S. *OC* 1640–4 (Oedipus' death is a 'mystery').

**θ':** Pausanias omits the copula (cf. Ruhnken). For this type of postponed τε, where a synonymous verb is added in the second clause, cf. Denniston, *GP* 519 f.

**ἐπέφραδεν:** cf. ad *Dem.* 474–6.

**ὄργια:** cf. ad *Dem.* 273.

**πᾶσι:** if 477 is out of place here, καλά directly before σεμνά is awkward. It may be due to reminiscence of ἱερὰ καλά (*Il.* 11. 726, etc.).

For a possible echo of 476b cf. *IG* ii². 3661. 3: ὄργια πᾶσιν ἔφαινε βροτοῖς . . .

**477.** The repetition of Triptolemus and Diocles is hardly acceptable. The verse probably belongs to a variant version. Alternatively, it may have been added in order to introduce Polyxenus. But in this case one would expect Dolichus also to appear in it.

Ruhnken thought that the daughters of Celeus were mentioned here, since Pausanias (1. 38. 3) says that they perform the ritual with Eumolpus (cf. ad *Dem.* 105 ff.). But the names which he quotes, from 'Homer', are different from those of *Dem.* 109–10, and must belong to a separate version.

### 478–9. Secrecy of the Mysteries

On this subject see especially O. Casel, *De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico* (Giessen, 1919), chap. i.

That the Mysteries were secret was one of their most essential features. The words μυστήρια, μύστης, μυεῖν (etc.) were connected with μύω ('to close', of one's eyes, mouth, etc.). Secrecy was enjoined

[1] But see Snell, *Philol. Supp.* 20 (1928), 7 n. 18, Schreckenberg, o.c. 49 ff.

by 'the laws and customs of the priesthoods of Eleusis' (Plut. *Alc.* 22: cf. Sopater, *Rhet. gr.* 8. 110 W.: *Νόμος· τὸν ἐξειπόντα τὰ μυστήρια τεθνάναι*), and was commanded by the *ἱεροκῆρυξ* in his proclamation at the beginning of the Mysteries (Sopater, *Rhet. gr.* 8. 118. 13 ff. W.). Any breach of this law by revelation of the secrets, or profanation of the Mysteries either by unlicensed entry to the Sanctuary or by imitation or parody of the ceremonies, was punishable by death (for examples cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 224 ff., Casel, o.c. 9 ff., 17 f.).

This secrecy covered all the main ritual of the Mysteries, i.e. that which took place within the Sanctuary, and above all, within the Telesterion itself. Pausanias (1. 38. 7) was forbidden in a dream to describe anything within the walls of the Sanctuary (*τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν . . .*). Similarly, he was forbidden to describe the Eleusinion at Athens (1. 14. 3). Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 16. 8, Procl. *in Alcib.* 1 (p. 5 ed. Creuzer), p. 288 Cousin; *Lex Andaniensis*, Ziehen, *LGS* ii. 58 § 7.

To break the secret was *ἀσεβεῖν, ἁμαρτάνειν* (etc.) *περὶ τὰ μυστήρια, τῶ θεώ* (etc.) (cf. ad *Dem.* 478, *παρεξίμεν*). Since the Mysteries consisted of *δρώμενα, δεικνύμενα*, and *λεγόμενα*, one could do this by performing the *ὄργια*, or showing them, or by revealing the words which should not be spoken. Cf. Plut. *Alc.* 25 *Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . ἀπομιμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια καὶ δεικνύοντα τοῖς αὑτοῦ ἑταίροις* (etc.); Andoc. *de myst.* 11 *Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν τὰ μυστήρια ποιοῦντα* (cf. 12. 16, etc.); Ps. Lys. *adv. Andoc.* 51 *μιμούμενος τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμυήτοις καὶ εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα.*

Similarly, those to whom the Mysteries were revealed were said either to *see* them (cf. ad *Dem.* 480) or to *hear* (learn of) them (cf. ad 478 *πυθέσθαι*). They are commonly described as *ἄρρητα, ἀπόρρητα, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ*, etc. (cf. van den Burg, *Ἀπόρρητα* (*etc.*), Casel, o.c. 6): e.g. Hdt. 6. 135 (Paros), Ar. *Nub.* 302, Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6, [E.] *Rhes.* 943, etc.

Also apparently secret was the *σύνθημα*, by which the candidate for initiation declared that he had fulfilled the preliminary rituals. Cf. Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2. 22. 4 *δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμνῶσαι τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐξειπεῖν* (cf. 21. 2, and ad *Dem.* 192 ff.). But it seems that certain of the preliminary rituals of purification and abstinence were not secret. Thus we find them portrayed in the *Hymn* (*Dem.* 192 ff., perhaps also 231 ff.), and in works of art (cf. ad loc.). The precepts which commanded purity and abstinence were not secret, and are expressly contrasted by Libanius (*Or. Corinth.* 19) with *τὰ ἀπόρρητα*. They are perhaps referred to also by Seneca (*Ep.* 95. 64; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 191): 'Sicut sanctiora sacrorum tantum initiati sciunt, ita in philosophia arcana illa admissis receptisque in sacra ostenduntur, at praecepta et alia eiusmodi profanis quoque nota sunt.' Aelian also (fr. 44 Hercher) distinguishes between *τῶν μὲν ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἃ μὴ ἰδεῖν λῷον ἦν* and *τῶν δὲ πρώτων καὶ ἐξ ὧν οὔτε τοῖς θεαμένοις οὔτε τοῖς δείξαιν ἔμελλέ τι ἀπαντήσεσθαι δεινόν*. Pausanias allows himself to describe *ἃ . . . ἐς πάντας ὅσιον γράφειν* (1. 14. 3), i.e. what lay outside the Eleusinion at Athens and the Sanctuary at Eleusis. We have

a good deal of information also about the other preparations for the main ceremonies, the procession, dancing, etc. But the reasons for the various forms of ritual were secret and known only to the mystae (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 2. 106; cf. Paus. 1. 37. 4; Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften in gr. Kult*, 96, 103).

More problematical is the question of the myths. The story of the Rape of Persephone was not secret, but we are told that it formed the subject of a 'mystic drama' at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *Protr.* § 12. 2, Greg. Naz. *Or.* 39, *PG* 36. 337), and certain myths about the gods could not be told (cf. Isocr. *paneg.* 28, and notes to *Dem.* 305 ff., 478 πυθέσθαι; Call. fr. 75. 4–7, where note ἱστορίην; Ael. fr. 43 Hercher; Casel, o.c. 15 n. 3). It seems that the form which the myths took in the Mysteries themselves must have differed considerably from their presentation in literature (cf. Introduction, pp. 24 ff.).

The original cause of this secrecy has been variously identified. Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, 270–82) thought that it derived from the time when the Mysteries were the property of certain families, who did not wish the benefits which they conferred to fall into the hands of outsiders. For other theories see Allen and Halliday, p. 180. Such explanations may have an element of truth in them, but are not sufficient in themselves to account for the unique position held by the Eleusinian Mysteries in this respect (although other cults of Demeter and Persephone and of certain other deities were secret, or had secret elements). The *Hymn* gives its own reason for their secrecy: the ὄργια are σεμνά (478), like the deities to whom they belong (cf. ad *Dem.* 1, 486), and may not be revealed, since 'a great reverence (σέβας) of the gods restrains utterance' (479). It is the awe and terror which the great deities of the underworld inspire, by their governance of men's lives both on earth and after death, which lead their worshippers to shrink from speaking of their rites, especially those which concern the afterlife, shrouded as it is in darkness, hidden from men's eyes (cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 129 f.; Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 521). This reticence may reach even to the pronouncing of the names of such deities (cf. ad *Dem.* 9, etc., 439; and on the Erinyes, the Σεμναὶ Θεαί, S. *OC* 125 ff.).

In the same way, Metaneira, when confronted by the epiphany of Demeter, is unable to speak. Reverence, awe, and fear (αἰδώς, σέβας, and δέος) prevent her, just as they prevent the initiate from describing his experiences (cf. ad *Dem.* 188–211, 188–90, 275 ff.). These reactions, and the silence to which they lead, are regularly mentioned together by authors who refer to the Mysteries. Cf. especially Plut. *de prof. in virt.* 10, 81 e οἱ τελούμενοι . . . δρωμένων δὲ καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν ἱερῶν προσέχουσιν ἤδη μετὰ φόβου καὶ σιωπῆς . . . ἕτερον λαβὼν σχῆμα καὶ σιωπὴν καὶ θάμβος; Plut. fr. 178 (Stob. 4. 52. 49 p. 1089 H.) τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἱδρὼς καὶ θάμβος affect the initiate; Themist. *Or.* 20. 235 (p. 287 Dind.) ὁ μὲν ἄρτι προσιὼν τοῖς ἀδύτοις φρίκης τε ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ ἰλίγγου . . . ; Ael. Arist. 22. 2 (Keil): Eleusis is πάντων, ὅσα θεῖ' ἀνθρώποις, ταὐτὸν φρικωδέστατόν τε καὶ φαιδρότατον

. . . (nowhere else) *τὰ δρώμενα μείζον' ἔσχε τὴν ἔκπληξιν*; playing on the language of the Mysteries Plut. *Caesar* 66, 739 c *ἔκπληξις καὶ φρίκη πρὸς τὰ δρώμενα* (death of Caesar); *Cicero* 22, 871 c *τοῦ δὲ δήμου φρίττοντος τὰ δρώμενα καὶ παριόντος σιωπῇ . . . ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις . . . τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους δοκούντων.*

Demeter herself is called *θεὰ φρικτή* with reference to her *ἱερά* (Call. fr. 75. 6), and Miltiades is overcome by *φρίκη* when attempting to enter her Parian temple (Hdt. 6. 134. 2; cf. ad *Dem.* 491). Cf. Procl. *in remp.* 2. 108. 18 ff. (Kroll) *αὗται αἱ τελεταὶ χρώμεναι τοῖς μύθοις, ἵνα τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἀλήθειαν ἄρρητον κατακλείωσιν, συμπαθείας εἰσὶν αἴτιαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τὰ δρώμενα τρόπον ἄγνωστον ἡμῖν καὶ θεῖον· ὡς τοὺς μὲν τῶν τελουμένων καταπλήττεσθαι δειμάτων θείων πλήρεις γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ . . .* (etc.); cf. *in Alcib.* p. 142 (Creuzer). *σέβας* is also associated with silence and secrecy: cf. Ar. *Nub.* 302 *οὗ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα μυστοδόκος δόμος ἐν τελεταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναδείκνυται*; Iulian. *Or.* 5. 173 a *τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια*; Ps. Dem. *in Neaer.* 74 (*τὰς θυσίας*) *τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ ἀπορρήτους*; Str. 10. 467 C *ἥ τε κρύψις ἡ μυστικὴ τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον*; Basil, *de Spir. sancto*, § 66 (Migne, *PG* 32. 189A) *τῶν μυστηρίων τὸ σεμνὸν σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι*; Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 1 p. 1. 19 f. Wendl. *οἳ διὰ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἀποκρύπτειν τε τὰ ἄρρητα ἑαυτῶν μυστήρια ἐνομίσθησαν πολλοῖς θεὸν σέβειν* (cf. *θεῶν σέβας*, *Dem.* 479). Cf. especially S. *OC* 1050 ff. *οὗ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα κλῆις ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ βέβακε προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν* (on such formulae cf. ad *Dem.* 479).

For *αἰδώς* and silence together cf. Liban. *Or.* 10. 6 (1. 403. 4 ff. Förster) *μυστηρίων τε τιμὴν εἶχε τὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Πλέθρῳ· τοσαύτη μὲν αἰδὼς ἦν . . . τοσαύτη δὲ ἡσυχία, τοσαύτη δὲ σιωπή.*

Silence is regularly required in religious ceremonies in general (cf. the expressions *εὐφημία ἔστω, εὐφήμει*, etc., before religious ritual), as in magic (cf. Gow ad Theocr. 2. 38, Sophron in Page, *Gk. Lit. Pap.* i. 330. 14 f. *εὐκαμίαν νυν παρέχεσθε*; G. Mensching, *Das heilige Schweigen* (Giessen, 1926), 102 ff.), and it is also a concomitant of divine epiphanies (cf. ad *Dem.* 275 ff., and Dodds ad E. *Ba.* 1084). In the ritual of the Mysteries it played a special part: cf. the passages quoted above, and also Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 5. 8. 39: *Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ τεθερισμένον στάχυν* (cf. Introduction, p. 27). There is dispute here as to whether *ἐν σιωπῇ* should be taken with *τεθερισμένον* (cf. Deubner, *AF* 83 n. 5) or with *ἐπιδεικνύντες* (etc.). Despite the awkwardness of the word order, the second interpretation seems definitely preferable. Hippolytus' sentence is climactic, and *ἐν σιωπῇ* is postponed for effect, to increase the impression that a great and wonderful mystery is to be revealed, before the deliberate anticlimax of the last two words. This testimony thus agrees with those passages referring to silence as a concomitant of the ritual in the Telesterion (especially Plut. *de prof. in virt.* 10 sup. Cf. also Casel, o.c. 26 n. 1). Silence was perhaps also a feature of the torch-carrying ceremony at Eleusis (cf. ad *Dem.* 59–61), and is stressed

in the preliminary purification ritual (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 194, 198–9). Cf. a similar emphasis in the mysteries of Andania, Ziehen, *LGS* ii. 58 § 9.

This silence should be distinguished from the 'reticentia mystica', which prevented the initiates from revealing their experiences to other people. But the underlying cause in both cases is the same, the 'great reverence for the gods' which seals the lips of those who are admitted to their rites.

On silence in the Mysteries cf. also Mensching, o.c. 86, 130 ff.

**478. σεμνά:** this is regularly used of the rites of Demeter. Cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 948, 1151 *ὄργια σεμνὰ θεοῖν*; E. *Hipp.* 25 *σεμνῶν ἐς ὄψιν καὶ τέλη μυστηρίων*; S. *OC* 1050 *οὗ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη* (cf. ad *Dem.* 39, etc.); hymn ap. Ath. 6. 253 d *σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια*; *Orph. Hy.* 18. 18 *σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις* (cf. 24. 10 f.). Cf. also A. fr. 57 N. *σεμνὰ Κοτυτοῦς ὄργι' ἔχοντες*; S. *Tr.* 765 *σεμνῶν ὀργίων* (of sacrifice; cf. *Ant.* 1013, *σεμνῶν* coni. Nauck); E. *Supp.* 470 (at Eleusis) *σεμνὰ στεμμάτων μυστήρια* (cf. 290 *σεμναῖσι Δηοῦς ἐσχάραις παρημένη*; 359–60); and see notes to *Dem.* 1, 478–9, 486.

**τά γ':** Allen reads *τά τ'* (cf. Ilgen), but *γε* does not seem impossible. Cf. *Od.* 8. 280 for *τά γε* as a relative (*variae lectiones τά κε, τε*). There do not appear to be any other Homeric examples, but it is questionable whether alteration is justified. As in *Od.* 8. 280, *γε* serves to draw attention to what follows (cf. the repetition in *Dem.* 478–9 *οὔ πως . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτ' . . .* and 280 f. *οὔ κέ τις οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . .*).

**παρεξ[ίμ]εν:** Goodwin concludes that this was the reading of M. The traces would also allow *παρεξέμεν*. *παρεξιέναι* could mean 'transgress, overstep' (cf. A. *PV* 551, S. *Ant.* 60), or 'disregard, neglect' (cf. Socr. *Ep.* 6. 11 *κακῶς πράττοντά τινα*). *παρεξελθεῖν* is used in a similar formula in *Od.* 5. 103 f., 137 f., apparently with the meaning 'get by, elude', or 'overreach' (cf. *παρελθεῖν* in Hes. *Th.* 613). For the sense 'transgress' cf. Isocr. *de iugo*, 6 *εἴ τις εἰς τὰ μυστήρια φαίνοιτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων*; D.L. 2. 101 *τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; . . . οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες*.

Secrecy was enjoined by law, and a breach of this was a transgression: cf. Sopater, *Rhet. gr.* 8. 112. 7 f. W. *τοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων νόμον παραβῆναι τολμήσασιν* (cf. 13 f.: the accused has transgressed *περὶ τὰς θεὰς καὶ τὰ μυστήρια*); Andoc. *de myst.* 29 *ἑτέρων ἁμαρτόντων καὶ ἀσεβησάντων περὶ τὼ θεώ*; Plut. *Alc.* 25 *ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὼ θεὼ ἀπομιμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια*. In all these cases, either a preposition is used with *μυστήρια* (etc.), or the object is *νόμον*. The expression 'to transgress the Mysteries (etc.)' is never found, and it is much more difficult to accept. It is possible that the *Hymn* is here echoing the actual words of a ritual prohibition (cf. above, and notes on *πυθέσθαι, ἀχέειν*), which may have forbidden one 'either to divulge the Mysteries, or to (see or) hear them, or in any way to commit a transgression (*ἀσεβεῖν, ἁμαρτάνειν*) with regard to them'. In that case, there is a kind of syllepsis, since *παρεξίμεν* goes more loosely with *ὄργια* than the other verbs.

The sense 'neglect' would also be possible. Cf. Paus. 10. 31. 11 *τῶν τὰ δρώμενα τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν οὐδενὶ θεμένων λόγῳ*. In this case, the reference would most naturally be to those who were not initiated (cf. Paus. 10. 31. 9 *τῶν οὐ μεμυημένων*). But this does not go so well with *οὔτε πυθέσθαι οὔτ' ἀχέειν*, which refers to revelation to the uninitiated. The pejorative sense 'disregard, slight' (cf. LSJ s.v. *παρέρχομαι* IV) would be more suitable. Cf. Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1072 *οὗτος* (Diagoras) . . . *τὰ μυστήρια ηὐτέλιζεν* . . . *ἐπεὶ τὰ μυστήρια πᾶσι διηγεῖτο κοινοποιῶν αὐτὰ καὶ μικρὰ ποιῶν* . . . But it is doubtful whether *παρεξιέναι* can have this meaning.

*παρεξέμεν* (from *παρεξίημι*) could mean 'let pass'. It is rarely used: cf. D.C. 40. 2 (*ἅρματα*), 50. 31, in a literal sense; otherwise only as a variant at Hdt. 7. 210. 1 (*τέσσερας* . . . *παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας* aP: *παρῆκε* cett., OCT). It was taken as meaning 'neglect' here by Ruhnken (cf. also LSJ s.v. *παρίημι* II 2: 'pass unnoticed, disregard'). Agar (*CR* 10 (1896), 388) supported the sense 'divulge'. But this is probably supplied by *ἀχέειν* (479). In *Il.* 12. 213, *Od.* 4. 348, etc. *παρὲξ ἀγορευέμεν* (etc.) are used, meaning 'to speak out of turn, wrongly', but it is very doubtful whether *παρεξίημι* would be taken in this sense.

Both the reading and interpretation of the word remain difficult, but the least unsatisfactory solution appears to be *παρεξίμεν* with the sense 'transgress'.

**οὔτε πυθέσθαι:** cf. Paus. 1. 38. 7 (of Eleusis) *τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἴργονται, δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναί σφισιν*; Theocr. 3. 51 (of Iasion: cf. ad *Dem.* 489) *ὃς τόσσων ἐκύρησεν, ὅς' οὐ πευσεῖσθε, βέβαλοι* (Gow ad loc.); E. *Ba.* 471 ff.:

*Πε.* *τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι;*
*Δι.* *ἄρρητ' ἀβακχεύτοισιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν.*
*Πε.* *ἔχει δ' ὄνησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα;*
*Δι.* *οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ', ἔστι δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναι.*

Cat. 64. 260:

orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani

Orph. fr. 245:

*φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί. θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι*

(cf. Orph. fr. 13, 334); Orac. ap. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 18. 19:

*ὄργια μὲν δεδαῶτας ἐχρῆν νηπευθέα κεύθειν.*

Isocr. *paneg.* 28 (cf. ad *Dem.* 305 ff.) *Δήμητρος* . . . *πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὑρεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἀκούειν*; Diod. 5. 48. 4 *τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τελετὴν* . . . *ὧν οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι πλὴν τῶν μεμυημένων*. Cf. also Soph. *OC* 1640–4.

**479. ἀχέειν:** the word is very doubtfully attested in early epic: cf. *Il.* 18. 160 *ἀχέων* (v.l., read by Zenodotus: *ἰάχων* codd.); Hes. *Sc.* 93 (*ὀχέων Ωα*: *ἀχέων* codd. cett., Stob.; but *ὀχέων* is supported by

*Il.* 21. 302); *Hy.* 19. 18 (*ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει* codd.: *ἀχέει* Ilgen, *ἰαχει* Ruhnken, *ἠχέει* Gemoll; but cf. *Od.* 19. 520 f.). *ἀχέων* is also conjectured in Ion *Trag.* fr. 39 (*ὕμνον ἀχαιῶν* codd.). The middle is attested in Moschion fr. 187 *ἀχήσεται*; cf. Hsch. s.v. *μέγ' ἀχήσεται· μέγα βοήσει.*

Cf. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 178 f., defending *ἀχέειν* here and conjecturing *στόμ' ἀχήσεται* at *Aph.* 252; but see Schulze, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 29 (1888), 247 f., against him. A verb meaning 'to tell, speak out' is needed. *ἰαχεῖν* or *ἠχεῖν* would be possible. The former seems more likely: the *scriptio plena -έει(ν)* is common in M (cf. *Dem.* 173, 284), and if *ἰαχέειν* was written, the iota might easily have been dropped to restore the metre, or simply by chance. For *ἰαχεῖν* cf. *Dem.* 20. It takes a cognate accusative sometimes in tragedy, rarely an external one. But cf. E. *Ph.* 1295 (= 'bewail'), and passive E. *Hel.* 1147 (ex coni., = 'proclaim'); also *ἰαχεῖν χρησμόν* (*IG* 7. 4240 b 2), etc.

Various terms were later used of revealing the Mysteries in words (cf. ad *Dem.* 478 f.): *λέγειν* (Hdt. 2. 61, cf. 46, 47; Sopator, *Rhet. gr.* 8. 117 W.); *ἐκλέγειν* (Sopator o.c. 110 ff., quoting the law); *ἐξηγέεσθαι* (Hdt. 2. 3); *ἐξαγορεύειν* (Hdt. 1. 170, Luc. *de Salt.* 15); *ἐκφαίνειν* (Hdt. 6. 135, Iamb. *V. Pyth.* § 246); *ἐξερεύγειν* (Call. fr. 75. 7); *ἐκφέρειν* (D.L. 2. 101, etc.); *ἐξορχεῖσθαι* (Luc. *de Salt.* 15, *Pisc.* 33, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2 § 12. 1, Synes. *de Provid.* 2. 6. 125 D.), etc. For a full list cf. Casel (o.c. ad *Dem.* 478–9), 6 ff.

**μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν:** the initiate's lips are sealed by his 'great reverence of the gods' ('die Scheu vor der Gottheit', Rohde, *Psyche*[9], i. 280; cf. W. Otto, *ARW* 12 (1909), 537, 'Religio und superstitio'). On *σέβας* cf. ad *Dem.* 10, 190, 478–9, 478 (*σεμνά*). For *θεῶν σέβας* meaning 'reverence for the gods' cf. A. *Cho.* 645 *Διὸς σέβας*, *Supp.* 396 *σέβας τὸ πρὸς θεῶν*. In *Supp.* 85 (*δαιμόνων σέβας*), 755 (*θεῶν σέβη*), etc., it refers to the object of reverence (cf. *Dem.* 10).

The language here is similar to later 'formulae of silence'. Cf. especially S. *OC* 1051 ff. (quoted ad *Dem.* 478–9), and other proverbial expressions (A. fr. 316 N., *Ag.* 36 f., Strattis fr. 67 (1. 731 Kock), Theognis 815 f.). Cf. also *AP* 10. 42 *ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσσῃ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω* (and for similar phrases Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* i. 36, Casel, o.c. 5 n. 1). Fraenkel (ad *Ag.* 36 f.) concludes that the words *βοῦς μέγας* (*ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ*) *βέβηκε* belong to the original proverb, and tentatively suggests, following Schneidewin, that the phrase belonged to the ritual of Eleusis, *κλῆς* (as in S. *OC* 1051 ff., A. fr. 316 N.) being substituted for *βοῦς* 'to tone down its violence'. If some such expression belonged to Eleusinian ritual, *Dem.* 479 might be a reflection of it (cf. *μέγα σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν*, as in *βοῦς μέγας* etc.).

**480–2.** The poet proclaims the blessed state of those who have seen the Mysteries, and the unhappy fate after death of the uninitiated. These lines form, as it were, the climax of the *Hymn* (cf. Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 521 f., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i[3]. 661). The emphasis is upon seeing the *ὄργια*, i.e. above all the *ἐποπτεία*, which was the climax of the Mysteries. It is this which makes the initiates *ὄλβιοι*, that is both prosperous in the worldly sense (cf. ad loc., and *Dem.* 486–9) and

happy. It is natural to assume that this refers both to the present life and also to the life after death (cf. 481–2).

The emphasis here, however, is more on the second, as 481–2 show. There is no hint of an ethical viewpoint here, no suggestion that initiation requires good conduct, or that evil deeds will be punished (cf. ad *Dem.* 367–9). But the implication of 481–2 is surely that those who are not initiated will actually suffer after death. Later writers made this more explicit.

The wording *ὅc . . . ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* does not indicate whether the Mysteries were already at this stage open to the Greek world in general, but it does at least *suggest* universality: there are no 'exclusion clauses'. Possibly the development was rather in the opposite direction, i.e. *βάρβαροι* were later excluded because of anti-Persian feeling in the fifth century (cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* 157, Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* ii. 197 f. n. 1).

There is no reason to assume (with Kern, *RE* 16. 1216. 65 ff.) that the gradation *ὄλβιος . . . μέγ' ὄλβιος* (486) implies two separate grades of initiation at this period. If 480 refers particularly to the *ἐποπτεία*, this is not possible. The distinction between *μύστης* and *ἐπόπτης* may well, however, have already been current: cf. Introduction, pp. 20 f.

The words of the *Hymn* are echoed by later writers. Cf. especially Pi. fr. 137a Sn. (= 121 Bo.):[1]

*ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἶς' ὑπὸ χθόν'·*
*οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν,*
*οἶδεν δὲ διόςδοτον ἀρχάν.*

S. fr. 753 N. (= 837 P.):

*ὡς τρισόλβιοι*
*κεῖνοι βροτῶν οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη*
*μόλωc' ἐc Ἅιδου· τοῖcδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ*
*ζῆν ἔcτι, τοῖc δ' ἄλλοιcι πάντ' ἔχει κακά.*

In these passages the reference to happiness in a future life is explicit. In Sophocles, it is also clearly stated that 'the rest' will have 'nothing but evil things' after death. For this cf. also Pi. *O.* 2. 67 (after the portrayal of the life of the blessed after death) *τοὶ δ' ἀπροςόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον*; Pl. *Rep.* 365 a 3 *μὴ θύcαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει.* Note the brevity and reticence of these expressions. Cf. also E. *HF* 613 *τὰ μυcτῶν δ' ὄργι' ηὐτύχηc' ἰδών* (i.e. Heracles was able to bring back Cerberus from Hades because he had been initiated at Eleusis); Ar. *Ran.* 154–8 (a picture of the initiates as the blessed in Hades), 455 ff. (the chorus of mystae in Hades):

*μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος*
*καὶ φέγγος ἱλαρόν ἐcτιν,*
*ὅcοι μεμυήμεθ' εὐ-*
*cεβῆ τε διήγομεν*
*τρόπον περὶ τοὺc ξένους*
*καὶ τοὺc ἰδιώτας.*

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 155, Kern, *ARW* 19 (1916–19), 433 f. With this should be compared Pi. *O.* 2. 53–80, frr. 129–31, 133, 143 Sn.

Isocr. *Paneg.* 28 (speaking of Demeter's gifts to men of crops and the Mysteries) *οἱ μετέχοντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι* (*ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή*, etc. is a formula, used especially in connection with the Mysteries: cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* i. 69 ff., Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, 401 ff.). This perhaps refers to life on earth as well as after death. Later writers make this explicit. Cf. Crinagoras, *AP* 11. 42, especially

*τῶν ἄπο κἠν ζωοῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεὖτ' ἂν ἵκηαι*
*ἐς πλεόνων, ἕξεις θυμὸν ἐλαφρότερον.*

Cic. *Leg.* 2. 14 (the Mysteries are Athens' greatest gift to men): 'quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur ita revera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi' (cf. Isocrates, above); Aristid. *Eleus.* 2. 30 K. (1. 421 D.) *ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε κέρδος τῆς πανηγύρεως οὐχ ὅσον ἡ παροῦσα εὐθυμία . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἡδίους ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας*; cf. *Panath.* 1. 302 D.[1]

Other writers refer to the 'privileged position' of the initiates in Hades (*προεδρία*): cf. [Pl.] *Axioch.* 371 d, D.L. 6. 39. Cf. also Pl. *Rep.* 363 c–d, 365 a, *Phaedo*, 69 c (also 63 c 5–7, where note *εὔελπίς εἰμι*), *Gorg.* 493 b (cf. Dodds ad loc.), Proclus *in Remp. Plat.* 616 a–b, 2. 185. 10 ff. Kroll. It is not certain how far these passages of Plato are influenced by Eleusinian beliefs (cf. Dodds, *Gks. and Irrational*, 172 n. 102). The punishment in Hades of the uninitiated, and of those who 'held of no account the rites of Eleusis' is said by Pausanias to have been depicted by Polygnotus in the Delphic *lesche* (Paus. 10. 31. 9, 11).

Cf. also, more generally, *IG* ii². 3661. 5 f. (on the statue of the hierophant Glaucus, second century A.D.):

*ἦ καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον, οὐ μόνον εἶναι*
*τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.*

The elaboration of the notions expressed in *Dem.* 480–2 seems to have begun after the period of the *Hymn*. The development of an ethical attitude to the question of rewards and punishment after death probably led to the growth of a literature on this subject. The beginnings of this are generally considered to belong to the sixth century B.C.

On *Dem.* 480–2 see also Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* i. 69 ff., Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 289 ff. (Eng. trans. 223, 233 n. 22), Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 362 ff., Casel (o.c. ad *Dem.* 478–9), 12 f., Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 588 ff., Gesch. i³. 661 f., 672 ff., Deichgräber, *Eleus. Frömmigkeit*, 521 ff., Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 267, Boyancé, *RÉG* 75 (1962), 460 ff., Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.* ii. 187, *RE* 16. 1216. 65 ff.

[1] The use of the comparative in these passages, e.g. *ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας* etc., should be noted. Cf. Pi. *O.* 2. 62 *ἀπονέστερον ἐκλοὶ δέκονται βίοτον*; Orph. fr. 222. 2 *μαλακώτερον οἶτον*. Cf. R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, 93 n. 1 on *ἀρείονα πότμον*.

**480. ὄλβιος, ὃς . . .:** this is a traditional formula of *μακαρισμός*. Cf. *Od.* 5. 306:

*τρὶς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις, οἳ τότ' ὄλοντο . . .*

(~ 6. 153 ff.), Hes. *Th.* 96 f. *ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται . . .* (cf. ad *Dem.* 486 ff.), 954 (where the relative has a causal sense), *Op.* 826 ff., fr. 33(a). 13, 211–17, *Hy.* 30. 7 ff., etc. It is, however, especially used in proclaiming the happiness of those initiated into the Eleusinian or other mystery-cults. Cf. Pi. fr. 137(a), Soph. fr. 837 P. (ad *Dem.* 480–2), whose language is so close to that of the *Hymn* that imitation seems likely (but cf. G. L. Dirichlet, *De veterum macarismis* (Giessen, 1914), 63 *contra*). Cf. similarly, of the Bacchants, E. *Ba.* 72 ff. *ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει καὶ θιασεύεται ψυχάν . . .* (etc.; cf. Dodds, ad loc.); of the initiate into the Isis-mysteries, Apul. *M.* 11. 16. 2 ff., where Lucius is acclaimed by the crowd as 'felix hercules et ter beatus, qui . . . meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium' (etc.); 22. 5, where the priest addresses him: 'O', inquit, 'Luci te felicem, te beatum, quem propitia voluntate numen augustum tantopere dignatur'; cf. 29. 4 (Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, 14 f.). Cf. perhaps also Theocr. 3. 49 ff. *ζαλωτὸς μὲν . . . ζαλῶ δὲ . . . Ἰασίωνα, ὃς . . .* (cf. ad *Dem.* 478), and 15. 146 (at the Adonia) *ὀλβία ὅσσα ἴσατι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ*. On the gold plates the dead man says (Orph. fr. 32 (c). 3, etc.) *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶμεν*, and is addressed with the words *ὄλβιε καὶ μακάριστε, θεὸς δ' ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο* (ibid., verse 10. See also Zuntz, *Persephone*, 322 f. n. 3). This perhaps also reflects a similar address to the initiate in the cult. That such an acclamation may have occurred in the mysteries of Sabazius is suggested by Dem. *de Cor.* 260 *ἔξαρχος* (etc.) . . . *προσαγορευόμενος μίσθον λαμβάνων . . . ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην;* Theon of Smyrna, in his comparison of philosophy to initiation, describes the final stage of *μύησις* as *ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίαιτον εὐδαιμονία* (p. 15, Hiller).

Possibly the ritual of the Eleusinian Mysteries also closed with a *μακαρισμός*, which is echoed by the words of the *Hymn* (cf. Dirichlet, o.c. 63). One might compare the blessing at the end of a Christian service, although this takes the form of a benediction, that is a prayer rather than a proclamation.

Later the *μακαρισμός* of the mysteries is taken over by the philosophers, who proclaim the blessed happiness of those who have gained enlightenment by contemplation, and who understand the nature of the world in the same way that the initiate has insight or knowledge of the nature and purpose of his existence (cf. Pi. fr. 137 (a) above). Thus Empedocles echoes the *Hymn*'s contrast between initiate and profane (fr. 132 D.): *ὄλβιος ὃς θείων πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον* (cf. ad *Dem.* 489), *δειλὸς δ' ᾧ σκοτόεσσα θεῶν πέρι δόξα μέμηλεν*. Here the symbolism of light and darkness, and the reference to *πλοῦτος*, echo the language of the Mysteries. Cf. similarly Anaxagoras, *Vors.* 59 A 30

(Arist. *EE* 1. 4. 1215$^{b}$7, 1. 5. 1216$^{a}$11), E. fr. 910 N. (~ Ar. *Ran.* 1482 ff.), Pl. *Phaedr.* 250 b, Men. fr. 156, Virg. *G.* 2. 490 ff., Ov. *F.* 1. 297 ff., *Ex P.* 2. 8. 57 f.

The same symbolism of *πλοῦτος*, light, and knowledge underlies Bacch. 3. 10 ff. (in a hymn to Demeter and Core) *ἃ τρισευδαίμων ἀνήρ, ὃς . . . οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμφαρεῖ κρύπτειν σκότῳ.* Cf. perhaps Pi. *P.* 5. 1 ff. (5, 12, 20, 46, 55 ff.) ; *O.* 2. 53 ff. (cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, pp. 37 ff.).

On the motif of *μακαρισμός* in general cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 99 ff., Dirichlet, o.c., especially 62 ff., O. Regenbogen, *Das Humanist. Gymnasium* 41 (1930), 11 (= *Kl. Schr.* 113), Snell, *Hermes* 66 (1931), 75 n. 4 (= *Ges. Schr.* 85 n. 4), Festugière, *Eranos* 54 (1956), 78 ff.

The *μακαρισμός* to the initiate is perhaps parodied in the 'Socratic mysteries', Ar. *Nub.* 463 ff. (Dieterich, *RhM* 48 (1893), 277). It is also perhaps not due to chance that the formula is used in the context of the games in honour of the Eleusinian hero Diocles, in Theocr. 12. 28 f., 34 (cf. ad *Dem.* 153).

*ὄλβιος* usually has a strong material connotation. Cf. *Il.* 24. 543 ff., *Od.* 17. 420, 18. 138, etc., *ὄλβια* (sc. *δῶρα*) *Od.* 7. 138, 8. 413, 13. 42, etc. (and for Herodotus, Radermacher, *Gnomon* 14 (1938), 296). So here, the prosperity which the Mysteries bring comes in this life as well as after death. Cf. ad *Dem.* 486–9 (Ploutos). But the Greeks were always aware that *ὄλβος* and *πλοῦτος* were gifts of the gods. Hence these words acquired religious overtones. Cf. *ὀλβιοδαίμων* in *Il.* 3. 182, *ὄλβιοι ἥρωες* in the islands of the blest, Hes. *Op.* 172, Regenbogen, l.c., etc.

**τάδ' ὄπωπεν:** the verb stresses that the Mysteries are essentially a 'spectacle' for the initiates, that is, their climax is the *ἐποπτεία*, and not any form of ritual actions (although these were also included : cf. ad *Dem.* 474–6), or doctrines. Cf. especially Arist. fr. 15 R. *τοὺς τετελεσμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖ, ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, γενομένους δηλονότι ἐπιτηδείους.* Cf. also Introduction, pp. 26 ff.

**481. ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν:** in Homer *ἀτελής* occurs only once, meaning 'unaccomplished' (*Od.* 17. 546). The sense 'uninitiated' is found also at Pl. *Phdr.* 248 (*τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας*). Cf. *τέλος*, *τέλη* of initiation ceremonies, especially the Eleusinian Mysteries : A. fr. 387, S. *OC* 1050, fr. 837 P. (ad *Dem.* 480–2), E. *Hipp.* 25, Pl. *Rep.* 560 e (and already in Homer of marriage, *Od.* 20. 74) ; also PSI 1391 fr. B col. i 24 ~ P. Oxy. 2622 fr. 1 (a) 5 (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 211). Cf. *τελεῖν*, *τελετή*, *τελεστήριον*, etc. Like *ὄργια*, *δρᾶν*, etc., *τέλος* and *τελεῖν* are also used of religious services in general (cf. LSJ s.v. *τελεῖν* III 3, *τέλος* I 6), and here also the more general sense perhaps precedes the specialized one (cf. ad *Dem.* 273, 476).

**ἄμμορος:** if one 'has no share in the rites' one 'does not have a share (*αἶσαν*) of the same things after death'. But one may note that *ἄμμορος* can also mean 'ill-fated' (*Il.* 6. 408, 24. 773; cf. *Od.* 20. 76?), like *δυσάμμορος*, *κάμμορος*, *(παν)ἄποτμος*, etc. Cf. *IG* 14. 1942. 11 f. *ἄμμορος ἐσθλῆς | ἐλπίδος ἄνθρωποι* (cf. ad *Dem.* 480–2).

**481–2. οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων . . . εὐρώεντι:** the language used here is indefinite, and probably deliberately so. The vague threat suggests more than it expresses. Later writers, although more explicit, sometimes use very general expressions: cf. Pi. *O.* 2. 67 *τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον*; S. fr. 837. 4 P. *πάντ' ἔχει κακά*; Pl. *Rep.* 365 a 3 *δεινὰ περιμένει*. Cf. also the euphemism of A. *Eum.* 339 f. *θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος* (where the language is similar to that of *Dem.* 481–2: cf. 338 f. *ὅφρ' ἂν γᾶν ὑπέλθῃ ~ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι*, 339 *θανὼν δ' ~ φθίμενός περ*).

For the view that the language here too is euphemistic cf. also Boyancé, *RÉG* 75 (1962), 474–5; Kern, *RE* 16. 1216. 50.

**482. ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι:** the dative *ζοφῳ* is not used in Homer, and the substitution of *εὐρώεντι* for the formulaic *ἠερόεντι* is perhaps due to a reminiscence of Hes. *Th.* 729–31. It also enhances the menacing tone of these lines. The underworld is seen as a place of physical decay, probably through its association with the grave (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1167 *τάφον εὐρώεντα*), and the confusion between ghost and corpse. From this perhaps developed the idea of the 'hell of mud or slime' into which sinners, or the uninitiated, are plunged in later accounts of Hades. (*εὐρώεις* is used of mud and slime, *ἰλύς* and *πηλός*, in Opp. *H.* 1. 781, 2. 89.) Cf. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 172 f. n. 102, West ad *Th.* 731, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 46 ff.

**483–9.** After Demeter has given men her Mysteries, the two goddesses go up to Olympus, where they live beside Zeus. Greatly blessed is the man whom they love, for they send him Ploutos, who brings men wealth.

The narrative closes with a transposition to the present tense (485 ff.) thus taking the poem out of historical narrative, and returning to the timeless context of a hymn (as in *Dem.* 478–82), in preparation for the final invocation (490 ff.). For similar transitions at the end of a hymn cf. *Herm.* 574 ff. (576–8 ~ *Dem.* 485–9, 579 ~ *Dem.* 490–4, 580 = *Dem.* 495), *Hy.* 15. 6 ff. (7–8 *νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ . . . Ὀλύμπου ναίει . . .* ~ *Dem.* 484–5, 9 ~ *Dem.* 490–4). In these cases also the poet refers to where the deity is now to be found (*Herm.* 576, *Hy.* 15. 7–8), and in the case of Hermes to his benefits to men. A similar formula is found in *Hy.* 20. 5 ff. *νῦν δὲ δι' Ἥφαιστον . . . εὔκηλοι διάγουσιν . . .* For an epic example cf. *Il.* 24. 614 ff. *νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν . . . ἔνθα . . . κήδεα πέσσει*. Cf. also Hes. frr. 25. 26, 229. 6 (both on the apotheosis of Heracles), 23 (a). 25 (Iphimede immortalized), 91. 3 (apotheosis of Ino?), and in Pindar *P.* 9. 69–70 (return from myth to present context).

The same device is used in reverse at the beginning of a hymn: cf. *Ap.* 1 ff., Hes. *Th.* 1 ff., where, however, one may speak of a 'timeless' past tense (cf. West ad *Th.* 7). In the *Hymn to Apollo*, the poet returns again to the present at *Ap.* 12 *ἔνθα καθίζουσιν* (cf. *Dem.* 485), in preparation for the invocation of Leto: *Ap.* 14 *χαῖρε . . .* Cf. also similarly *Hy.* 31. 15 ff. *ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὅ γε στήσας . . .*, 17 *χαῖρε, ἄναξ . . .*

On this device, see also van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaique*, 258 n. 4, 305 n. 2, Jacoby, *Der hom. Apollonhymnos*, 49 f. [728 f.].

**483. ὑπεθήκατο:** cf. ad *Dem.* 149, 273.

**484.** Cf. ad *Dem.* 36.

**486. σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε:** the epithets are used especially of Demeter and Persephone (cf. notes to *Dem.* 1, 190, 214 f., 478 f.). For σεμνή of Persephone alone cf. *Orph. Hy.* 29. 10, 71. 2 f.

In this context the words suggest the honours which men (and gods) pay them as deities on Olympus and πάρεδροι of Zeus. Cf. the description of *Δίκη*, the daughter and πάρεδρος of Zeus, in Hes. *Op.* 256 ff. (257a ~ *Dem.* 486a above); Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung*, 67 f.

**μέγ' ὄλβιος:** cf. Hdt. 6. 24. 2, E. *Hec.* 493, and μέγα πλούσιος Hdt. 1. 32. 5, 7. 190.

**486–9.** The μακαρισμός of 480 is repeated with increased emphasis. But here it is those whom the goddesses love who are 'greatly blessed', and their reward is prosperity in this life, rather than happiness after death. αἶψα δέ (etc.) gives the reason why they are ὄλβιοι. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 97, *Hy.* 30. 9 ff., where this is expressed by asyndeton. The wording here is similar to that of both these passages, and the *Hymn to Ge* enlarges on the theme of god-given prosperity. Cf. also Hes. *Op.* 170–3, where the heroes in the islands of the blest are ὄλβιοι, and the earth bearscrops for them three times a year.

Initiation was thought to bring one not only prosperity but also the protection of the gods in times of danger. The gods appear to those whom they love, and assist them in their difficulties. This is perhaps why Heracles as an initiate at Eleusis was able to carry off Cerberus (E. *HF* 613). This was particularly the case with initiation into the Samothracian mysteries, which gave one protection especially from the perils of the sea. Thus Orpheus can calm storms and summon up Glaucus (Diod. 4. 43. 1 f., 48. 6). Cf. also A.R. 1. 916 ff., Schol. ad loc., Diod. 5. 49. 5 f., Schol. Ar. *Pax* 277 f., Pfister, *RE Supp.* 4. 305 f., 320, Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 150 f.

**487. προφρονέως φίλωνται:** for πρόφρων of a favourable deity see notes to *Dem.* 226, and cf. especially Hes. *Th.* 419 f. ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς, καί τέ οἱ ὄλβον ὀπάζει . . ., *Hy.* 30. 7 f. (ad *Dem.* 486–7), 18 ( ~ *Dem.* 494). On the active nature of φιλεῖν (488 f.) cf. ad *Dem.* 117.

**488 f.** Wealth (and Poverty) were regarded as entering men's houses and living with them. Cf. West ad *Th.* 593, and *Vit. Hom. Herod.* 469 (= Hom. *Epigr.* 15. 3), S. fr. 273 P., Chaeremon, fr. 36 N., Plut. *Mor.* 693 f, Phoenix, fr. 2. 8 (ad *Dem.* 489).

**ἐφέστιον:** cf. the θεοὶ ἐφέστιοι (Hierocles, *Berl. Klass. Texte*, iv. p. 54. 20 f.), the gods of the hearth and home. Ploutos receives an altar together with Hestia and other deities in *SIG*³ 985 (*c.* 100 B.C.).

**489.** Ploutos, the personification of wealth, is the son of Demeter and Iasius (Iasion) in Hes. *Th.* 969 ff. (cf. West ad loc.). The union is located in Crete, and the story is referred to in *Od.* 5. 125 ff. (cf.

also Zwicker, *RE* 21. 1033, 1037, and the vases described in Metzger, *Recherches*, 7 f., E. Simon, *Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 77). Demeter appears again as mother of Ploutos in *PMG* 885, with Persephone, and both goddesses are invoked and asked to preserve the city (cf. *Dem.* 490–5):

> *Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἀείδω* (~ Dem. 484–9),
> *Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὥραις* (~ *Dem.* 492),
> *σέ τε παῖ Διὸς Φερσεφόνη* (~ 493)·
> *χαίρετον, εὖ δὲ τάνδ' ἀμφέπετον πόλιν* (~ 494).

In Ar. *Thesm.* 295 ff., Ploutos follows Demeter and Core in a prayer to the deities of the Thesmophoria. Demeter herself is addressed as *κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι, πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα* in *Orph. Hy.* 40. 2 f. (cf. fr. 302, Diod. 1. 12. 4, Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 7. 1).

Ploutos is especially the personification of agricultural prosperity, on which above all wealth depended. Cf. Hsch. s.v. *πλοῦτος· ἡ τῶν σπερμάτων ἐπικαρπία καὶ πανσπερμία*, and s.v. *εὔπλουτον κανοῦν. . . . πλοῦτον γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν περιουσίαν.* As such, he does not appear very much in the higher literary tradition, but is an important figure in popular cult and poetry, e.g. in the Eiresione song, *Vit. Hom. Herod.* 469 ff.:

> *αὐταὶ ἀνακλίνεσθε θύραι· πλοῦτος γὰρ ἔσεισι*
> *πολλός, σὺν πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνη τεθαλυῖα,*
> *εἰρήνη τ' ἀγαθὴ . . .*

and in the similar song of the *Κορωνισταί* (Phoenix, fr. 2. 8 Powell). Cf. the ritual of 'Expulsion of Famine' at Chaeronea (Plut. *Mor.* 693 f.), performed by the archon at the state hearth, and by the citizens in their homes, in which they used to beat a slave and send him out of doors, crying *ἔξω Βούλιμον, ἔσω δὲ Πλοῦτον καὶ Ὑγίειαν.* Schol. Hes. *Th.* 971 quotes the proverb *πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, ὦ νήπιε, πλοῦτος ἄριστος.*

The union of Demeter and Iasion is said to have taken place *νείῳ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ* (*Od.* 5. 127, Hes. *Th.* 971), and this suggests the basic agricultural nature of the myth, ploughing and sowing being seen as counterparts of sexual intercourse (cf. West ad *Th.* l.c.). The myth has also been thought to reflect a mystery ritual of *ἱερὸς γάμος*. This seems to be indicated by Theocritus 3. 50 f. (cf. Gow ad 3. 51, and notes to *Dem.* 478, 480). Iasion is connected with the mysteries of Samothrace (Diod. 5. 48 f.), and is said to have introduced the mysteries of Demeter to Sicily and other places (Arrian ap. Eust. 1528. 14). Cf. Gundel, *RE* 9. 752 ff.

At Eleusis, the announcement of the birth of a divine child to a goddess formed part of the secret ceremonies (cf. Introduction, pp. 26 ff.). The deities are not identified, and their anonymity is probably original, like that of the *Μήτηρ* and *Κόρη*, *Θεός* and *Θεά*, and also the nursling *Θρεπτός* (cf. ad *Dem.* 153). But it is natural to see in the child of the 'Mighty Queen' the personification of the fruits of the earth, symbolized

in the ear of corn which Hippolytus in the same passage says was shown to the initiates at the climax of the Mysteries. As such, he may be identified with Ploutos. The announcement, *ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί*, of the birth of the *Koῦρος* at Eleusis is perhaps parallel to the light which flashed forth annually from the cave in Crete in which Zeus, the Cretan *Koῦρος*, or deity of vegetation, was born (Ant. Lib. 19. 1–2; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 59, 123 n. ii), and the Cretan origin of the myth of Iasion and Demeter suggests that it may be another form of the Cretan story of the birth of Zeus. (For theories of other Cretan links with the Mysteries cf. ad *Dem.* 123, 491, and Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 565 ff.)

For the initiates, who were 'spectators' of this event, the announcement of the divine birth must have served as a guarantee that they too would participate in the prosperity which it symbolized. Ploutos was the ground of their hopes for a good life, and hence Pindar (*O.* 2. 53 ff.) speaks of *πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος* (cf. Sapph. 148 ap. Schol. Pi. l.c.) as *ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φέγγος* at the opening of his exposition of the mystic doctrine of life after death. Here, as Maass perceived (*Orpheus*, 273; cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, pp. 39 f.), one may see the influence of mystery-terminology. Iacchus, in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (342 ff.) is *νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ*, and that this is an echo of mystic 'doctrine' is indicated by S. *Ant.* 1146 ff., where Iacchus (Dionysus) is invoked as *πῦρ πνειόντων χοράγ' ἄστρων* (cf. Schol. ad loc. *κατὰ γάρ τινα μυστικὸν λόγον, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐστὶ χοραγός*. Cf. also E. *Ion* 1074 ff., especially 1078 ff.). In the same way Pindar calls Ploutos 'the truest light for men'.[1]

In art, Ploutos is normally portrayed as a child, with other deities (e.g. with Eirene in Cephisodotus' famous group). He appears on a number of vases of the fourth century B.C., in association with the Eleusinian circle of deities. A hydria from Rhodes[2] shows a female deity (Ge) rising out of the ground and holding out a cornucopia, on which a child sits, towards a goddess with a sceptre, probably Demeter. Core, Triptolemus, and Eumolpus are also present. The same child appears on a Kertsch pelike.[3] On one side the child stands, holding his cornucopia, between Demeter, who is seated, and the standing Core. Heracles, Triptolemus, Dionysus, Eumolpus, Aphrodite, and another female figure (whose identity is disputed) complete the picture. On the other side appears the same scene of a deity rising from the ground and holding the child, as on the Rhodes hydria. Here, the

[1] On the similarity of these words to those used later by Christian and Gnostic writers cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 395 f. With Pi. *O.* 2. 53 ff. *O.* 1. 1 ff. may perhaps be compared.

[2] S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1 (1900), 93 ff. = *Cultes, mythes et religions*, ii. 262 ff.; Metzger, *Représentations*, 244 ff., Pl. 32; Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 563 ff., *Gesch.* i³. 317 f., Taf. 44. 1. See Addenda.

[3] Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 318, Taf. 46. 1 and 2. Cf. E. Simon, *Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 72 ff.; but her identification of the second side of the pelike as the birth of Zagreus does not seem to me convincing.

goddess has an ivy crown, and the child wears a fawn-skin and ivy crown, and is received by Hermes, behind whom stands Athena. Demeter and Core (?) are shown above, and on the other side another god and goddess (Zeus and Hera?). A seated female figure with a tympanum is also shown.

The child with the cornucopia appears again on a fragmentary vase-lid in Tubingen,[1] standing between Demeter and Core, and on a late-fourth-century relief from the Agora at Athens,[2] showing Demeter seated and Core standing, accompanied by a male deity who holds the child on his left arm and a cornucopia in his left hand. They are approached by a group of worshippers.[3] He is also shown between the seated Demeter and standing Core on the Sandford–Graham pelike.[4] Dionysus and Eumolpus are also present.

Ploutos, the child with the cornucopia, is thus shown in immediate association with the traditional cult-group of the seated Demeter and standing Core (cf. Kern, *AM* 17 (1892), 125 ff.), in a way which illustrates well the verses of the *Hymn*. On the Rhodes hydria his birth from the earth is also portrayed. The representation is parallel to those of the birth of Erichthonius,[5] and to that of a British Museum hydria,[6] which portrays a deity rising from the earth and giving a child to Athena, in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and 'Oinanthe', whose name suggests that the child may here be Dionysus. On the Kertsch pelike there appears to be a fusion of the two figures of Ploutos and Dionysus, since Ploutos is shown on one side with the Eleusinian deities, whilst on the other the child is characterized by his attributes as Dionysus.[7]

The fusion of Dionysus with Ploutos is also suggested by a fourth-century hydria from Al Mina.[8] This shows the usual group of Core and Demeter, but here Demeter has a young boy on her knees. His dress (embroidered tunic and short boots) is that of Eumolpus, but he also wears a fawn-skin, which characterizes him as Dionysus. His position, however, is that normally taken by the child Ploutos.

This fusion is perhaps not as late as the fourth century, as has been suggested (Metzger, *Représentations*, l.c.). At the Lenaea, we are told (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 482), the Dadouchos said *καλεῖτε θεόν*, and the people cried *Σεμελήι' Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα*. Here Dionysus is both Iacchus and *πλουτοδότης*. See Addenda.

A deity named *Πλουτοδότας* appears on one of the earliest representations relating to Eleusis, a vase from Locri of the mid sixth century showing Demeter mounting a chariot and holding ears of corn,

[1] Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 318, Taf. 45. 1.

[2] H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* 17 (1948), 177, Pl. 54. 2; Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 318 f.

[3] A second relief of the same type, with a kneeling worshipper, is published by K. Schauenberg, *Jahrb. des d. arch. Inst.* 68 (1953), p. 57 Abb. 14, and p. 59.

[4] Metzger, *Recherches*, 34, Pl. 14. 1, Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. Nachtr. 855 f., Taf. 53. 2.

[5] Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 181 ff., and notes to *Dem.* 231 ff.

[6] Cook o.c. Pl. 22.

[7] Cf. Metzger, *Représentations*, 253 ff., Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 563 ff., *Gesch.*, i³. 318.

[8] Metzger, *Recherches*, 52 f., Pl. 25. 2, Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. Nachtr. 855 f., Taf. 53. 1.

accompanied by Triptolemus, Athena, Heracles, Hermes, and 'Ploutodotas'.[1] Nilsson sees this as an illustration of *Dem.* 486 ff., showing Demeter about to spread her gift of corn abroad, Ploutodotas symbolizing the prosperity which she brings.

The partial identity of Ploutos and Iacchus is suggested by the comparison of Pi. *O.* 2. 53 ff. with Ar. *Ran.* 342 ff. and S. *Ant.* 1146 ff. (above). Iacchus and Dionysus are identified by Sophocles, *Ant.* 1115 ff. Cf. also S. fr. 959 P., *Trag. Gr. Frag. Adesp.* 140, Philodamus, *Paean*, 32 ff. Later Iacchus is explicitly made the child of Demeter (Lucr. 4. 1160, *Suda* s.v. *"Ιακχος· Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ*, Kern, *RE* 9. 621). The question of Dionysus' place at Eleusis is very much in dispute (see references ad *Dem.* 17).

The iconography of Iacchus on vases is a matter of dispute (see Addenda to p. 318 n. 2), but certainly Ploutos and Dionysus are portrayed together on some vases, and they were evidently regarded normally as separate personalities. Ploutos usually appears as a baby or a young boy. There are, however, representations of an older deity with a cornucopia. On one side of the Pourtalès vase he is shown as a young man, reclining on a couch with Dionysus (Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 158, Fig. 46). More often, the deity is a venerable old man with a beard (e.g. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. 319, Taf. 42. 1). He has sometimes been called Ploutos, and Ploutos is in fact once called *πρεσβύτης*, in Ar. *Pl.* 265.[2]

Plouton may appear in the inscription of *c.* 500 B.C. recording sacrifices at the Eleusinian Games (*IG* i². 5. 5; cf. ad *Dem.* 155). In literature the first occurrence of the name is in A. *PV* 806, where it is used of a fabulous river with gold in it. Ploutos is called *Πλούτων* in S. frr. 273, 283 (Pearson: cf. ad loc.) and Ar. *Pl.* 727 (cf. Pl. *Crat.* 403 a, Str. 147, Luc. *Tim.* 21, *Orph. Hy.* 18. 4). The name is first used of the god of the underworld in literature in S. *Ant.* 1200. The two figures became distinguished, Ploutos as deity of wealth, and Plouton as Hades, and the latter is usually shown as an older man, with a beard.[3]

Ploutos is thus later partly identified with other Eleusinian deities, but his chief role is as the young child of Demeter, the guarantor and bringer of prosperity, and so of men's hopes for happiness in the present life, balancing their expectations of a better fate after death.

**ἄφενος:** the neuter form is normally found in early epic, but the masculine always occurs as a variant in Homer and Hesiod (*Il.* 1. 171, 23. 299, *Od.* 14. 99, Hes. *Th.* 112, *Op.* 24, 637), and later certainly at Call. *Hy.* 1. 96, Crinagoras, *AP* 9. 234. 3, and as a variant at

[1] Metzger, *Recherches*, 8 ff., Nilsson, *Gesch.* i³. Nachtr. 860; cf. ad *Dem.* 153.

[2] It has been argued that Ploutos is only portrayed as a child, and that therefore the older figure must be Plouton (K. Schauenberg, *JDAI* 68 (1953), 38 ff.). There is, however, nothing to prove whether Ploutos or Plouton is meant. In fact, the two personalities are in origin identical, *Πλούτων* being simply a variation of *Πλοῦτος* (cf. *Ἰασίων/-ος*, etc., Solmsen, *Beitr.* 46 ff., 53 ff.; *RE* 21. 1028).

[3] On the Locrian reliefs representing a young, beardless god or hero carrying off a girl, see H. Prückner, *Die Lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz, 1968), 70–4. Prückner suggests that he is rather a local hero than Hades himself.

Call. *Hy.* 1. 94. Cf. West ad *Th.* 112, Fehrle, *Phil. Woch.* 1926, cols. 700–1.

**490–5.** The poet closes with an invocation to Demeter and Persephone, as goddesses of Eleusis, Paros, and Antron, asking them to grant him 'a pleasant livelihood' in return for his song. The last line is the traditional closing formula, announcing his intention to pass to another song.

The prayer to the deity is traditional at the end of a hymn. The poet prays for prosperity here, since this is especially the gift of Demeter and Persephone. Thus the same prayer is made to Ge (*Hy.* 30. 18), and Dionysus is asked to grant 'happiness in future seasons (i.e. years)' in *Hy.* 26. 12 f. Heracles and Hephaestus are also both asked to give *ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον* (15. 9, 20. 8), and Athena *τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε* (11. 5). In a later hymn in the Homeric collection, to Helios, the poet again prays *πρόφρων δὲ βίον θυμηρέ' ὀπάζειν* (31. 17). Elsewhere he asks for victory in the poetic contest (6. 19 f.; cf. 10. 5, 24. 5, 25. 6). This is presumably implied also by *Dem.* 494. Poseidon is asked to help sailors (22. 7). The shorter *Hymn to Demeter* ends with a prayer that she should save the city (13. 3). Cf. *PMG* 885, Call. *Hy.* 6. 134 (to Demeter). Callimachus' hymn closes with a prayer for prosperity in the fields and peace in the city (134 ff.). Such a prayer for prosperity and peace or safety is common in classical hymns. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 14. 228 *κράτιστον οὖν ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν διθυράμβων τε καὶ παιάνων ποιηταὶ εὐχήν τινα προσθέντα οὕτω κατακλεῖσαι τὸν λόγον*; K. Ziegler, *De precationum apud Graecos formis* (Diss. Breslau, 1905), 59 ff.

Prayers to a deity traditionally refer to his cult-place(s), and this is usually done either by means of a relative clause (e.g. *Il.* 1. 37 ff.) or, as here, a participial phrase. The two constructions are used interchangeably. Cf. *Hy.* 10. 4 f. (and similarly *Herm.* 2) for a participle, 29. 1 ff. (and similarly 6. 2 f., etc.) for a relative. For later examples cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 166 ff.

**490. ἀλλ' ἄγε:** for this expression used in passing to a final invocation cf. *Ap.* 165 (where a manuscript error also occurs, as here and in *Il.* 7. 299, 14. 314). Cf. similarly *Hy.* 20. 8 (*ἀλλ' ἴληθ' . . .*), and the citharoedic closing formula *ἀλλὰ ἄναξ μάλα χαῖρε* (Zenob. 599, *Paroem. Gr.* i, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin; Hsch. s.v. *ἀλλ' ἄναξ*) which is like the more common formula of Homeric hymns *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε* (*Hy.* 1. 20, etc.). *ἀλλ' ἄγε* can be used equally with a plural or singular verb. But it looks as if the poet originally intended to invoke Demeter, and then had second thoughts and added Persephone. Cf. ad *Dem.* 494.

**491. Πάρον:** Paros was one of the most important centres of Demeter's cult. The island was called *Δημητριάς* after her (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Πάρος*). According to one tradition (Steph. Byz. ibid.), Demeter received her information about the Rape at Paros from Cabarnos, who was the ancestor of the Cabarnoi, the priesthood of Demeter on

Paros (Hsch. s.v. *Κάβαρνοι· οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερεῖς, ὡς Πάριοι*; cf. *IG* 12. 5. 292), who may be compared with the Eumolpidae at Eleusis. Another tradition related that Demeter was received on Paros by King Melissos, and that she revealed her *πάθη* and *μυστήρια* to his sixty daughters, who became nymphs, and gave them the *κάλαθος* and loom of Persephone (Apollod. *FGH* 244 F 89). The name is derived from the title *μέλισσαι* which was given to the priestesses of Demeter and other deities (cf. Hsch. s.v. *μέλισσαι*, Schol. Pi. *P.* 4. 60, Porph. *de antro* 18). A connection with Crete has been deduced from this, on account of the role played by bee-nymphs in the myth of Zeus' birth (cf. Neustadt, *De Iove Cretico* (Diss. Berlin, 1906), 44 ff.). The island was colonized from Crete, and the cult of Demeter may have reached it from there.

From Paros the cult was taken to Thasos, according to tradition by Cleoboea, who was portrayed with Tellis, the grandfather of Archilochus, in Polygnotus' painting of Hades at Delphi (Paus. 10. 28. 3). Archilochus himself is said to have written a hymn to Demeter, and his poetry was probably influenced by the cult (cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 3. Iambe). Later, the story of Miltiades' attempt to enter the Parian Megaron of Demeter, told by Herodotus (6. 134 f.), gives a clue to the site of the sanctuary. Like the Eleusinian one, it was situated on 'the hill outside the city' (6. 134. 2; cf. ad *Dem.* 271, 272). But despite exploration, the temple has not yet been found. Inscriptions attesting the cult exist (*IG* 12. 5. 225–8). One (227) is dedicated to Demeter Thesmophoros, Core, Zeus Eubouleus, and Babo (i.e. Baubo: cf. ad *Dem.* 192 ff., 3. Iambe). Another appears to indicate a temple of Persephone inside the city (*IG* 12. 5. 225; but the reading is not certain: cf. perhaps *IG* ii². 1363, col. i. 22, *Gnomon* 39 (1967), 280). Cf. also Rubensohn, *AM* 26 (1901), 206 ff., *JDAI* 70 (1955), 28, *RE* 18. 1842 ff., Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 42 n. 2, 418 n. 2.

**Ἄντρωνα:** Antron in Thessaly is not elsewhere mentioned for the cult of Demeter, but in the Homeric Catalogue it is named just after Pyrasus, which is called *Δήμητρος τέμενος* (*Il.* 2. 695–7). According to Strabo(435) Pyrasus was also called Demetrion, and it had a grove and temple of Demeter. The town and cult both appear to have been incorporated with Thebai Phthiotides in the fourth century B.C. The worship of Demeter was evidently widespread in Thessaly in early times. There was also a shrine at Anthela, the centre of the Amphictyonic League (Hdt. 7. 200), and in the Dotian plain tradition told of a grove dedicated to her by the Pelasgians (Call. *Hy.* 6. 24 ff.). Cf. also Kern, *RE* 4. 2714 f.

**492.** This is a variant of the vocative formula in *Dem.* 54 (cf. ad loc.). Here again, as at 54, there is hiatus. On *πότνια* see notes to *Dem.* 39, on *Δηοῖ* notes to *Dem.* 47.

**493.** Cf. *Dem.* 2, *Hy.* 13. 2. Persephone here receives her title of *Κούρη*, as Demeter is called *Πότνια* in 492.

**494. πρόφρονες . . . ὀπάζειν:** in this closing invocation the poet hesitates between singular and plural, returning to the singular in

*Dem.* 495, just as at the beginning he announced the subject as Demeter and then added her daughter (cf. ad *Dem.* 1–3). Ruhnken, following M's ὄπαζε, wished to write ἔχουσα in 490 and πρόφρων δ' here. But this involves making ἀλλ' ἄγε stand on its own, whereas it is normally followed by a verb without a connecting particle. If δέ is omitted the singular is very difficult after 493. ὀπάζειν is also an easier change. For the variation cf. *Il.* 16. 92, 21. 217, 22. 259 (all at the end of the verse), Hes. *Op.* 611. The infinitive for imperative is commonly used in prayers, e.g. *PMG* 871, S. *Ant.* 1144, etc., Adami, *Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.* Supp. 26 (1901), 243. (Cf. also *Il.* 2. 412–13, 3. 282–6, 7. 179, *Od.* 17. 354, where it is used for the third person imperative.) The use is probably archaic, and hence tends to be preserved in religious language. There may also be a reluctance to address a direct command to a deity: the infinitive perhaps implies a verb on which it depends (*sc.* 'I ask you'). In Homer, the infinitive for imperative is often found after an imperative or future, or similar preliminary verb (cf. Monro, *HG*² §241). The origin of this use, however, is not ellipse, but it is rather due to the nature of the infinitive as the nominal form of the verb. Cf. Chantraine, *GH* ii. 316 ff., Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 380.

**πρόφρονες:** cf. ad *Dem.* 226, 487.

**ἀντ' ᾠδῆς:** the contracted form does not occur in Homer. Cf. *Ap.* 20, *Hy.* 30. 18, and Attic (but Aeschylus uses only ἀοιδή). In Hes. *Th.* 48 the manuscripts have λήγουσαί τ' ἀοιδῆς (*v.l.* λήγουσί τ') which is unmetrical. ἀ͜οιδῆς, with synizesis, (or ᾠδῆς) has been proposed, but the line is probably spurious (West ad loc.). Cf. also Pi. *N.* 11. 18, where μελίζεμεν ἀοιδαῖς is unmetrical and has been variously emended.

The alternation ᾠδῆς/ἀοιδῆς in 494–5 is paralleled by *Aph.* 97–8 νυμφάων/νυμφῶν. Cf. also *Aph.* 62–3 ἀμβρότῳ/ἀμβροσίῳ, 197–8 οὕνεκα/ἕνεκα. See Addenda.

**βίοτον θυμήρε' ὀπάζειν:** the form θυμήρης is only found once in Homer (*Od.* 10. 362), as a neuter adverb. Elsewhere, θυμαρής is used (*Il.* 9. 336, *v.l.* θυμηρέα; *Od.* 17. 199, 23. 232), although the tradition hesitated between the two forms (cf. Schol. A ad *Il.* 9. 336). θυμήρης is found in *Hy.* 30. 18, 31. 17, and in Hellenistic poetry, A.R. 1. 705 (but θυμηδές Fränkel), 714 (θυμηδές vulg., Fränkel), Mosch. 2. 29 (cf. Bühler ad loc.), and late prose. The difference of accent should be noted (cf. Hdn. Gr. 2. 65). Bechtel (*Lexilogus*, s.v. θυμήρης) argued that θυμήρης was the correct form in Homer also, on the analogy of εὐήρης, χαλκήρης (all being derived from the root of ἀραρίσκω). But θυμαρής seems to be a genuine form in Homer. The survival of the long alpha may be due to a consciousness of the derivation. Later θυμήρης perhaps prevailed because it was regarded as the proper Ionic form.

ὀπάζειν is used especially in contexts such as this. Cf. *Od.* 18. 19, Hes. *Th.* 420, *Hy.* 30. 18, 31. 17, A.R. 1. 249, 4. 1600; also *Hy.* 24. 5 χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὄπασσον ἀοιδῇ, Bacch. 17. 130 ff. (end of poem) Δάλιε, χόροισι Κηΐων | φρένα ἰανθεὶς | ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν; Ar.

*Thesm.* 972 f. *χαῖρ' ὦ ἑκάεργε, | ὅπαζε δὲ νίκην.* It is particularly used of deities and in later poetry almost exclusively so.

**495.** The poet closes with a traditional formula of passage to another song. The *Homeric Hymns* were, at least in origin, preludes to epic recitation (cf. Introduction, pp. 3 f. and notes to *Dem.* 1–3). This is made clear by *Aph.* 293 (= *Hy.* 9. 9, 18. 11)

*cεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήcομαι ἄλλον ἐc ὕμνον.*

Having sung of the deity in his proemium, the poet goes on to the subject of his main recitation. There is no reason to suppose that the formulae of *Dem.* 495, etc. were added at a later date to the larger hymns (cf. R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion*, 76 n. 78). Cf. also the hymns to Helios and Selene (*Hy.* 31. 18 f., 32. 18 ff.). There the poet announces his intention of going on to sing of the deeds of heroes. The lines, although late, presumably reflect genuine earlier epic tradition.

In *Dem.* 495 (etc.) the intention seems to be the same, although the sense is less clear. 'I shall mention (i.e. sing of) both you and another song also' seems to mean 'As of you (now) so of another song I will bethink me (next).' Elsewhere, however, the poet proclaims his intention of singing of the deity (or hero) *again* on a *future* occasion. Cf. perhaps *Ap.* 177 f. *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα | ὑμνέων . . .* There, however, the lines lead on directly to another hymn to Apollo (179 ff.), and may have been added to make the link. Theocritus 1. 145 is clearer:

*χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὕμμιν καὶ ἐc ὕcτερον ἄδιον ἀcῶ.*

(In 17. 135 f. it is not clear whether the reference is to past or future.) This might suggest the sense for *Dem.* 495 (etc.): 'I shall sing of you again *later*, and another song *now*.' But the first interpretation is better suited to the other formula of *Aph.* 293 (etc.).

It might be possible to connect the formula with those by which the poet announces his intention of singing of the deity 'at the beginning and end' of his song, or 'first and last' (cf. West ad *Th.* 34, Gow ad Theocr. 17. 1 f.). This probably means strictly that he will return to the deity of his proemium at the end of his recitation, although, as West points out, this practice is by no means always observed. The line would then mean 'I will return to you later, and sing another song now.'

Alternatively, this use might apply to the beginning and end of the proemium (cf. Schwabl, *Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc.* 2 (1959), 27). In that case, *Dem.* 495 might mean: 'I shall mention you (again) now, and then go on to another song.' But this seems a less natural interpretation (and cf. West, l.c., *contra* Schwabl).

It is in any case probable that the formula had long ago become so stereotyped that its original sense was no longer known or remembered. In the case of *Dem.* 495, the use of the singular *cεῖο* after the plurals in 490–4 (unless *ὅπαζε* is right in 494) might suggest this (cf. van Groningen, *Composition littéraire archaïque*, 73 f.). In *Hy.* 25. 7, 27. 22, 29. 14,

33. 19, the plural *ὑμέων* is used. But the use of the singular here is perhaps due to the fact that the poet is really singing a 'hymn to Demeter' (cf. ad *Dem.* 1–3).

**καὶ . . . καὶ . . .**: the sense 'both . . . and' is very rare in early epic and is probably not found at all in Homer (cf. Ebeling, 618 f.). In the *Hymns*, however, it is 'beginning to establish itself' (Denniston, *GP* 324, with reference to this formula). Cf. notes to *Dem.* 395.

**μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς**: *μνήσομαι* is probably a subjunctive expressing resolve: cf. *Ap.* 1, Hes. *Th.* 1, West ad loc. The verb is used virtually as a synonym of *ἀείδειν*. Cf. *Hy.* 1. 19, *Ap.* 1, 160, *Hy.* 7. 1 f., etc. The Muses were the daughters of *Μνημοσύνη*, and they brought songs to one's mind. Cf. *Il.* 2. 491–2: the poet could not tell of the greater number of the Greeks,

> *εἰ μὴ Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι, Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο*
> *θυγατέρες, μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον.*

# APPENDIX I

## ELEUSINIAN TOPOGRAPHY (*Dem.* 99, 270–2)

### A. *Parthenion and Callichoron*

In *Dem.* 99 Demeter, on arrival at Eleusis, sits down by the *Παρθένιον φρέαρ*. Here she meets the daughters of King Celeus, who have come to draw water, and who escort her from here to the palace. In *Dem.* 272, Demeter mentions (the well) *Καλλίχορον* (or *Καλλίχορος*), as a landmark: her temple is to be built above it, beneath the wall of the acropolis.

Demeter pretends to have come from Thoricos (*Dem.* 126), so that she is presumably on the road from Athens. Parthenion, therefore, is unlikely to be identical with Anthion, the name of the well in Pamphos' epic version (Paus. 1. 39. 1), since this was on the road to Megara, and Demeter pretended there to be an Argive woman (cf. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 306). Anthion and Callichoron are also separately located by Pausanias (see below).

Later, the well at which Demeter sat was called Callichoron (Call. *Hy.* 6. 15, fr. 611 Pf., Nic. *Ther.* 486, Apollod. 1. 5. 1). Pausanias (1. 38. 6) mentions Callichoron as the place where 'the women of the Eleusinians first set up a dance and sang in honour of the goddess'. It was near the temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon Pater, at the entrance to the Sanctuary. It can still be seen to-day, in the south-east corner of the outer court, next to the Greater Propylaea (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, Fig. 4 No. 10 and Fig. 33). Its stone construction is dated by the archaeologists to the Pisistratean period (Mylonas, o.c. 97 ff.).

It would be natural for the girls to fetch water from the well nearest to the city wall (cf. ad *Dem.* 98 ff.), and it is reasonable to suppose that Parthenion and Callichoron are two names for the same well. Later tradition implies this, and if there were *χοροί* of *παρθένοι* around it this would explain the two names.[1] Originally, perhaps, Anthion was also another name for this well, later transferred elsewhere (cf. *Hy.* 30. 14 ff., and Introduction, pp. 18 ff.[2]

[1] Cf. also Nilsson, *Gesch.* i[3]. 656 n. 7, Förster, *Raub und Rückkehr*, 12, Flander, *De Interpolationibus hymni in Cererem* (Parchim, 1879), 12; and notes to *Dem.* 6 ff.

[2] Curtius (*Götting. Abh.* 8 (1859), 3) wished to identify Anthion and Callichoron. Cf. also Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 99, Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 36 f. But see below for doubts about a similar transference.

For the identification of Callichoron and Parthenion cf. Orph. *Arg.* 729 ff., where a river in Asia Minor has both names.[1]

Callichoron originally stood in a relatively free space, outside the peribolos of the Sanctuary, and dances may have been held *round* it. But after the Persian Wars a new peribolos was built, passing close to the well on the south side, and its area was further restricted in the late fourth century, when a square tower was added, to the south-east. At this time the court of the well was paved, and a parapet wall erected round it, with two doors (Mylonas, o.c. 98, 110). In the Roman period it was completely enclosed through the building of the Greater Propylaea and the Roman outer court, which stopped at the well on the north-east side. Access remained via a door opening on to the bottom step of the Greater Propylaea (Mylonas, 98).

It thus remained as a landmark throughout the history of the Sanctuary, and was respected by the post-Pisistratean builders. Euripides (*Ion* 1074) seems to refer to dances *beside* it (*παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς*). Whether dances continued to be held by it after the building of the parapet wall in the fourth century B.C. is uncertain. Pausanias refers only to its use in the past for this purpose.

The date of the well's stone construction, in the second half of the sixth century, does not necessarily preclude its existence in some form before this period, and if it is to be identified with either the Parthenion or Callichoron of the *Hymn*, this must be assumed. An earlier well, however, was found by the excavators directly next to, and below, the Telesterion, at the foot of the north-east corner of the retaining wall of the Stoa of Philon (Mylonas, 44 ff., and W in Figs. 6 and 18). This existed before the Archaic period, and is associated in the seventh century with a broad court, an altar, and a stepped podium. The court became unusable in the Pisistratean period, when a peribolos wall was built over it. Mylonas holds that this was the original Callichoron, and that the name was transferred in the sixth century to the well in the outer court of the Sanctuary. The court was the site of the sacred dances, and the podium was used by spectators (o.c. 44 ff., 70 ff.). Mylonas also thinks that the name Parthenion was originally given to the well in the outer court.[2]

The attraction of this hypothesis is that it fits well with Demeter's instructions to build her temple *Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν* (*Dem.* 272). The temple should be identical with the later Telesterion, but this is

[1] In A.R. 2. 904 ff. Callichoros is the name of a river by which mystic rites of Dionysus are held (907–8 *ὀργιάσαι, στῆσαί τε χορούς . . . ἀμειδήτους νύκτας*: cf. *Dem.* 200), and the next landmark is a river Parthenios (936 ff.).

[2] For a full discussion see Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis* (St. Louis, 1942).

about a hundred metres from the later Callichoron, and so not *directly* above it.[1]

One might accept Mylonas's identification of the original Callichoron, and at the same time assume that Parthenion and Callichoron are two names for the same well, as argued above. But it seems rather unlikely that such an important landmark of the cult should have been moved. If one accepts the ancient identification of Callichoron as the right one the topographical difficulty is not, I think, insuperable.[2] On balance, therefore, I am inclined to prefer to regard the traditional location of Callichoron as the original one.[3]

B. *The temple of Demeter*

In *Dem.* 270–2, Demeter commands the Eleusinians to build her 'a great temple, and an altar under it . . . below the citadel and high wall, over and above Callichoron, upon a jutting hill'.

The site of the Telesterion (as modern scholars call it) of classical times lies on an artificially terraced slope at the foot of the acropolis of Eleusis. The recent excavators, led by Kourouniotes (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 33 ff., 175 ff.), argue that the Telesterion is Demeter's temple. In the fifth century B.C. and later it is referred to as a νεώς (or *templum*).[4]

They also revealed the existence, below the later Telesterion, of a megaron-type building of the Mycenaean period, which they considered to have been used for a religious purpose. No cult-objects were found, but their absence could be attributed to their removal by earlier excavators, and on the strength of 'continuity of cult' a religious use for the building was presumed.

On the strength of the Mycenaean remains it was also argued that there must have been a covered building in the Geometric period, and not merely a terrace, as Noack thought. A small elliptical piece of wall is all that survives.[5] This was followed by a building of the Early Archaic period.[6] In the Pisistratean period the Sanctuary was de-

[1] This was regarded by Noack as an argument *against* identifying temple and Telesterion. See below.

[2] A similar difficulty arises in the case of the spring referred to in *Ap.* 300 as *near to* the temple of Apollo (cf. Allen and Halliday ad loc., Frazer ad Paus. 10. 8. 9, 12. 1).

[3] In that case, it must be admitted, Mylonas's well, with his altar, court, and podium, remains unexplained.

[4] *IG* i². 81. 8; 313. 103; Schol. Aristid. p. 308. 27 Dind.; *AP* 9. 298. 1; cf. Livy 31. 14. 7, 30. 9; Vitruv. 7, praef. 16 f.; Noack, *Eleusis*, 59 f., Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 40, Rubensohn, *JDAI* 70 (1955), 34.

[5] Mylonas, o.c. 57 ff.; but L. Deubner, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1945/6 Nr. 2, 17–19, argues that it belongs to a peribolos.

[6] Oblong, rather than square, as Noack supposed, and tentatively dated by Mylonas to the time of Solon (o.c. 63 ff.).

veloped considerably, and a larger, square Telesterion was built (Mylonas, o.c. 78 ff.).

If the Archaic building belongs to the late seventh or early sixth century, one might argue that it was not the first Telesterion, since the *Hymn* could hardly assign so recent a construction to the mythical period. But that is perhaps debatable. Another possible argument for the existence of an earlier temple is that the site is unsuitable for the large buildings of the classical period, and already in the Geometric period it was necessary to build an artificial terrace on the slope. The choice could have been due to a pre-existing tradition, dating from the Mycenaean period (cf. Mylonas, 43 f.). But a tradition of continuing worship does not necessarily indicate a cult-building, and a free-standing temple would be a rarity at that time.[1] This might, however, be explained as due to the special nature of the rites of Demeter. In classical times, at least, her temples were often situated outside the city (cf. notes on *Dem.* 271).

Noack's arguments against the identification of Telesterion and temple are well answered by Mylonas (o.c. 38 ff.). Noack held that the Telesterion's square plan made the name 'temple' inappropriate, that it does not lie 'above Callichoron', and that the ground is not exactly a 'jutting hill' (*Dem.* 272). He believed that the Mysteries were celebrated in the open air before the Archaic Telesterion was built, and he argued that the Telesterion had no place for the monumental statue-group of Demeter and Core postulated by O. Kern,[2] which must therefore have been kept in a separate temple. He was followed by Allen and Halliday, who also argued that as Demeter occupies her temple *before* the institution of her rites (*Dem.* 302 ff., 473 ff.), these must belong to a separate site. Noack found his temple on the rocky spur above the Telesterion, near the modern Panagia chapel, where traces exist of a building dated by him to the period before the Persian Wars.

Noack's temple has now been shown to be of Roman date, and there is no evidence for an earlier one on the site.[3] The question of the Telesterion's name and shape has been discussed above, as has that of its relation to Callichoron. The site of the Telesterion was originally a steeply inclined slope, and 'jutting hill' is not impossible. The cult-statues could have been set in the bases noted by Travlos in the Telesterion.[4]

[1] The prehistoric sanctuary on Ceos could perhaps be adduced as some sort of parallel. Cf. Caskey, *Hesp.* 31 (1962), 263 ff., 33 (1964), 314 ff., 35 (1966), 363 ff.

[2] *AM* 17 (1892), 125 ff. But see Rizzo, *RM* 25 (1910), 109 ff.; Metzger, *Recherches*, 42 ff.; also M. Ruhland, *Die eleusinischen Gottheiten* (Strassburg, 1901), 104 f.

[3] Travlos (*Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960 (1962)), Chronika, 55 ff.), argues that it was in fact a treasury.

[4] Mylonas, 189. Other solutions have been proposed: see above (n. 2).

Finally, Allen and Halliday's argument is worthless. Demeter's command to build a temple is followed immediately by her promise to institute her rites (273–4), and the two naturally go together. The delay is due to the necessary incorporation of the themes of the Famine and Return of Persephone (see notes to *Dem.* 305 ff.).

There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the identification of the 'great temple' with the Telesterion. One may well feel some doubts about the religious purpose claimed for the Mycenaean building, in the absence of positive evidence; and there is certainly no need to accept Mylonas's view (33 ff.), that the *Hymn* must refer specifically to the building of a temple in the Mycenaean period. But one's judgement on these issues is not of material importance for the interpretation of the *Hymn*.

# APPENDIX II

## ENJAMBEMENT, AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE *HYMN*

### A. *Enjambement* (*cf. Introduction, pp. 60 f.*)

A notable stylistic feature, in which the *Hymn* stands apart from most other early epic poetry, is its frequent use of what Milman Parry called 'necessary' enjambement.[1] A comparative table, setting out the percentage of lines with no enjambement (I), 'unperiodic' enjambement (II), and 'necessary' enjambement (III), will make this clear:

| | I | II | III |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Iliad* | 48·5 | 24·8 | 26·6[2] |
| *Odyssey* | 44·8 | 26·6 | 28·5[2] |
| *Theogony* | 33·0 | 39·1 | 27·9[3] |
| *Works and Days* | 43·0 | 27·2 | 29·7[3] |
| *Shield* | 34·3 | 29·5 | 36·2[3] |
| *Demeter* | 39·6 | 17·5 | 42·9[4] |
| *Delian Apollo* (1–178) | *c.* 33 | 36 | 31 |
| *Pythian Apollo* (179–546) | *c.* 38 | 29 | 33 |
| *Hermes* | *c.* 38 | 34 | 28 |
| *Aphrodite* (1–100 only) | 33 | 42 | 25 |

In Homer the frequency of necessary enjambement per 100 lines varies between 21 and 33, in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* between 14 and 38, whereas in the *Hymn to Demeter* the variation is between 37 and 44. Only the *Shield*, with a range of 29 to 42, approaches closer to the *Hymn*, but still shows a considerably lower frequency.[5]

Parry used his analysis of enjambement to illustrate the 'oral' character of Homer, in contrast to Apollonius and Virgil, whose epics

[1] Cf. *TAPA* 60 (1929), 200 ff. = *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. A. Parry (Oxford, 1971), 251 ff.

[2] Using Parry's statistics.

[3] Using Edwards's statistics, in *Language of Hesiod*, p. 96.

[4] Figures for *Demeter* are based on Parry's criteria, for the sake of comparison. Those for the other major hymns are approximate. For further discussion of the subject see Edwards o.c. 93 ff., and Kirk, *YCS* 20 (1966), 105 ff.

[5] Cf. Edwards, 98 f.

show a much greater use of necessary enjambement (*Argonautica*, 49·1, *Aeneid* 49·2). The *Hymn* appears to be closer to later literary epic than any other early epic piece of comparable length. Does this indicate that it is a literary composition?

If this is so, it is strange that the *Hymn to Hermes*, which has often been considered later than the other major hymns, should be closer in this respect to Homer and Hesiod.[1] The Pythian part of the *Hymn to Apollo* also belongs to the sixth century, if the reference in *Ap.* 540 ff. is to the removal of the Crisaeans from control of Delphi in the First Sacred War. In that case, it could hardly be much earlier than the latest possible date for the *Hymn to Demeter*, but it also shows a more 'traditional' use of enjambement.[2]

If we take one type of enjambement, discussed by Parry, where an adjective in one verse agrees with a noun in the next, it is notable that this occurs five times in the *Hymn*, i.e. about once in a hundred lines. Parry noted that the frequency in Homer is about one in 200 lines (o.c. 264), most examples being with πᾶς, πολύς, or ἄλλος. Two examples in the *Hymn* are of this type (10, 77). Of the other three, one has several parallels in Homer (268–9 ἥ τε μέγιστον | . . . ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα . . . cf. *Il.* 15. 37–8, *Od.* 5. 185–6; *Ap.* 85–6 ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὅρκος, *Il.* 17. 21–2 οὗ τε μέγιστος | θυμός), although in none of these cases is the adjective separated from the noun by other words. Another is a case of formulaic adaptation (83–4 οὔ τοι ἀεικὴς | γαμβρός: cf. *Il.* 9. 70, *Dem.* 120 οὔ τοι ἀεικές; cf. Parry, l.c.). The third is more unusual (169–70 ταὶ δὲ φαεινὰ | . . . ἄγγεα: cf. ad loc.). The word order is more complex than anything in Homer, and the noun is considerably postponed. Curiously enough there is a partial parallel for this case, in *Il.* 16. 104–5 φαεινὴ | πήληξ, although here the noun follows directly. Kirk (*YCS* 20 (1966), 110) discusses this, and suggests that it 'might reflect literate intervention'.[3]

*Dem.* 169 is certainly abnormal by early epic standards, and does go a step beyond anything in Homer. Yet the frequency of such adjective–noun enjambement in the *Hymn* is in no way comparable to that of Apollonius (one in twenty lines) or Virgil (one in ten lines: cf. Parry, o.c. 265). Admittedly, however, one cannot use these epics, which are so much later, as a proper standard of comparison.

The higher frequency of necessary enjambement, taken together

[1] Cf. Porter, *YCS* 12 (1951), 33 f. for its metrical differences from other early epic; Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 10; Allen and Halliday, civ–cvi; Humbert, *Homère, Hymnes*, pp. 114–15.

[2] *Ap.* 540 ff. might of course be an addition: cf. Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* i. 107 f. But I do not myself consider that this is at all likely.

[3] Cf. Leaf ad loc., who comments that 'the position of the epithet . . . is hardly Homeric', and can find no other comparable example except *Il.* 13. 611.

with other evidence for greater complexity of word order (cf. Introduction, p. 60, and see also Appendix V), might suggest a later stage of development in epic technique than that of Homer. But in view of the *Hymn*'s other traditional characteristics, I am very doubtful whether these features alone can be taken as evidence for a 'literary' poet.

B. *The language of Hesiod, and the* Homeric Hymns (*cf. Introduction*, pp. 33 ff.

The general similarity of the *Hymn*'s language to that of Hesiod may be further illustrated by applying a number of tests recently used by Edwards, in his book *The Language of Hesiod*, to illustrate the relationship of Hesiod to Homer.

1. A very rough statistical test applied by Edwards is an analysis of 'the proportion of word-forms used by Hesiod which are identical with forms found in the *Iliad*'.[1] In the *Theogony* the percentage of word-forms which also occur in the *Iliad* is 78·9, in the *Works and Days* 75·6, and in the *Shield* 81·0. *Dem.* 1–50 shows *c.* 250 Iliadic word-forms in a total of 320, i.e. 78 per cent, which is very close to the *Theogony*. The average of non-Iliadic forms per line in *Dem.* 1–50 is 1·4, and this is exactly the same as the average for the *Theogony*. *Dem.* 187–211 is a scene which forms the *aition* for part of the Eleusinian ritual, and might therefore be expected to show a higher frequency of non-Iliadic forms. In fact it has only 1·76 per line, which is comparable to *Th.* 1–50 and 251–401, and to the average for the whole of the *Works and Days* (1·7).

It is doubtful whether much significance can be attributed to such figures (cf. Edwards, 29). The *Shield* emerges as closest to Homer, but this is clearly due to its subject-matter, and to the imitative nature of the poem, since it is certainly later than the *Theogony* or *Works and Days*. The *Shield* in fact is a useful defence with which to parry attempts to establish by such methods alone a relative chronology of early epic poetry.[2] But at least one can say that a rough test of this kind brings out the traditional nature of the language of these poems.

2. Edwards also discusses Parry's 'principle of economy' (55 ff.), and shows how apparent breaches of this in Hesiod either have parallels in Homer, or may be explained by reference to their contexts, or by the operation of analogy.[3] Similar cases in the *Hymn* have been discussed (Introduction, pp. 46 ff.), and most of them can also be explained in these ways.

[1] o.c. 28 ff.; for a definition of 'word-form' cf. Edwards, 28 n. 6.
[2] Cf. M. L. West, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 11, *CR* 15 (1965), 159.
[3] Cf. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionelle*, 218 ff. = *Making of Homeric Verse*, 173 ff.

3. Edwards analyses the proportions in Hesiod of alternative genitive forms in -αο/-εω and -άων/-έων/-ῶν, and shows that the older endings tend to be preserved mainly in traditional phrases whereas the use of the newer ones is extended (122 ff.). The number of these in the *Hymn* is too small to allow any comparison with Hesiod and Homer.[1]

4. More significant are the proportions of -οισι/-οις and -ῃσι/-ῃς(-αις) datives (cf. Introduction, pp. 53 f.). If one includes cases where the short form precedes a vowel, the proportions of short to long are: *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1:5, *Theogony* 1:2·5, *Works and Days* 1:2, *Demeter* 1:2. But one must distinguish cases of short forms before a vowel, which may conceal -οις(ι)/-ῃς(ι). The numbers are as follows:[2]

| | -οις/-ῃς(-αις) before consonant | -οις/-ῃς before vowel | -οισι/-ῃσι |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Iliad* | 79 | 214 | 1,534 |
| *Odyssey* | 105 | 149 | 1,270 |
| *Theogony* | 29 | 28 | 139 |
| *Works and Days* | 28 | 18 | 94 |
| *Demeter* | 22 | 10 | 66 |
| *Apollo* 1–178 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| *Apollo* 179–546 | 4 | 5 | 59 |
| *Hermes* | 2 | 10 | 80 |
| *Aphrodite* | 4 | 9 | 57 |

The remarkable fact which emerges here is that whereas *Demeter* is close to Hesiod in its proportion of short forms before a consonant, the other hymns show a very infrequent use of these and are nearer to Homer. This is particularly notable in the case of *Hermes*, with only two certain short forms out of ninety-two! Once again, one may doubt whether this can be used as a dating criterion. But it is noticeable that the poet of *Demeter* clearly adopts Hesiodic short forms where he could have used long ones (e.g. *Dem.* 11 ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις cf. *Th.* 373, 415, fr. 1. 7, where ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν would have been possible).[3] Other examples are due to adaptation of Homeric or Hesiodic formulae (*Dem.* 5, 40–1, 269, 403,

[1] *Κρονίδεω Dem.* 414 ~ *Th.* 572, *Op.* 71; *ὡρέων* 399; *ἁπασῶν* 110, *θυσιῶν* 312. *ἁπασῶν* has no parallels in Homer or Hesiod, but could be due to corruption: cf. note ad loc.

[2] Using Reichelt's figures for Homer and Hesiod, but my own counts for the *Hymns*. H. Troxler, *Sprache und Wortschatz Hesiods* (Zürich, 1964), 68, gives the figures for short forms before consonant as *Iliad* 39, *Odyssey* 75, *Theogony* 28, *Works* 30.

[3] Cf. F. Krafft, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod* (Göttingen, 1963), 46 n. 4, Troxler, o.c. 67 f. Note also *Ap.* 81 ~ 259, 288, Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer*, 446 n. 2!

473), illustrating the way in which such 'recent' forms would tend to come in.

5. Troxler (o.c. (p. 334 n. 2), 52 ff.) and Edwards (o.c. 122) also discuss the alternative forms of genitives in *-ου/-οιο*. The proportions of forms with certain *-ου* (i.e. *in arsi* before a consonant, and in the final thesis), as a percentage of all *o*-stem genitive singular forms, are: *Iliad* 20 per cent, *Odyssey* 24 per cent, *Theogony* 33 per cent, *Works and Days* 50 per cent, *Shield* 35 per cent, *Demeter* 32 per cent (23 out of 72), *Delian Apollo* (1–178) 17 per cent, *Pythian Apollo* (179–546) 27 per cent, *Hermes* 19 per cent, *Aphrodite* 33 per cent. Once again, *Demeter* is close to the *Theogony*. The low figure for *Hermes* is again striking, and the percentage of *-οιο* forms in this hymn (58 per cent) is higher than that of Homer (52 per cent) or Hesiod (38·5 per cent). *Demeter* has 51·3 per cent in *-οιο*.

6. Neglect of digamma is also discussed by Edwards (132 ff.). He shows that it tends, naturally, to occur in the context of formulaic innovations. For the *Hymn* see Introduction, pp. 64 f. The only examples which lack Homeric parallels are:

*Dem.* 6, 418 *ἠδ' ἴα, καὶ Ἰάνθη* (no neglects in Homer or Hesiod in ten examples; but *ἴον* occurs only once in Homer, and cf. *Il.* 13. 354 *ἠδ' ἴα* = 'one').

66, 315 *θάλος εἴδεϊ, πολυήρατον εἶδος*. *Il.* 3. 224 shows neglect before *εἶδος*, but the line has been suspected; in *Od.* 8. 169 the manuscripts have *γάρ τ' εἶδος*, and Bentley removed *τε*. *Od.* 8. 174 is a similar case. Elsewhere in Homer (forty-two times) the digamma is observed. In *Dem.* 66 the neglect may be due to a junction of formulae at the bucolic diaeresis (but cf. Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 53, and notes to *Dem.* 66). *Dem.* 315 is using a Hesiodic 'Catalogue' formula (*Th.* 908, frr. 25. 39, 136. 2; cf. also *Hy.* 12. 2, 32. 16, *Op.* 63, *Th.* 619, *Op.* 714).

One might also mention *Dem.* 37 *τόφρα οἱ ἐλπίς*. There are no parallels in Homer for neglect with *ἐλπίς*, but several with *ἔλπομαι* (cf. ad *Dem.* 35). *Dem.* 37 is, however, a suspect line.

The use of the digamma is therefore demonstrably traditional, and shows no significant difference from that of Hesiod.

There is, however, a noticeable frequency of contraction after the loss of internal digamma, although again several examples have parallels in Hesiod:

*Dem.* 50 *λουτροῖς* (cf. *Op.* 753), 137 *τοκῆ(ϵ)ϲ* (cf. *Il.* 11. 151, *Op.* 248, etc.), 413 *ἄκουσαν*(?) (cf. 379), and perhaps 347 *Ἄιδη* (cf. ad loc.). For Hesiod cf. Edwards, 139 n. 53.

One might also note that *κόρην* (*Dem.* 439; cf. Introduction, p. 55) is partly paralleled by Hesiod's *κᾰλόν* (*Th.* 585, *Op.* 63), *ἴϲον* (*Op.* 752).

c. *Hoekstra and* nu *movable*

A. Hoekstra's books, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* and *The Sub-epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition*, contain many observations of value to students of the *Hymns*. He illustrates the various ways by which the poets have adapted traditional material, and departed from the normal practice of early epic. He concludes his discussion of the *Hymn to Demeter* (*Sub-epic Stage*, 57) by noting the poet's closeness to Hesiod rather than Homer, but adds that he 'treats epic diction as a living organism' (o.c. 57). This is a guarded statement, but it definitely suggests that the *Hymn*, although it represents a later stage of epic development than Homer (cf. *Sub-epic Stage*, chap. I), belongs still to a genuinely creative epic tradition, rather than one that is purely imitative. On the question whether or not the poets of the *Hymns* used the aid of writing in composition he is wisely cautious, regarding it as 'not impossible' (o.c. 17 n. 17), but incapable of proof.

In his earlier book, Hoekstra discusses *inter alia* the use of *nu* movable (*Homeric Modifications*, 71 ff.; cf. Fr. Isler, *Quaestiones Metricae* (Diss. Greifswald, 1908)). Isler's figures show that whereas the frequency of *nu* used to avoid hiatus is approximately the same in later poetry as in Homer, its use to lengthen the preceding syllable before a consonant becomes increasingly *less* common in Alexandrian and later hexameter poetry, until finally with Nonnus it virtually disappears (one example only in 4,514 verses). In this latter respect the *Hymn to Demeter* is closer to Homer than to either Hesiod or the *Hymns* to Apollo and Hermes,[1] but obviously no chronological significance can be attached to this fact (cf. Hoekstra, 76 f.). Lengthening in the first thesis with *nu* movable occurs seven times in the *Hymn to Demeter*, three of these with κεν. The first five hundred lines of the *Odyssey* show the same proportions, although lengthening in this position is commoner in the *Hymn* than the *Odyssey* as a whole, and commoner in the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad*.[2] Hesiod, on the other hand, has only 3 examples in 1850 lines.

Hoekstra also considers that cases of enjambement where the runover word has movable *nu* may be indicative of 'evolutionary' tendencies (*Homeric Modifications*, 85 ff., 101 ff.). He notes that *Demeter* has several examples, all with verbs (*Sub-epic Stage*, 27 n. 17, 55). These include seven where *nu* avoids hiatus (25, 45, 86, 193, 235, 376, 454),

[1] Cf. Hoekstra, o.c. 76, and Isler, o.c. The proportions are: Homer 1 in 21·8 lines, Hesiod 1 in 30, *Demeter* 1 in 20·7, *Apollo* 1 in 26·6, *Hermes* 1 in 41·4, *Aphrodite* 1 in 18 5.

[2] *Iliad* 1 in 224, *Odyssey* 1 in 127, *Demeter* 1 in 69 (but *Od.* 1. 1–2. 56: 7 times, 3 with κεν).

as well as three where it lengthens the syllable (3, 23, 430). Although we have already noticed the unusual frequency of necessary enjambement in the *Hymn*, it seems to me doubtful whether the use of *nu* movable here is really significant.

### D. *Oral poetry and the use of writing*

This survey should suffice to demonstrate that one cannot rely on such tests alone to establish a chronology of early epic. The *Hymn to Hermes*, in particular, shows clearly that the evidence is contradictory if treated in this sense. I should myself prefer to regard this *Hymn*'s peculiarities as due partly to its very different subject-matter, but probably also to its belonging to a different branch of the epic tradition (cf. also Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage*, 18 n. 23). One is tempted to go further and speak of the poet's own personal style and use of his tradition, and there is no doubt that the four major hymns do have noticeable differences of style, as well as similarities. This might at least partially account for the poet's fondness for enjambement in the *Hymn to Demeter*, a feature which accords with the rapidity of narrative which we have noticed in parts of the poem (cf. Introduction, pp. 60 f.).

Kirk has recently (*YCS* 20 (1966), 155 ff.) criticized the use of quantitative analysis of formulae by itself as a means for determining whether a composer used writing or not, and also the naïve assumption that there are only *two* simple alternatives here (cf. especially 173 f.). As he says, one must take into account other criteria, 'signs such as the observation of formular economy, the naturalness of formular extension and articulation, and the preservation of traditional details of rhythm and enjambement'. The first of these has been discussed in the Introduction (pp. 46 ff.), and the second also, more briefly. It is my own personal view that the *Hymn* does not go much beyond the freedom of Hesiod in these respects, just as it shows remarkable similarities to Hesiod in the various classes of linguistic features discussed above. In its use of typical scenes also, the *Hymn* is remarkably traditional in view of its novelty of subject (cf. Introduction, pp. 58 f.).

Against this one may set the possibility that the poet is aware of, and echoes, particular passages in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, rather than simply drawing from a common tradition of formulaic (cf. Introduction, pp. 31 ff.). Does this necessarily imply that he is no longer an 'oral poet', or that he uses writing as an aid to composition? I do not think that one can frame the question in such simple terms.

The real problem, as Kirk points out (o.c. 174), is that 'literate composition has come to stand as the only alternative to oral poetry.

Yet "oral poetry" itself is far too imprecise an expression . . .' He suggests an alternative distinction, 'between natural composition in a formular tradition . . . and deliberate, self-conscious composition in a formular style, whether with the aid of writing or not'. I am not sure that this makes the problem much clearer. But there is no doubt that far too much emphasis has recently been placed on the question of the use of writing, and there are too many possible ambiguities here. It is, for example, sometimes assumed that an 'oral poet' always extemporizes, i.e. composes as he recites: but that is nonsense. In fact, 'oral composition' is a misleading expression: no one *composes* orally. Conversely, a literate author does not necessarily require pen and paper in order to compose. Both literate and illiterate poets premeditate, although the technique of the latter does assist them at the time of recitation. Equally, a literate author may compose primarily for recitation, rather than to be read. Here, the really significant change did not come until the fifth century B.C.,[1] and this is reflected in the difference of style between, say, Herodotus and Thucydides.

There is no doubt that the longer hymns, at least, were composed for recitation, and it is equally clear that their authors were using the traditional techniques of earlier epic composition. Whether any of them could himself write or not is probably of secondary importance.[2]

[1] Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 25 ff.; E. A. Havelock, *Prologue to Greek Literacy* (University of Cincinnati, 1971), especially 58 ff.

[2] The blind singer of *Ap.* 146 ff. was presumably an 'oral poet', although he may have dictated his songs.

# APPENDIX III

## SCENES OF MEETING

(*Cf. notes to* Dem. *98 ff.*)

A. *Structural parallels*

1. *Encounter*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Dem.* 98 ἕζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο | ~ | *Od.* 6. 295a ἔνθα καθεζόμενος 291b ἄγχι κελεύθου |
| [177 κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν] | | 10. 103–4 λείην ὁδόν, ᾗ περ ἅμαξαι . . . καταγίνεον ὕλην (~ 17. 204–5) |
| 99b ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται | = | 17. 206b (7. 131) ~ 10. 108 ἔνθεν γὰρ ὕδωρ προτὶ ἄστυ φέρεσκον |
| 100 ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης | ~ | 13. 102 τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη ~ 372 (6. 291 ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος, 17. 208 αἰγείρων . . . ἄλσος) |
| 101 γρηῒ παλαιγενέϊ ἐναλίγκιος . . . | ~ | 7. 20a παρθενικῇ ἐϊκυῖα νεήνιδι . . . 13. 222 ἀνδρὶ δέμας ἐϊκυῖα νέῳ . . . (*Ap.* 449–50, *Aph.* 82) |
| 103–4 οἷαί τε τροφοὶ εἶσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων \| παίδων . . . (~ *Dem.* 214–15) | ~ | 13. 223 οἷοί τε ἀνάκτων παῖδες ἔασι |
| 105 τὴν δὲ ἴδον . . . θύγατρες | ~ | 7. 19a ἔνθα οἱ ἀντεβόλησε θεὰ . . . |
| 106 ἐρχόμεναι μεθ' ὕδωρ . . . ὄφρα φέροιεν | ~ | 10. 105 κούρῃ δὲ ξύμβληντο πρὸ ἄστεος ὑδρευούσῃ |
| 107b φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός | | (10. 108 above) |
| 107a κάλπισι χαλκείῃσι | ~ | 7. 20b κάλπιν ἐχούσῃ |
| 108 (τέσσαρες) ὥς τε θεαὶ κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι | ~ | 7. 19–20 (above) |
| 111 οὐδ' ἔγνων· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι | ~ | 13. 312 ἀργαλέον σε, θεά, γνῶναι βροτῷ ἀντιάσαντι |
| 112 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱστάμεναι | ~ | 7. 21 στῆ δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῦ 10. 107 οἱ δὲ παριστάμενοι (13. 221, 226) |
| ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδων | | ~13. 228b etc. |

2. *Speech of Celeus' daughters*

113 *τίς πόθεν ἐσσὶ . . .* ~ *Ap.* 452 *ὦ ξεῖνοι τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;*

114 *τίπτε δὲ . . .* ~ *Ap.* 456 *τίφθ' οὕτως . . .*

Normally the suppliant is the first to speak. (On *Od.* 15. 264 cf. Page, *Homeric Odyssey*, 84, Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee*, 69 f.)

3. *Reply of Demeter*

118 On this unusual answer-formula cf. ad loc.

119 } *τέκνα φίλ' . . .* ~ 7. 22 *ὦ τέκος . . .*
138 } *φίλα τέκνα* 13. 228 *ὦ φίλ' . . .*

119 *αἵ τινές ἐστε . . .* (cf. ad loc.) ~ *Aph.* 92 *χαῖρε, ἄνασσ', ἤ τις . . . ἱκάνεις*
120 *χαίρετ' . . .* *Ap.* 464–6 *ξεῖν' . . . οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε . . .*
13. 229 *χαῖρέ τε . . .*

120 ff. Demeter tells a 'false tale': cf. ad loc.

123 *Κρήτηθεν* ~ 13. 256, *Ap.* 470

133 *οὕτω δεῦρ' ἰκόμην ἀλαλημένη . . .* ~ (13. 303 *νῦν αὖ δεῦρ' ἰκόμην*)
6. 175–6 *σὲ γὰρ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας | ἐς πρώτην ἱκόμην*
7. 24–5 *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνω | τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης* (~ *Ap.* 469 ff.)

133b *οὐδέ τι οἶδα* ~ 6. 176–7 *τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔ τινα οἶδα | ἀνθρώπων οἳ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν.*
134 *ἤ τις δὴ γαῖ' ἐστὶ καὶ οἵ τινες ἐγγεγάασιν*
7. 25–6 (13. 233, *Ap.* 468)

135 *ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μὲν πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες* ~ 6. 180 ff. *σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς, | ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν | ἐσθλὴν . . .* (*Ap.* 466)
136 *δοῖεν κουριδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι*
137a *ὡς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς*

137b *ἐμὲ δ' αὖτ' οἰκτείρατε κοῦραι* ~ 6. 175 *ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε* (13. 229 ff.)

(Lacuna)

138 *προφονέως φίλα τέκνα τέων* ~ 7. 22–3 *ὦ τέκος, οὐκ ἄν μοι δόμον ἀνέρος ἡγήσαιο | Ἀλκινόου . .*
*πρὸς δώματ' ἵκωμαι*

139 *ἀνέρος ἠδὲ γυναικὸς . . .* (cf. ad loc.)

*Dem.* 150–2 ~

~ 6. 184 *ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή*

15. 509–10 *πῇ γὰρ ἐγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω; τεῦ δώματ' ἵκωμαι | ἀνδρῶν οἳ κραναὴν 'Ιθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν;* (6. 119 = 13. 200, 10. 109–10)

4. *Reply of Callidice*

145 *φῆ ῥα θεά· τὴν δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο παρθένος ἁδμής* (cf. ad loc.)

~ 6. 109*, 228* (Nausicaa) *Aph.* 82 *παρθένῳ ἁδμήτῃ . . . ὁμοίη* (7. 20 *παρθενικῇ . . . νεήνιδι*)

147 *Μαῖα* (~ 113 *γρηῢ*) *θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ*

148 *τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν*

~ 7. 28 *ξεῖνε πάτερ . . .* (6. 187 *ξεῖν'*)

6. 188–90 *Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον . . .*
*σὲ δὲ χρὴ τετλάμεν ἔμπης*

149 *ταῦτα δέ τοι σαφέως ὑποθήσομαι ἠδ' ὀνομήνω*

150 *ἀνέρας οἷσιν ἔπεστι μέγα κράτος ἐνθάδε τιμῆς* (cf. above)

6. 190 ff. *νῦν δ' . . . ἄστυ δέ τοι δείξω, ἐρέω δέ τοι οὔνομα λαῶν . . .*

6. 197 *τοῦ δ' ἐκ Φαιήκων ἔχεται κάρτος τε βίη τε* (15. 510 above, 7. 22–3, 28–9, 10. 110–11)

159 *δὴ γὰρ θεοείκελός ἐσσι* ~ *Ap.* 464–5, 6. 149 ff., 13. 230–1, *Aph.* 92 ff.

160 *εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἐπίμεινον, ἵνα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς*

161 *ἔλθωμεν . . .*

~ 6. 295–6 *μεῖναι χρόνον, εἰς ὅ κεν ἡμεῖς | ἄστυδε ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἱκώμεθα δώματα πατρός*

167 *ῥεῖά(?) κέ τίς σε ἰδοῦσα . . .*

168 *ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίη*

~ 15. 537–8 = 17. 164–5 (Theoclymenus) = 19. 310–11 (Odysseus) *τῷ κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότητά τε πολλά τε δῶρα | ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὡς ἄν τίς σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι*

5. *The girls go to the palace, while Demeter waits* (169–78 ~ *Od.* 7. 2 ff.)

[177 *κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν . . .* ~ 10. 103–4 above]

6. *They lead her to the palace* (cf. also ad 180 ff.)

179 *τέτμον δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ κυδρὴν θεὸν . . .* Cf. ad 98, 105

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 180–1 *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς \| ἡγεῦνθ', ἡ δ'* | ~ | 7. 37–8 *ἡγήσατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη \| καρπαλίμως· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετ'* |
| 182 *στεῖχε . . .* | | *ἴχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο* (~ *Ap.* 514 ff.) |
| 184 *αἶψα δὲ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο διοτρεφέος Κελεοῖο* | ~ | 7. 46 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆος ἀγακλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο . . .* |
| 185 *βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης ἔνθα σφίσι πότνια μήτηρ* | ~ | 6. 304–5 *ὦκα μάλα μεγάροιο διελθέμεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκηαι \| μητέρ' ἐμὴν . . .* |
| | | 7. 139–41 *αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ διὰ δῶμα . . . ὄφρ' ἵκετ' Ἀρήτην . . .* (~ 6. 50, 10. 112–13) |
| 186 *ἧστο παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο . . .* | ~ | 6. 305 *ἡ δ' ἧσται ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ* (~ 6. 52) |
| 188 *ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσὶ . . .* | ~ | 7. 135 *καρπαλίμως δ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο . . .* |

On 188–211 cf. ad loc. (188 ff., 192 ff.); on 213 ff. (~ *Od.* 6. 187 ff., *Ap.* 464 ff.) cf. ad loc.

B. *Parallels with* Od. *13. 96 ff.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Od.* 13. 102 *τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη* ~ 346 (122, 372) | ~ | *Dem.* 100 (cf. ad loc.) |
| 113–14 *ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα \| ἠπείρῳ ἐπέκελσεν* | ~ | 125 ff. *οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα . . . ἠπείρου ἐπέβησαν* |
| 198–9 | ~ | *Dem.* 245, 247 |
| 200 . . . *τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω;* | ~ | 138 *τέων πρὸς δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι* (cf. ad loc.) |
| 211 *οἵ μ' εἰς ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀπήγαγον* | ~ | 125 *ἄνδρες ληϊστῆρες ἀπήγαγον* |
| 223 *οἷοί τε ἀνάκτων παῖδες ἔασι* | ~ | 103–4 *οἷαί τε τροφοί εἰσι . . . βασιλήων \| παίδων* (cf. above) |
| 228–9 | ~ | 119–20 (cf. above) |
| 229–33 | ~ | 135–8 (cf. ad *Dem.* 137) |
| 231 *ὥς τε θεῷ** | ~ | 108 *ὥς τε θεαί* (cf. above) |
| 233 *τίς γῆ, . . . τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν;* | ~ | 134 (cf. above) |
| 254–5 | | cf. ad *Dem.* 120–1 |
| 256–7 *ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ \| τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου· νῦν δ' εἰλήλουθα καὶ αὐτός* | ~ | 123–4 *νῦν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης \| ἤλυθον . . .* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 268 *ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο* | ~ | *Dem.* 98 |
| 277 *πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένους, οὐδ'* | ~ | 124 *οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, βίῃ δ' ἀέκουσαν* |
| *ἤθελον . . .* | | *ἀνάγκῃ* |
| 279–80 *οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν \| δόρπου* | ~ | 129 *ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο . . . ἤρατο* |
| *μνῆστις ἔην* | | *θυμός* |
| 303 (Athena) *νῦν αὖ δεῦρ' ἰκόμην** | ~ | 133 *οὕτω δεῦρ' ἰκόμην* |
| 307 *σὺ δὲ τετλάμεναι καὶ ἀνάγκῃ* | ~ | 147–8 *καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ \| τέτλαμεν* |
| 309 (~ 333) *ἦλθες ἀλώμενος* | ~ | 133 *ἀλαλημένη* |
| 312 *ἀργαλέον σε, θεά, γνῶναι* | ~ | 111 *χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν* |
| *βροτῷ . . .* | | *ὁρᾶσθαι* |
| 351 *ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλῃ* | ~ | 386 *ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλῃ* |
| 367 *μαιομένη** | ~ | 44 *μαιομένη* |
| 391–2 *σὺν σοί, πότνα θεά, . . . τὸν* | ~ | 118b *ἀμείβετο πότνα θεάων* (cf. |
| *δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ . . .* | | ad loc.) |

# APPENDIX IV

## THE CYCEON (*Dem.* 208 ff.)

Cf. A. Delatte, *Le Cycéon. Breuvage rituel des Mysterès d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1955)

A κυκεών was any form of mixture of grain (ἄλφι) and liquid (water, wine, milk, honey, oil), often seasoned with herbs (pennyroyal, thyme, mint, etc.). It belongs to an intermediate stage between that of eating the grains (or offering them to the gods) whole, and the introduction of fine milling and baking. At this stage they were lightly pounded and then sprinkled on the liquid (cf. *Il.* 11. 640 and ad *Dem.* 208). Its religious use suggests its antiquity, and one may compare the related, more solid forms of offering, πελανός, ψαιστά, θυ(α)λήματα, etc. (Ziehen, *RE* 19. 246 ff.). In Homer it is used as a means of refreshment, and as a simple form of hospitality (cf. ad *Dem.* 180 ff.). Thus it is prepared for Nestor and the wounded Machaon to revive them after the battle (*Il.* 11. 624–41), and Circe welcomes Odysseus and his companions with a drugged κυκεών (*Od.* 10. 234 ff., 316 f.). Cf. also the possible, but disputed example in the Shield, *Il.* 18. 560, where the women prepare a meal for the labourers, sprinkling λεύκ' ἄλφιτα πολλά.

In later times its use becomes restricted to the poorer classes, and to certain medicinal purposes, and it becomes a symbol of frugality (as when Heraclitus drinks one to show the need for economy: Plut. *de garrul.* 17 = *Mor.* 511 b, Themist. *de virt.* p. 40, Scholl. BT ad *Il.* 10. 149, Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* i. 144), or of the rustic life (Ar. *Pax* 1169, Thphr. *Char.* 4. 1; cf. Hipponax fr. 39 West. Cf. also Call. fr. 260. 46, with H. Lloyd-Jones and J. Rea, *HSCP* 72 (1967), 132 and 141–2). Hence Delatte (34 f.) suggested that it belongs to the Orphic version of the myth, in which Demeter's hosts are poor rustics. But the Homeric parallels make this unlikely.

For its medicinal uses cf. Delatte 28 f. The *Corpus Hippocraticum* mentions many different types, not all of which have herbs added. The type given to Demeter is recommended in Ar. *Pax* 712 to Trygaeus as a cure for the harm that his wife Opora may cause him. In Hipponax (l.c. above) the cyceon is a φάρμακον for the poet's πονηρίη ('poverty', but with a play on the physical sense: cf. LSJ Supplement s.v.). γληχών (pennyroyal) was in fact believed to cure a wide range of ailments in ancient times (burning thirst, fainting, headaches, coughs, indigestion, fevers, nervous troubles, etc.) and was called *omnimorbia*

in Latin (cf. Dioscor. *MM* 3. 31, Plin. *NH* 20. 152, 156, Ps. Apul. *Herbarius* 93, *Carmen graecum de virtut. herb.* 12). Cf. Delatte o.c. 38–40, H. Leclerc, 'Les vieilles panacées: le pouliot', in *Bull. des sciences pharmacologiques* 39 (1932), 184–90; and *Précis de phytothérapie*[3] (1935), 148.

Modern scholars have attempted to find an ulterior motive for its use at Eleusis. Thus cf. Baumeister, p. 306: 'fortasse autem in hac herba inesse credebatur vis quaedam genitalis vel aphrodisiaca'; R. Pettazzoni, *I misteri*, § 49: 'boisson excitante et peut-être légèrement enivrante pour celui qui était à jeun'. Other scholars confuse it with opium (cf. Ov. *F.* 4. 531, where Ceres takes poppy-juice): O. E. Briem, *Les Sociétés secrètes à mystères*, 223, 259; M. J. Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* 38 (1929), 73; V. Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*[2], 86. More recently Kerényi in *Initiation* (Studies in the History of Religions, X, ed. C. J. Bleeker (Brill, 1965)), 62 ff., and *Eleusis*, Appendix I, put forward the theory that the barley-grains were fermented,[1] and that the γληχών may have also had a special effect, perhaps narcotic. He quotes pharmacological support for its use today to make a soothing drink, or as a mild stimulant. In large doses it can induce delirium, loss of consciousness, and spasms. He argues that the combination of the two ingredients might lead to hallucinations in persons whose sensibility was heightened by fasting. They would thus be 'prepared' in a physical sense for receiving the visions of the Telesterion.

There is however nothing to suggest that the Cyceon was ever fermented, and the amount of pennyroyal used cannot have had any very pronounced effects. After a period of fasting, it probably soothed and refreshed the initiates, and sustained them for what was to come. (It has been compared to peppermint tea, which is still used today for such purposes!) Cf. Schol. B ad *Il.* 11. 624 (discussing whether the cyceon was intended here as a medicine or merely for refreshment): *ἔστι δὲ δίψους ἴαμα ὁ κυκεὼν . . . τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσι γὰρ ἐπιτήδειος ὁ κυκεὼν τροφὴν ἅμα καὶ πότον ἔχων . . .* [*Πορφυρίου*] *. . . τὸ τοῖς κεκμηκόσι σκευαζόμενον πότον.*[2]

The period of fasting, especially if it was combined with the exertions of the Iacchus procession, and the dancing and other ceremonies of the pannychis which followed, might well put the initiates in a very excited and receptive condition (cf. P. Gerlitz, in *Initiation*, 279). The Cyceon, on the other hand, may have calmed them and thus

[1] Suggested by Skias, *Eph. Arch.* 1901, 19 ff., who was criticized by Svoronos *JIAN* 4 (1901), 179, and Leonard, *RE* 11. 323 s.v. Kernos.

[2] The Latin equivalent *polenta* (cf. Ov. *M.* 5. 449 f., 454, where Ceres drinks it) was, however, accorded magical and apotropaic powers (cf. Maass, *ARW* 21 (1922), 261 f., Wünsch, *Glotta* 2 (1910), 219 ff., 398).

helped to put them in the right frame of mind for the Mystery revelations.

A number of other theories have been put forward as to the significance of the Cyceon at Eleusis (cf. Delatte, 45 ff., for a survey of these). The simplest, favoured by Delatte himself, is that it was originally merely the means of ending the fast, and only later acquired any religious significance. Others see in it a symbol of the initiate's attachment to Demeter. In following her example, he became her protégé and disciple (cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères*, 377 ff.; W. F. Otto, 'Der Sinn der eleusinischen Mysterien', *Eranos-Jahrb.* 1939, 108; M. Brillant, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, 89 ff.). A more widely held view regards it as a form of communion with the goddess, originally by absorption of the 'corn-spirit' (cf. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896), 365 ff., Frazer, *GB*[3] vii. 37 ff., 161). This primitive 'agricultural' ritual developed a deeper eschatological significance in the course of time (cf. Wehrli, *ARW* 31 (1934), 89 ff.; Loisy, *Les Mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*, 69). Thus Diels (*Neues Jahrb. f. klass. Alt.* 1 (1922), 244) regarded it as a sacrament taken in the Telesterion. Cf. also Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 102 ff., 170.

These theories are criticized by Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 195 ff., Foucart, o.c. 380 ff., Allen and Halliday ad *Dem.* 208, Delatte, o.c. 47 ff., Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 20 (1940), 139, 141. Certainly, any view which accords a central significance to the Cyceon in the Mysteries must be false, since it formed part of the preliminary ritual. There is also no evidence that the initiates regarded themselves as participating in the substance of the deity. Its constitution rather suggests comparison on the one hand with the various forms of offering made from barley or other types of grain, *ψαιστά*, *πελανός*, *ὑγίεια*, etc. (cf. above, also Maass l.c., and especially the *πελανός* of wheat and barley offered to the Goddesses at Eleusis, Ziehen, *RE* 19. 246 ff.). On the other hand, consumption by the worshipper makes it resemble the various types of *πανσπερμία* (cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i[3]. 127 ff.), e.g. the *πεντάπλοα* given to the victor at the Oschophoria (described as a cyceon by Delatte, 35; cf. Deubner, *AF* 142 ff.), and especially the contents of the *κέρνος*, which was used at Eleusis and is probably to be identified with the vessels carried on the Niinnion tablet (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 213 ff., Fig. 88), portrayed on Eleusinian monuments and coins, and found in some quantity at Eleusis (cf. Mylonas, o.c. 221 f., Leonard, *RE* 11. 271 ff.). One type of these contained many small cups (*κοτυλίσκοι*) holding different kinds of grain, seeds, and other things.[1] After they

[1] Polemon has 2 lists. The longer one contains beans and wine, and presumably was not used at Eleusis, since beans were forbidden to the initiates (cf. Paus. 1. 37. 4, 8. 15. 3 f.), and for abstention from wine cf. ad *Dem.* 207. However, some of the

had been carried round (in a dance? cf. Poll. 4. 103) their contents were tasted (cf. Polemon ap. Ath. 11. 476 ef, 478 cd). This probably took place at Eleusis during the pannychis after the Iacchus procession (cf. the Niinnion tablet).[1]

Such a *πανσπερμία* represented the grain which had been sown or harvested, and its purpose is described by Nilsson (*Gesch.* i³. 129) as 'fruchtbarkeitfördernd und segenbringend'. Maass (l.c. above) described the effect of the Cyceon as 'heilsam'. Delatte compared the cakes eaten at Christian festivals (cf. M. Höfler, *ARW* 12 (1909), 342 ff.). On this interpretation, drinking the Cyceon was basically an 'agricultural' ritual, but the significance of this extended beyond the life of the fields to that of the individual worshipper, promising him happiness and prosperity (as the *aischrologia* which accompanied it may have symbolized his hopes of a new life). At the same time, the initiate will have felt that he was following the example of the goddess, sharing her food as well as her fast, and performing an act that had been 'consecrated' by her (cf. ad *Dem.* 211 *ὅσίης ἕνεκεν*).

On the relationship between the agricultural and deeper religious significance of the Mysteries in general see also Introduction, pp. 14 ff.

In art, the drinking of the Cyceon has been thought to be portrayed on the black-figure vase in the Naples Museum (Beazley, *ABV*, p. 338/3 = Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 28, No. 64, Pl. IX 3), which shows a man and a woman seated on a *kline*, with a table in front piled with food, and underneath a basket of loaves. They wear crowns of myrtle (cf. Delatte, o.c. 58) and are designated *MYCTA*. A third person, presumably a priest, holding a bundle of twigs in his left hand and standing by a little shrine, offers them a cylix.

The circumstances, however, especially the table piled with food, do not suit the little we know about the Cyceon. More probably it represents a 'private' mystery-cult of the type referred to in Pl. *Rep.* 364 b ff.[2]

*κέρνοι* found at Eleusis have many very small cups, far too shallow to contain anything, around a large central one, which perhaps held the *κυκεών*. See below.

[1] It is possible that the cyceon was actually contained in the *κέρνος*. Cf. Kerényi, *Eleusis*, 182, 185; also Skias, *Eph. Arch.* 1901, 15 f., 20 f. But see Leonard, o.c. Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* ii. 560, thought the cyceon was contained in the vessel held by the goddess in the lowest scene of the Niinnion pinax. But see Delatte, 59.

[2] Cf. Petersen, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Öst. Ung.* 6 (1882), 58, F. de Waele, *The Magic Staff* (Gent, 1927), 149. Cf. also, in favour of identification with the Cyceon, Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 156 f. ('some ceremony like the drinking of the *kykeon*'), Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 240, Pl. 15. 6, Brillant, *Les Mystères*, 89, Roussel, *BCH* 54 (1930), 73, Allen and Halliday ad loc., Delatte, 58. *Contra*: Noack, *Eleusis*, 231 n. 3, Deubner, *AF* 80 n. 8. Metzger, *Recherches*, 29 f., identifies the scene with an Eleusinian ritual, but considers that the priest must be offering wine to the couple.

On the other possible representations cf. Delatte, 56 ff. He argues against Dugas's identification of the ritual of the Cyceon on vases portraying the departure of Triptolemus on his mission.

It is by no means certain that the cyceon in Eupolis' *Demoi* (Page, *GLP* i, p. 212) is that of the Mysteries. (The supplement μυστηρικ]ῶν in v. 67 is very improbable.) Cf. Delatte, 36 f.

On Herondas, 9. 13 (quoted by Allen and Halliday with Crusius's reading) cf. Headlam–Knox ad loc.

# APPENDIX V

## THE POSITION OF θεά (ETC.) IN THE VERSE

(Cf. *Dem.* 28, 34, 82, 145, etc.)

In the course of an illuminating discussion of Hermann Fränkel's theory of colon structure of the hexameter,[1] L. E. Rossi notes the preference of disyllabic forms of θεός and θεά for a position after the third trochee, or less commonly the second trochee. He points out that θεά normally forms a separate colon in these positions, and so carries more emphasis. The *Hymn to Demeter* is unusual in this respect, as it has several examples of such forms after the first trochee. It is striking that θεά occurs three times in this position (*Dem.* 34, 82, 145). In two of these (34 and 145) it is nominative. There are no other instances in Homer or the *Hymns*, out of 117 examples of this form. In the vocative it occurs five times in the *Iliad* (10. 462, 15. 93, 206, 18. 182, 23. 770), once in the *Odyssey* (5. 215, in 49 examples), and four times in the other *Hymns*, always χαῖρε θεά (*Aph.* 292, 10. 4, 11. 5, 13. 3).

The nominative examples follow a verb, and this is also unusual. Disyllabic forms of θεός and θεά, when they occur in this position, usually follow a conjunction or pronoun, rarely a noun, preposition, adverb, or verb (excluding χαῖρε, κλῦθι θεά).[2] This use with a verb occurs again at *Dem.* 28 (ἧστο θεῶν) and 279 (λάμπε θεᾶς). It should be noted that *Dem.* 28, 34, 279 all involve necessary enjambement, which is unusually common in this hymn.

It is interesting to tabulate the frequency of instances of such forms of θεός and θεά after the first trochee in Homer and the *Hymns*, as a proportion of the total number of disyllabic forms:

*Iliad* 23 in 431 (*c.* 1 in 19)
*Odyssey* 21 in 361 (*c.* 1 in 17)
*Hymn to Demeter* 7 in 36 (*c.* 1 in 5)[3]
Other hymns 15 in 88 (*c.* 1 in 6).

The *Hymns* as a whole thus show a marked increase in such instances.

Rossi also discusses the use of monosyllabic aorist and imperfect verb forms in Homer, showing that they normally form a separate

[1] *Studi Urbinati* 39 (1965), 239 ff. See especially pp. 249 ff.

[2] With a noun *Il.* 8. 2, 16. 120, *Hy.* 23. 1; with preposition *Il.* 1. 339, 12. 466; with adverb *Il.* 10. 556, *Od.* 4. 755; with verb *Il.* 1. 310, 13. 154.

[3] i.e. *Dem.* 28, 34, 82, 145, 147, 216, 279.

colon.[1] Thus *Dem.* 145 *φῆ ῥα θεά* is also unusual in this respect. In fact *φῆ ῥα* with a noun as a single colon occurs only here! The nearest parallel is *Il.* 22. 77 *ἦ ῥ' ὁ γέρων*, which is also a unique use of *ἦ ῥα*.

[1] O.c. 260 ff.

# ADDENDA

p. 69

The revision of the Athenian Sacred Code in 403–399 B.C. (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, *Supplément*, No. 10) has a list of sacrifices to Eleusinian heroes which corresponds closely to *Dem.* 153–5 (see notes ad locc.). It is highly likely that there is direct influence from the *Hymn* at work here (cf. Körte, *Glotta* 25 (1936), 137 ff.). But Dolichus appears to be missing (see on *Dem.* 155).

p. 71

Plutarch's account of the myth of Isis, in *De Iside et Osiride*, shows obvious Greek influences, and seems to echo the *Hymn* in several places (see notes on *Dem.* 40 ff., 99, 237 ff., 238).

p. 82

Baubo is associated with Demeter Thesmophoros, and her myth may well reflect the ritual of the Thesmophoria, as Dr. Graf suggests in his work on Orphic poetry and the Eleusinian Mysteries.

p. 164 (*Dem.* 42)

For white worn by initiates see also Nilsson, *HTR* 40 (1947), 170.

p. 164 (*Dem.* 43)

Fr. Dirlmeier (*Sb. Heidelb. Akad.* 1967, 2. Abhandlung) argues that there are no genuine examples in Homer of the belief that gods appear in the form of birds, and that all the supposed instances are really similes.

p. 203 (*Dem.* 176–81)

Asius fr. 13 may not be relevant here, as the reference is perhaps simply to the traditional Ionian ἀβρότης.

For hair worn free in dancing see also E. *IT* 1143 ff., *Phoen.* 1485 ff., Men. *Dysc.* 950 ff.

p. 207 (*Dem.* 185–6)

H. Drerup, in *Griechische Baukunst in geometrische Zeit* (Göttingen, 1969), 128 ff., argues that there is evidence from the Geometric period for houses on the same plan as the Homeric palaces. See also M. O. Knox, *CQ* 67 (1973) 1 ff.; especially 5 f.

p. 212 (*Dem.* 192–211)

Small votive stools were found in the sanctuaries of Demeter and Core in Cnidus and on the Acrocorinth. Cf. C. T. Newton, *A History of*

*Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae* (London, 1863), 392, and R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 19 and Pl. 9*c*.

p. 302 (*Dem.* 472–3)

There is no need to assume that *Ap.* 136–8 influenced *Dem.* 472–3, or vice versa. But *Dem.* 472–3 does add support to the view that one should transpose *Ap.* 139 to follow 135, reading *Δήλοc ἅπαcα | ἤνθηc' ὡc ὅτε τε . . . ἄνθεcιν ὕληc | βεβρίθη* . . . (cf. Gemoll).

p. 318 n. 2

There is considerable doubt as to the identity of the young man who wears a knee-length chiton and high boots, and carries a torch or torches, on this and other vases. I follow E. Simon, who argues (in *Ant. Kunst* 9 (1966), 89 f.), that he is not Iacchus but Eumolpus.

p. 319 (*Dem.* 489)

For other links between the Lenaea and Eleusis see Deubner, *AF* 125 f. It does not seem necessary to suppose that all these connections are a late development, as is often assumed (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, ii. 76 n. 2).

p. 323 (*Dem.* 494)

For a defence of ἀοιδῆc in Hes. *Th.* 48 see Verdenius, *Mnem.* 25 (1972), 244.

# INDEXES

[References in all indexes are to page numbers. Figures in bold type refer to the main discussion of the topic.]

## I. Names and Subjects


Acaste, 289
Achilles, attempted immortalization, 237 f., 241, 242, 245, 247
Admete, 289
Adonis, 162
Aeschylus and Eleusis, 76
*Agelastos Petra*, 19, 181, 219 ff.
Agrae, 18, 20, 181, 212 f., 250 f., 289
agriculture and the Mysteries, 13 ff., 301 f.
— and Ploutos, 317
— taught by Demeter to men, 81 f., 195 f., 259 f., 298, 301 f., 346 f.
*aischrologia*, 22 f., 57, 211, 213 ff., 222, 246 f., 256, 347
Alexandria, cult of Demeter, 23 n. 1, 254
alliteration and assonance, 61, 159, 255 f., 287, 293
Amaterasu, 217
ambrosia, 231, 235, 237 ff.
*amphidromia*, 231 f.
Ananke, 173, 193 f., 227 f.
Andania, mysteries, 18, 164, 181, 203, 254, 308
— title of Core, 265
*Anodos* of Core, 84, 141, 155, 221, 264, 285, 295
Anthion, 18 f., 74, 326
Antimachus and the *Hymn*, 69
Antron, 321 f.
Aphrodite, 34, 40 f., 83, 285, 318
— and Adonis, 162
— formulae for, 48 f.
— on altar of Hyacinthus, 83
— plays part in Rape, 138 f., 290
Aqhat, Poem of, 259
Archilochus and cult of Demeter, 75, 213 f., 322
Argos, Demeter claims to come from, 74, 326
— version of Rape at, 174, 178, 196
*arrephoria*, 234 f.
Artemis, on altar of Hyacinthus, 83
— present at Rape, 67, 73, 79 f., 83, 138, 141, 290 f.
— Propylaea, 155 f., 295, 326
— temples of, 251
Ascalabus, 215, 259
Ascalaphus, 286 f.
Athena, and Erechtheus, 247
— and Erichthonius, 234 f.
— formula for, 48
— on altar of Hyacinthus, 83
— present at Rape, 67, 73, 79 f., 83, 138, 141, 290 f.
— with Eleusinian deities in art, 195, 319 f.
Athens, control of Mysteries, 6 f., 9 f., 85, 189
— knowledge of Homer, 6
— not mentioned in *Hymn*, 6, 189
— use of Eleusinian myths, 195 f., 249
— war with Eleusis, 198, 246
Atticisms, **52 ff.**, 66, 185, 266, 278, 279, 285, 294
attraction of antecedent to case of relative, 172

Baal, myths of, 156, 162, 259
*Balletys*, 12, 24, 235, **245 ff.**
battles, ritual, 245 ff., 248
Baubo, **80 ff.**, 85, 178, 200, 213, **215 f.**, 322
birds, as messengers, 164
— gods compared to, 164
black clothing worn by Demeter, 59, 163 f., 201
breath, divine, 231, 235 f., 239

*calathos*, 23
Callichoron, 10, 18 f., 74, 162, 181 f., 215, 220 f., 250, 256, **326 ff.**
Callidice, 179, 183
Calliope, 183, 185
Callirhoe, 18, 181, 250, 289

Calypso, 289
*Cathodos* of Core, 80, 84, 147 f., 159 f., 161, 220 f., 284 f., 295 (*see also* Rape of Persephone)
Celeus, 24, 176 ff., 179
— as chief ruler of Eleusis, 9, 179, 303
— cult of, 178
— Demeter's visit, 79, **176 ff.**
— father of Triptolemus, 195 f.
— founder of Prytaneum at Athens, 178, 233
— informs Demeter about the Rape, 174
— orders building of temple, 256
— parentage of, 75, 183, 298
— daughters of, and Demophon, 251 ff.
— — as first priestesses of Demeter, 79, 183, 235, 304
— — cult of, 178, 184
— — meeting with Demeter, 32, 56, **179 ff.**, 326
— — names, 67 f., 74, **183 ff.**, 304
— — *pannychis*, 256
— — their scenes with Demeter may reflect ritual, 180, 201, 203
— — youthful gaiety, 56, 58, 184, 201 ff.
Charites, 19, 83, 181
Chryseis, 289
*cista*, 23, 212, 234 f., 276
Cleisidice, 183
clothing worn by initiates, 164, 201, 203, 351
Colonus, entrance to Hades, 220
— sanctuary of Demeter, 251
contraction, 55, 65, 185, 191, 255, 278, 287, 335
Core, 13 f., 16 ff., 55, 140, 170, 294, 317, and *passim* (*see also Cathodos* of Core, Persephone, *Κόρης Καταγωγή*)
Corinth, sanctuary of Demeter, 235, 250, 351
corn, Demeter and Core deities of, 13 f.
— ear of corn shown to initiates in the Mysteries, 26 ff., 317 f.
Cos, cult of Demeter and Core, 181
— myth of Core, 179
Crete, Demeter claims to come from, 75, 188 f.
— myths of Iasion and Cretan Zeus, 316 ff.
— Parian cult derived from, 322
— Rape set in, 75
— theory of origin of Mysteries from, 18, 188
Croconidae, 184, 233
Cyane, 18, 163, 181
*cyceon*, 22, 211, 213, 215, 217, 224 f., 233, **344 ff.**

Dadouchos, 8, 11, 168, 197, 212, 319
dancing in mystery cults, 25, 201, 203, 214, 217, 235, 256, 326 f., 347
datives in *-οις*, *-αις*, 53 f., 55, 163, 260, 334 f.
— in *-αισι*, 54 f., 275
Demeter, *passim*
— Achaia, 162 f.
— anger, 59, 176 f., 258 ff.
— as deity of corn, 13 f., 257 f., 299, 301 f.
— as deity of healing, 229
— as nurse, **27 ff.**, 191 f., 228 f., **231 ff.**
— causes famine, 258 ff.
— cult-group of, with Core, 319, 329
— Erinys, 140
— festivals, 13 f.
— formulae for, 47, 49, 257
— goes to Hades, 84, 156, 259
— goes up to Olympus, 315 ff.
— honours, 249, 258, 263 f., 295 f., 316
— in art, 254
— mother of Ploutos, 316 f.
— present at Rape, 290
— prohibitions against imitation of, 142, 164, 180 f.
— rejoined by Persephone, 277 ff.
— sanctuaries, 250
— searches for Core, 159 ff.
— sorrow of, 24 f., 56, 59, 78, **162 ff.**, 176, 201, 206, 211, 217, 256
— teaches her rites to men, 251, 301 ff.
— Thesmophoros, 78, 322, 351
— visits Eleusis, 176 ff.
Demetra, story of Saint, 154
Demo, 183, 185
Demonassa, 183, 185
Demophon, dies in the fire in Orphic version, 58, 80 f., 82, 242, 247
— festival, 12, 24, 235, 243, **245 ff.**
— name, 184, 236 f.
— nursing of, 23 f., 27 ff., 57, 80, 182, 195 f., **231 ff.**
— youngest child of Metaneira, 200
derogatory address to mankind, 243 ff.

descent of Core, *see Cathodos*, Rape of Persephone
digamma, 55, **64 f.**, 142, 160, 173, 187, 191, 257, 262, 267, 286, 288, 300, **335**
Diocles, 196 f., 303 f., 314
Diogeneia, 74, 183 f.
Dionysus, 14, 27, **148 f.**, 203, 213 f., 216, 288, 313, **318 ff.**
Dioscuri, adoption and initiation of, 17, 196
disguised gods, 177, 179 f., 185 f., 199, 339 ff.
Dolichus, 199, 303 f., 351
Doso, 188
drama, sacred, at Eleusis, 24 f., 162, 165, 304, 306
Dysaules, 81 f., 84, 178, 195, 200, 298

Egyptian myths, 216 f., 258
Electre, 288
Eleusinian Games, 12, 24, 196, 199, 235, 246, 297
Eleusinion at Athens, date, 10
— Pausanias refuses to describe, 305
— position, 19, 250
— temple near, 189
Eleusinus, 178, 183
Eleusis, Demeter and Persephone as goddesses of, 321
— Demeter's visit, 176 ff.
— incorporation into Attica, 6 f.
— Rape located at, 150
— rulers, 179, 194 ff., 301 ff.
— topography, 326 ff.
— war with Athens, 198, 246
enjambement, 31, 154, 205, 253, 293, **331 ff.**, 336 f., 349
Enneacrounos, 19, 250
Eos, 157, 168 f.
ephebes at Eleusis, 235, 247
epiphanies, 26, 56 f., 146, **206 ff.**, 248, **252 ff.**, 306
*epopteia*, 20 f., **26 ff.**, **310 ff.**, 314
Erechtheum, 189, 235
Erechtheus, 234, 247
Erichthonius, 27, **234 f.**, 241, 247, 319
Erinyes, 144, 272 (*see also* Demeter Erinys)
Eubouleus, 81 f., 84, 174, 322
Eumolpidae, 8, 183, 197, 322
Eumolpus, **197 f.**
— ancestor of Eumolpidae, 8, 197
— founds the Mysteries, 183, 197 f., 302
— in art, 197 f., 318 ff.
— in Orphic version, 81 f.
— initiates Heracles, 197, 211
— performs rites of Demeter, 183, 304
— poetry, 79, 184, 198
— replaces Celeus as chief ruler of Eleusis, 9, 85, 179, 197, 303
— son of Musaeus, 78 f., 183, 198, 273
— with Dolichus and Hippothoon, 199

famine, 24, 57, 84, 217, 257, **258 ff.**, 301, 317, 330
fasting, 22 f., 59, **165 ff.**, 211, 213, 217, 218 ff., 345 f.
fear as reaction to epiphany, 208 f., 210 f., 252, 254, 306
— in the Mysteries, 209, 256, 306 ff.
fire, immortalization by, 23, 231 ff.
— in Eleusinian ritual, 23 ff., 233, 318
fleece, used in purification ritual, 22, 212, 232 f.
flower catalogue, 140 ff., 291 f.
— festivals, 19, 141 f.
folk-tales, 154, 156
formulae, adaptation, 37 f., **46 ff.**, 51, 137, 161, 163, 170, 187, 286
— analysis, 337 f.
— combination, **46 ff.**, 50 f., 138, 160, 177, 182, 186, 187, 259, 262
— doublets, 31, 36, **47 ff.**, 138, 140, 158, 160, 164, 182, 187, 227, 262, 267, 299, 301
— for names, 35 ff., 46 ff.
— Hesiodic, 35 ff., 262
— misinterpretation, 51 f., 147
fragrance, divine, 252 f.

Gaea, 33 f., 144 f., 195, 316, 318, 321
Galaxaure, 290
Gauri, 257
Gela, sanctuary of Demeter, 250
genitives in *-αο/-εω*, *-άων/-έων/-ῶν*, 334
— *-ου/-οιο*, 335
*gephyris(tai)*, 214

Hades, 137, 138 f., 145, 265 f.
— carries off Persephone, 136 ff.
— character, 57, 175, 268
— consoles Persephone, 268 ff.
— euphemistic treatment of, 145, 151, 197, 268 f., 275
— formulae for, 48, 145, 293

Hades (*cont.*)
— gives pomegranate seed to Persephone, 275 ff.
— guardian of justice, 272
— house of, 138, 265, 277 f. (*see also* underworld)
— in art, 265
— in Pindar, 75
— lets Persephone return to earth, 264 ff.
— smile of, 268
— use of horses, 151, 266, 277
Hagne, 18, 181, 265
hair worn free in cult, 201, 203, 351
— in epiphany, 252 ff.
Halimus, 214, 218
Haloa, 14, 215 f., 256, 276
Hathor, 216 f.
Hecate, 33, 39, 80, 84, 152 f., **155 ff.**, 168 ff., 291, **293 ff.**
— Angelos, 169
— Antaea, 169
— attendant of Persephone, 293 ff.
— daughter of Demeter, 295
— formulae for, 48
— Hegemone, 295
— in art, 155, 295
— recovers Persephone, 84, 156, 295
Helios, formulae for, 48
— horses and chariot, 171 f., 176
— witness of Rape, 80, 152 f., **156 ff.**, 168 ff.
Heracles, adoption as Athenian citizen, 17
— apotheosis, 234, 240, 315
— descent to Hades, 9, 197, 287
— initiation, 195 f., 251, 288, 311, 316
— purification, 22 f., 211 ff., 232 f.
— with Eleusinian deities in art, 318 f.
Hermes, 34, 315
— brings back Persephone, 84, 262, 264 ff., 277 ff.
— formulae for, 48 f.
— in art, 264, 295
— intermediary between heaven and Underworld, 262, 264
— with Eleusinian deities, 195, 319 f.
Hermione, 174, 177, 178
Hesiod and *Hymn*, 5, 30 f., **33 ff.**, 137, 287 ff., 337 f.
— date, 5, 288
— enjambement and language, 331 f., 333 ff.
Hesiodic *Catalogue*, 41
Hestia, cult of, 233, 316
— *παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς*, 233, 235
Hierophant, 8, 26, 183, 196, 197 f., 302 f.
Hierophantides, 183
Hippothoon, 178, 199
Hittite myths, 156, 246, 249, 258 f., 261
Homer, date of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, 5, 288
— enjambement and language, 331 ff.
— influence on *Hymn* of *Iliad*, 5, 31 f., 161, 202, 337 f.
— influence on *Hymn* of *Odyssey*, 5, 32 f., 180, 188 ff., 337 f., 339 ff.
— portrayal of life after death, 271 ff.
*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 5, 11, 30 f., 34, **42 f.**, 60 n. 1, 331 ff.
*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 3, 11, 331 ff.
*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, and the Eleusinian Mysteries, 12 ff.
— date, 5 ff., 336
— influence, 68 ff.
— manuscript and papyri, 65 ff.
— quotations from, 67 f.
*Homeric Hymn to Ge*, 19, 69
*Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 34, 331 ff., 337
*Homeric Hymns* as preludes to epic recitation, 3 ff., 136, 324
Horai, 83
Hyacinthus, 83, 143
Hylas, 19, 181
hymns, closing formulae, 324 f.
— final invocation and prayer, 321
— opening, 136 f.
— repetition, 152
— strings of epithets, 159
— structure, 248 f.
— use of present tense at opening and close, 315 f.
Hyperion, 158

Iacchus (and procession of), 8, 23, 25, 29, 162, 165 f., 212, 213 f., 256, 288 f., 318 ff., 345, 347, 352
Iache, 287 f.
Iambe, 22 f., 34, 57 f., 70, 207, **213 ff.**, 218, 222 f.
Ianeira, 289
Ianthe, 288
Iasion/Iasius, 313, 316 ff., 320 n. 2
Ibycus and the *Hymn*, 69, 279 ff.
infinitive for imperative, 323
initiation, *see* Mysteries, *myesis*, *orgia*, etc.

Ino, apotheosis, 247
— mysteries, 315
Ionia, cults of Demeter, 18
Iris, 258, 262
Isis, myths and cult, 15, 162, 165, 181 f., 217, 220, 238, 241, 243, 313

journeys, divine, 159, 278 ff.
justice in early Greek literature, 270 ff., 311 f.

*kernos* and *kernophoria*, 215, 346 f.
*Keryx* and *Kerykes*, 8, 10
knowledge and the Mysteries, 28

lacunae, **66**, 160 f., 191, **226**, 237, 282, 285, 287, 297, 301
language of the *Hymn*, 30 ff., 333 ff.
laughter in ritual, 213 ff.
Lenaea, 319, 352
Leucippe, 287 f.
light, at Eleusis, 26, 28 f., 209, 318
— in epiphany, 208 ff., 252
*lithobolia*, 246 f.
Locri, *pinakes*, 157, 168 f., 320 n. 3
— vase, 319 f.
Lovatelli urn, 211 f., 232
Lycosura, cult of Demeter, 164, 189, 203, 235, 254

*macarismos*, 201, 310 ff., **313 f.**, 316
magic and magical formulae, 229, 230, 239, 241
manuscript of *Hymn*, 65 ff.
marriage, sacred, 27 n. 2, 317
meadow, in Eleusinian and underworld topography, 143
Medea and her children, 241, 242
Melite, 287 f.
Melobosis, 289
Metaneira, 57, 179, 195, 200 f., 206 ff., 226, 231, 251 ff., 306
— cult of, 178, 200
— in art (?), 233
metre (*see also* contraction, digamma)
— caesurae, 62 f., 174, 300
— correption, 64, 244
— crasis, 55, 65, 228
— dactylic lines, 62, 176, 202, 299
— elision of *πρός*, 255
— Hermann's bridge, 63, 150, 241, 299
— hiatus, 63, 170, 174, 181, 186, 241
— *καί* unshortened before vowel, 291
— lengthening, 64, 170, 174, 181, 186, 241, 254, 278
— shortening, 64, 183, 248
— spondaic endings, 61 f., 223
— synizesis, 55, 65, 137, 170, 185, 225, 245, 248, 249, 263, 286
— *θεά* (etc.) after first trochee, 349 f.
— three-word line, 158 f.
Misa, 82
Moirai, 83
Mother of the gods, 70, 80, 83, 162, 262 f., 290 (*see also* Rhea)
mourning customs, 163, 167, 216 f., 218 f., 224
Musaeus as amanuensis of Orpheus, 78
— father of Eumolpus, 78 f., 183, 198
— initiates Heracles, 211
— poetry, 11, 68, 78 f., 85, 183 f., 273 f.
— quotation from *Hymn* ascribed to, 67
— *See also* Orpheus
Muses, 39, 41, 325
Mycenae, ivory group, 18
*myesis*, 20 f.
Mysteries, Greater (at Eleusis), 10, **12 ff.**, **20 ff.**, 197, 209
— — festivities at end, 293
— — foundation, 251, 301 ff.
— — give protection from dangers to initiates, 316
— — language, 253
— — mainly ritual actions, 29, 251, 270 f., 301 ff.
— — open to all Greek-speaking people, 311
— — promise to initiates, 15, 24, **29 f.**, 194, 234, **271 ff.**, 301, **310 ff.**, 316, 318, 320, 347
— — uninitiated suffer after death, **271 ff.**, 301, **310 ff.**, 314 f.
— *See also myesis*, *orgia*, secrecy, etc.
— Lesser, **20 ff.**, 166, 212, 250, 288, 289

Narcissus, 144
narcissus, 142, 143 f., 292
Nestor, cup of, 5, 242
Niinnion tablet, 141, 155, 165, 215, 282, 295, 347
nominative for vocative, 170
*nu* movable, 336 f.
nymphs, 140 (*see also* Oceanids)
Nysa, 143, 148 f., 281

Oceanids, 33, 41, **140**, 149, **287 ff.**
Oceanus, 140, 149, 153, 195
Ocyroe, 289
Olen, hymns of, 11
olive trees, 154
Onomacritus, 85
oral poetry, 11, 31, **331 ff., 337 f.**
*orgia*, 22, 24, 26, 29, **251, 301 ff.**
Orpheus, and Eurydice, 241
— *Argonautica*, 71, 78
— as protector at sea, 316
— books of, 273 f.
— founder of cults, 85, 198, 302
— *Hymn* quoted as work of, 12, 66 f., 68, 71, 273
— hymns, 11 f., 71, 152, 159
— *Rhapsodies*, 75, 78, 84
— versions of Rape of Persephone ascribed to, 73, **77 ff.**, 149 f., 152, 157, 169 f., 174, 178, 183 f., 200, 215 f., 259 f., 290 f., 344
— *See also* Musaeus
Osiris, 15, 181
Ouranie, 290

Pammerope, 74, 183
Pamphos, hymns, 11
— *Hymn to Demeter*, 68, 74 f., 142, 144, 177, 182, 183 f., 326
Pandora, 38, 241, 285
*pannychis*, 23, 25, 162, 165, 215, 248, **256**, 347
papyri of *Hymn*, 66 f.
Paros and cult of Demeter, 75, 82, 174, 179, 213, 250 f., **321 f.**
Parthenion, 18 f., 179, 181, 220, **326 ff.**
*Peplos* of Bro(n)tinus, 78, 84
Persephone, brought back by Hermes, 264 ff., 277 ff.
— cry for help, 153
— division of year, 176, 270, **283 ff.**, 300
— eats pomegranate seed, 276
— epithets and formulae for, 47 f., 49 f., 265, 267, 270, 288
— euphemistic treatment, 269
— famine caused by absence of, 258 ff.
— goes up to Olympus, 315 ff.
— honours, 269 ff., 283, 316
— identified with moon, 285
— invoked with Ploutos and Demeter, 317
— origin, 16
— rejoins Demeter, 282 ff.
— returns in spring, 141 f., 258, 284 f., 299
— ruler over dead, 269 ff.
— significance of myth, 13 ff., 284 f.
— unwilling to return from Hades, 77, 287
— *See also Cathodos* of Core, Core, Rape of Persephone
Phaeno, 287 f.
Pheneos, myth of Demeter, 174, 179
Phigaleia, myth of Demeter, 19, 258
Philleidae, 183
philosophy, use of language of mysteries in, 28, 313 f.
Pisistratean period, Eleusis in, 9 f., 326 ff.
Plouto, 289
Ploutodotas, 195, 319 f.
Plouton, 78, 84, 251, 320 (*see also* Hades, Ploutodotas, Ploutos)
Ploutonion, 18, 156, 220 f., 235
Ploutos, 27 ff., 33, 56, 234, 289, **315 ff.**
— in art, 318 ff.
Polyphemus in art, 5 f.
Polyxeinos, 197, 303 f.
pomegranate, 276
Poseidon and Demeter at Phigaleia, 258
— and Hades, 266
— as father of Eumolpus, 197 f.
— Pater, at Eleusis, 155, 198, 326
Potnia, Potniae, 26 f., 161 f., 222, 322
prayer formulae, 152, 173, 191, 321 ff.
Proclus, *Hymns*, 3
Proerosia, 297
Protogone, 82
punishment for uninitiated, or unjust, **269 ff., 311 f.**, 315
purification, rituals of, 22, 166, **211 ff.**, 220, **231 ff.**, 251, 273 f., 305, 308

Rape of Persephone, 136 ff. and *passim*
— and death, 151
— in art, 148, 155
— local versions, 77, 84 f., 150, 174, 178 f.
— Orphic versions, *see* Orpheus
— other versions, 74 ff., 150
— Roman version, 77
— Sicilian versions, 74, **76 f.**, 80, 83 f., 142 f., 147, 150, 163, 168
— time of year of, 141 f., 284 f.

Rarian Plain, 196, 295, 297 f.
Rarus, 178, 195, 297 f.
Rhea, character, 58
— formulae for, 48, 296, 300
— identified with Demeter, 295 f.
— sent by Zeus to Demeter, 295 ff., 300 ff.
— *See also* Mother of the gods
Rhodeia, 289
Rhodope, 287, 289
Ruhnken, 11, 86

Sacred Way to Eleusis, 8 f., 10, 189, 218, 235
Saesara, 74, 183 f.
Samothrace, mysteries, 316, 317
*schema Pindaricum*, 253
seat, ritual, 180 f., 211 f., 218 ff., 351
secrecy of the Mysteries, 16, 24, 26, 58, 233, **304 ff.**
self-revelation of deity, 243 ff., 248 f.
Selinus, sanctuary of Demeter, 250
Sicily, mysteries, 317 (see also *Κόρης Καταγωγή*, Rape of Persephone, Syracuse)
Sicyon, myth of Demeter, 179, 228 f.
silence, as reaction to epiphany, 252, 254, 307
— formulae for, 310
— in mourning, 218 f.
— in mystery ritual, 171, 212
— of Demeter, 59, 211, 218
Solon, 6 n. 2, 10
Soma, 15
speeches, avoidance of direct, 41, 59, 202, 261 f.
— in Hesiod and *Hymn*, 41, 59, 241
— of consolation, 174 f., 192 ff., 226, 268 ff.
— of entreaty, 172, 190 f.
— repeated, 300
springs, cult associated with, 18 f., 180 f., 250
— meeting by, 179 f.
Stenia, 215 f., 256
style of *Hymn*, 41, **56 ff.**
— compound epithets in *πολυ-*, 61, 145, 226, 257
— ellipse, 60, 189, 296 f.
— irony, 57
— lyric quality, 57 f.
— propriety, 58
— rapidity, 56, 60 f.
— repetition, 59 f., 191, 211, 286, 293, 300 f.
— ring-composition, 59
— sound-effects, 61, 255
— word-order, 60, 154, 160, 173, 201 f., 287, 332 f.
Styx, 40 f., 245, 289, 291
Sun-god, *see* Helios
— Egyptian, 217
— Hittite, 258 f.
Sun-goddess, Japanese, 217
*synthema* at Eleusis, 22 f., 305
Syracuse, cult of Core, 18
— festival, 78, 216

Tammuz, myth of, 258
Tefnut, myth of, 258
Telepinu, myth of, 156, 258, 261
Telesterion, 7, 9 f., 25, 174, 178, 189, 233, 305, 307, **326 ff.** (*see also* temple of Demeter)
— well, court and platform near, 247, 327 f.
temple of Demeter at Eleusis, 243, **248 ff.**, 256 f., 281, **326 ff.**
— date, 7
— *See also* Telesterion
Thasos, cult and sanctuary of Demeter, 250, 322
theodicy, 193 f.
Thesmophoreion, 288
Thesmophoria, 81, 142, 148, 165, 168, 220, 256, 276, 297, 317, 351
— at Halimus, 214 f.
— in Sicily, 165
Thoricos, 8, 188 f., 326
Threptos, 27 f., 195, 229, 234, 247, 317
torches in *Hymn* and at Eleusis, 22 ff., 59, 156, **165 ff.**, 169, 171, 212 f., 232, 307
Torre Nova sarcophagus, 211 ff., 232
Triptolemus, 9, 24, 81 f., 85, 174, 178, 183, **194 ff.**, 199, 229, 237, 297 f., 302, 304, 318, 320
— laws, 272
— mission, 155, 195 f., 197, 259 f.
— sacred ploughing, 196, 301
— temple, 250
— threshing-floor, 196, 297
Troezen, cult of Damia and Auxesia, 215, 246
Tyche, 288 f.

Typhoeus, 40 f.
typical scenes, 33, **58 f.**, 171, 179 f., 205, 207, 211, 261 f., 277, 278 ff., 337, **339 ff.**

Ullikummi, myth of, 261
underworld, as place of decay, 315
— entrance to, 220
— *See also* Hades

veil, in purification ceremony, 22, 212
— prohibition against use of by initiates, 164, 203
— use of by Demeter, 163, 201, 212, 219

washing, abstention from, 166 f., 224
wine, abstention from, 211, 224

year, division of, 283 ff.

Zarmanochegas, Zarmaras, 233
Zeus, 137, 145, 176, 263, 266, 315 f., 319
— absence, 158, 291
— birth, 318
— causes *Anodos* of Core, 84
— character, 33 f., 59, 262
— Eubouleus, 322
— formulae for, 47, 49, 138, 262, 268, 283, 286
— in Orphic versions of Rape, 79 f., 290 f.
— intervenes to stop famine, 258 ff.
— invocation, 153
— marries Persephone in Orphic *Rhapsodies*, 78
— Meilichios, 212
— *peplos* woven for, 83
— role in *Hymn*, 138, 261 f.
— sends Rhea to Demeter, 295 ff.
— will, 138, 145, 261, 263, 301

## II. Greek Words and Phrases Discussed

ἀγαλλίδας, 143
ἀγανόν, 291
ἀγέλαστος, 219
ἀγνή, 222, 265, 294
ἀδικεῖν, 53, 271 ff., 275
ἀδινήν, 173
ἀθανάτῃσι, 236
Ἄιδη, 55 f., 266
αἰδοῖος, αἰδώς, 210 f., 227, 306 f., 316
ἄκοντε, ἄκουσαν, 278, 287
ἄλφι, 225
ἀμαλδύνουσα, 177
ἄμφω, 54, 147
ἄνασσα, 174, 295
ἄνει, 54, 285
ἀντίτομον, 230
ἀπασῶν, 185
ἀπίθησε with genitive, 297
ἄπλητον, 175
ἀπὸ δαπέδου, 254 f.
ἀπριάτην, 190
Ἀργειφόντην, 265, 286
ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα, 157
ἀτελής, 314
αὐτός, 275
ἄφενος, 320 f.
ἀφήλικος, 191
ἀχέειν, 309 f.

γίνωσκε, 177
γληχών, 225, 344 f.

δαίμονος αἴσῃ, 257
δεδέσθαι, 300
δεσπόσσεις, 270
δῆπειτα, 177
Δηώ, 167
διδασκήσαιμι, 192
δίδον, 263
δίκη, 194
Διὸς βασιλῆος, 268
Διὸς βουλή, 138, 145
Διὸς κώδιον, 22, 212, 232 f.
δόρποιο, 190
δρᾶν, δρησμοσύνην, δρώμενα, 302 ff.
δυσθύμαινε, 269
Δωσώ, 188

ἑανῶν, 204
ἔγνων, 185
ἐγρεμάχῃ, 291
ἔδιδον, 263, 294
ἐθέλεις, 199 f.
εἶλκον, 260
εἱστήκει, 298
ἐλλεδανοῖσι, 300
ἐλούεον, 255

ἔνιςπε, 173
ἐπηλυςίη, 229 f.
ἐπιπροΐαλλεν, 263
ἐπιτηρήςαca, 240 f.
Ἐρέβευcφι, 267
Ἔρεβος, 264
ἐριούνιος, 286
Ἑρμῆς, 265
ἐρυcμόν, 231
εὐρυάγυια, 147
εὐρώεντι, 315
εὐcτρώτων, 255

ζύγος, 228

ἠαρινοῖcι, 285
ἦαρος, 203
ἠέρα, 52, 279
ἦρος, 299
ἠϋκόμου, 171

θεμιcτοπόλων, 182
θεμιτόν, 224
θυμήρεα, 323
θυcία, θυcίαιcι, 53, 55, 275

ἴα, 142 f., 335
Ἰάνθη, 288, 335
ἰάχηcε, 153
ἵλᾱον, 222 f.

καὶ . . . καὶ . . ., 282 f., 325
καλλιcτέφανος, 242
καλυκώπιδι, 144
κάρᾱ, 54, 146
κατὰ κρῆθεν, 206
καταπνείουca, 239
καταφθινύθουca, 267
κατενήνοθεν, 253 f.
κεχάρηντο, 300
κόρη, κούρη, κοῦραι, 55, 140, 170, 294, 335
Κόρης Καταγωγή, 14, 284 f.
κροκηΐω, 204
κρόκον, 142, 292
κυάνεος, 163
κυανόπεπλον, 262, 269
κυανοχαῖτα, 266

λάθρα, 240
λείρια, 292
λουτροῖc, 168

μὲν οὖν, 160
μετάγγελον, 296
μεταλλήξειε, 265
μεταναιετάει, 176
μητίcετο, 266
μνήcομαι, 325
μυεῖν, μύηcιc, μύcτηc, μυcτήρια, 20 ff., 28 n. 3, 304

νάρκιccον, 143 f.
νήκεcτον, 245
νωμήcαc, 276 f.

ξάνθη, 257

ὄλβιος, 310 f., 313 f., 316
ὁμοκλῆc, 176
ὀπάζειν, 322 ff.
ὀπάων, 294 f.
ὀργαῖc, 223
ὄργια, 251, 301 ff.
ὁcίηc ἕνεκεν, 225 f.
οὐρανίων, 170
ὄχοιcιν, 54, 55, 152
ὀψίγονος, 200

παῖc ἀφ' ἑcτίαc μνηθείc, 233, 235
πανάφυλλον, 298
παρεξίμεν, 308 f.
παύcειεν (intrans.), 267
πέδον δέ, 54, 242
πέδῳ, 299 f.
περὶ χάρματι, 293
Περcεφόνην, 170
πίλναcαι, 186 f.
πολυδέγμων, 150
πολυδέκτῃ, 145
πολυεύχετος, 200
πολυπείρονα, 257
πολυπήμονος, 230 f.
πολυπότνια, 226
πολυώνυμος, 151
πορcαίνουcιν, 199
πότνα, 187
πότνια, 26 f., 161 f., 222, 322
πρόπολος, 294 f.
προcηνάγκαccε, 287
πρόφρων, 228, 316

ῥόδα, 142
ῥοδέαc, 291

cέβαc, 145, 208, 210 f., 306 ff., 310
cεμνός, 137, 308, 316

*σκώπτειν*, 53, 222
*σύνθημα*, 22 f., 305
*σχήσεσθα*, 270

*τέμνον*, 54 f., 279 ff.
*τηλύγετος*, 200
*τηρεῖν*, 52, 192
*τιμάοχος*, 53, 249
*τιμή*, *τιμαί*, 54, 175, 190, 194, 260 f., 263 f., 269 f.
*τοκῆς*, 191

*ὑάκινθον*, 143
*ὕλη*, 281
*ὑλοτόμοιο*, 230
*ὑπαί*, 250
*ὑποταμνόν*, 230

*φαινόλις*, 169
*φέγγος*, 53, 253
*φερέσβιον*, 298
*Φερσεφόνη*, 55 n. 1, 66, 170
*φιλοστεφάνου*, 182

*χαμαιγενέων*, 186, 267
*χλεύης*, 221
*χρυσαόρου*, 139

*ᾠδῆς*, 323
*ὥρησιν*, 247 f.

## III. Select List of Passages Discussed

Aeschylus
*Eum.* 338 ff.: 315
Andocides
*de Myst.* 132: 21
Antoninus Liberalis
19. 1–2: 318
Apollodorus
*Bibl* 1. 5: 71, 76, 81, 242
*FGH* 244 F 89: 179, 322
F 110: 25
ap. Schol. Genav. ad *Il.* 21. 319: 68
Apollonius Rhodius
*Arg.* 3. 158 ff.: 280
4. 869 ff.: 69 f., 237 f.
Apuleius
*M.* 11. 5: 243
11. 16. 2 ff.: 313
11. 22. 5: 313
[Archilochus]
fr. 322 West: 55, 75, 213 f., 294
Aristides
*Eleus.* 2. 30 K.: 312
Aristophanes
*Pax* 374 f.: 21
*Ran.* 340–459: 214 f.
342 ff.: 318
455 ff.: 274, 311
1032 f.: 85
*Thesm.* 295 ff.: 317
1155 ff.: 69
Aristotle
fr. 15 R.: 314
Asclepiades of Tragilus
*FGH* 12 F 4: 82
Bacchylides
3. 10 ff.: 314
5. 15 f.: 279
5. 24 ff.: 280
frr. 2, 3, 47 Snell: 75

Callimachus
fr. 466: 84, 156, 295
*Hy.* 6: 69
6. 6 ff.: 165
6. 12, 16: 168
Carcinus
fr. 5: 69, 76 f.
Catullus
64. 129: 72, 204
260: 309
Cicero
*Leg.* 2. 14: 312
*Verr.* 4. 106 ff.: 77
Claudian
*Cons. Stil.* 2. 277: 73 n. 1, 210
*Rapt. Pros.*: 71 ff.
1. 214 ff.: 83
1. 246 ff.: 84
2. 204 ff.: 80, 290
3. 198 f.: 83
Clement
*Protr.* 2. 12. 2: 24, 162
2. 21. 2: 165
*Strom.* 5. 70. 7: 20
Cornutus
35: 68
Crinagoras
*AP* 11. 42: 312

*Cypria*
fr. 4. 3 ff.: 141

Demosthenes
18. 260: 313
[Demosthenes]
59. 21: 21
Diodorus
5. 2–5: 77
5. 3. 4: 83
5. 48. 4: 309

Empedocles
fr. 112. 1–4: 187
132: 313
Euripides
*Ba.* 471 ff.: 309
*Erechtheus*: 197 f.
*Hel.* 1301 ff.: 69, 70, 76 f., 162
1312 f.: 83
1314 ff.: 80, 290
1319 f.: 267
1341 ff.: 82 f.
1355–7: 275
*Ion* 1074: 327
*Supp.* 54: 27
[Euripides]
*Rhes.* 943–7: 85, 302

Herodotus
7. 6: 85
Hesiod
*Op.* 47 ff.: 39
321 ff.: 271
*Th.* 1 ff.: 315
75 ff.: 39 f.
188 ff.: 40
349 ff.: 33, 287 ff.
404 ff.: 33, 39
588 f.: 38
775 ff.: 40
820 ff.: 40
913 f.: 33, 38
969 ff.: 316 f.
[Hesiod]
*Sc.* 288 ff.: 299
Hippolytus
*Ref. Haer.* 5. 8 p. 96. 10 W.: 27, 307
5. 8 p. 96. 16 W.: 26, 233
Homer
*Il.* 2. 550 f.: 247
3. 278–9: 272
5. 364 ff.: 32, 277
9. 496 ff.: 272 f.
15. 263 ff.: 31 f., 202
18. 550 ff.: 32, 299
19. 259 f., 453 ff., 568 ff.: 272
22. 401 ff.: 31 f., 161
24. 77 f.: 32, 262
*Od.* 5. 125 ff.: 316 f.
6. 149 ff.: 32, 179 ff., 339 ff.
7. 18 ff.: 32, 179 ff., 339 ff.
13. 96 ff.: 32, 179 ff., 342 ff.
13. 253 ff.: 32, 180, 188 ff., 340 f.
14. 192 ff.: 32, 180, 188 ff.
19. 165 ff.: 32, 188
20. 122 ff.: 33, 255
*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (*Hy.* 5)
156–8: 255
173 f.: 209 f.
293: 324
*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (*Hy.* 3)
1 ff.: 315
136–9: 302, 352
146 ff.: 338 n. 2
177 ff.: 324
540 ff.: 11 n. 2, 332
*Homeric Hymn to Ge* (*Hy.* 30)
14 ff.: 19
*Homeric Hymn to Helios* (*Hy.* 31)
18 f.: 324
*Homeric Hymn to Selene* (*Hy.* 32)
18 ff.: 324

Ibycus
*PMG* 289: 279
fr. 28 Bergk: 280
(*see also* P. Oxy. 2637)
Isocrates
*Panegyr.* 28: 24 f., 82, 249, 259, 309, 312

Lactantius
*Div. Inst. Epit.* 18 (23). 7: 24, 162
Lasus
*PMG* 702: 75

Macrobius
*Sat.* 1. 18. 19: 309
Melanippides
*PMG* 759: 76
764: 76
Moschus
*Eur.* 16 ff.: 255
63 ff.: 71, 140, 142
153 ff.: 73

Musaeus
2 A 1 Diels: 78
A 5 Diels: 79
B 10 Diels: 78 f., 195
B 11 Diels: 78
B 20 Diels: 79

Nicander
*Alex.* 128 ff.: 70, 111

Orpheus
*Arg.* 26 f.: 78
729 ff.: 327
1191–6: 78, 83, 290
1196: 79, 149
*Hy.* 18. 12 ff.: 78, 84, 150, 220 f.
13: 79, 149, 159
14 f.: 81
16: 82
29. 8: 84
9 ff.: 78, 83
40. 2 f.: 317
41: 84
3 ff.: 78, 156
5 ff.: 84, 174, 259
43. 7 ff.: 78, 83
frr. 31–32: 84, 236, 313
41: 84, 295
42: 84
43: 78, 79, 149
47: 83, 153
48: 78
49: 12, 66 f., 71, 78, **79 ff.,** 184, 259
49. 4 f.: 78
21 ff.: 288, 290
38 f.: 290
40 f.: 290
41: 150
53 ff.: 183
57: 152
63 ff.: 152
75: 152
81, 89: 200
95 ff.: 243 ff.
100 f.: 242
102 ff.: 169 f., 174
105 ff.: 150, 178
50: 81, 141
51: 78 f., 174, 178, 195, 259
52: 78, 81 f., 83, 178, 195, 259
58: 78
frr. 151, 153: 78
178: 78, 84
191–7: 78
192–3: 84
233: 243 f.
245: 309
302: 317
303: 75, 78
360: 78

Ovid
*Fasti* 4. 417 ff.: 71 ff.
457 f.: 163
507 ff.: 178
*Met.* 5. 341 ff.: 71 ff.

Panyassis
fr. 16 K.: 75
24 K.: 75

Pausanias
1. 14. 3: 78 f.
22. 7: 79
38. 2: 68
38. 3: 68, 74, 183 f., 304
38. 6: 19, 215, 326 f.
38. 7: 309
39. 1: 74, 326
2. 14. 3: 68
3. 19. 4: 83
4. 30. 4: 67, 68, 288
7. 21. 9: 74
8. 37. 9: 74
9. 29. 8: 74
31. 9: 74
10. 5. 6: 78
28. 3: 213, 322

Phanodemus
*FGH* 325 F 27: 76, 150

Pherecydes
*FGH* 3 F 53: 76

Philicus
*Hymn to Demeter*: 70
22 ff. Körte: 296
33, 60 f. Körte: 263

Philitas
*Demeter*: 69

Philochorus
*FGH* 328 F 104: 76

Philodemus
περὶ εὐσεβείας 40. 5: 68

*Phoronis*
P. Oxy. 2260 i. 3–7: 139, 291

Pindar
*O.* 2. 53 ff.: 28, 318

2. 67: 311, 315
6. 92 ff.: 75 f.
*N.* 1. 13: 76
2. 1–3: 4
fr. 30 Snell: 152 f.
37 Snell: 75 f.
137a Snell: 69, 311, 313
Plato
*Rep.* 363a ff.: 273 f.
363c3 ff.: 79, 85
364e3 ff.: 71, 79
365a3: 311, 315
Plutarch
*de Is. et Osir.*: 351
14 (356d): 162 f.
15–16 (357a ff.): 181 f., 238, 239
69 (378c): 163
(378e): 220
*Poetae Melici Graeci*
885: 317
935: 70, 162 f.
935. 9 ff.: 80, 290
15 ff.: 262 f.

Saint John's Gospel
1: 9: 28
12: 24: 16
Schol.
Ar. *Ran.* 482: 319
Hes. *Th.* 971: 317
Nic. *Alex.* 130: 68, 221
Soph. *OC* 681: 142, 143 f.
Sophocles
*Ant.* 1146 ff.: 318
*OC* 683 ff.; 142, 143
1050 ff.: 29, 161, 192, 236, 294, 308, 310
frr. 596–617 P.: 76
fr. 837 P.: 69, 76, 311, 313, 315

Statius
*Silv.* 4. 8. 50 f.: 171

Theocritus
*Id.* 1. 145: 324
3. 49 ff.: 309, 313, 317
25. 38 ff.: 70
Timaeus
*FGH* 566 F 164: 77

Virgil
*Aen.* 4. 33: 71 f., 182
*Vita Homeri Herodotea*
469 ff.: 317
Vitruvius
1. 7. 2: 250

Xenocrates
fr. 98 Heinze: 272

INSCRIPTIONS

*IG* i². 6: 20 f.
115. 17, 34: 278
ii². 1672. 207, 1673. 24: 21
3661: 71, 312
*Marmor Parium*
*FGH* 239 A 12–13: 76
A 14: 77 f.
A 15: 78
Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées, Supplément*, No. 10: 178, 195 ff., 351

PAPYRI

Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i. no. 91: 70, 175
P. Harris 6: 70 f.
P. Oxy. 2622a and PSI 1391: 197, 303
P. Oxy. 2637 fr. 5 ii. 7: 279 f.

TEXAS
LIBRARY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0 19 814199 8